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PART XXIV.

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

AFFAIRS OF TURKEY.

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CONFIDENTIAL.

Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Turkey.

Part XXIV.

No. 1.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 37. Political. Most Confidential.)

My Lord, *Bucharest, March* 18, 1878.

A SECRET session of the United Chamber and Senate was held on Friday, the 15th instant, for again taking into consideration the retrocession of Roumanian Bessarabia.

It would appear that the Cabinet had decided to submit to the Legislature the expediency of accepting the Dobrudja, together with any other further compensation, in the event of Russia forcibly taking possession of Roumanian Bessarabia, or that the retrocession should be sanctioned by European concert.

M. Kostake (Epurianu) and others spoke in the old sense of no compromise, and no surrender; when, to the astonishment of his colleagues, M. Bratiano, either intentionally or from being carried away by his feelings, departing entirely from the Ministerial programme, spoke at considerable length in the same sense as M. Kostake and the previous speakers.

It is almost impossible to discover whether this Government has at this moment any definite policy.

I believe there is little doubt that the Cabinet would, from the first, have been content to accede to the wishes of Russia, but have been foiled by the strong expression of public feeling which resists any idea of a compromise; and this Government is now probably drifting along, with the hope that some unforeseen incident may relieve them of their responsibility; but the pressure on the part of Russia is daily becoming more accentuated, and a forcible expulsion of the Roumanian authorities from the Bessarabian districts would never surprise me.

M. Cogalniceano called upon me several days since, and spoke at length and with excessive vehemence against the pretensions of Russia, giving me some curious details respecting the high-handed manner in which the Russian officials set at naught the Roumanian authorities, language which would be perfectly justifiable, were it not known that he is all the time quite willing to come to terms upon the Bessarabian question.

The Minister told me that, upon the recent occasion when the Diplomatic Corps was received by the Emperor of Russia, the latter had made use of the roughest and most arrogant expressions respecting the present attitude of Roumania, to General Ghika, the Roumanian Agent, in the presence of his assembled colleagues; and that Prince Gortchakow holds dictatorial language in the same sense whenever he meets the General.

Within the last few days Prince Gortchakow made the following remark:—

"C'est une insulte que la Roumanie fait à l'Empereur en le traînant devant

l'Europe! Rappelez-vous et faites répéter à votre Gouvernement, que la volonté de Sa Majesté concernant la Bessarabie est inébranlable."

In a European sense, it seems to me that, should Roumanian Bessarabia be ceded to Russia, a contingency which, it is to be presumed, is nearly a certainty, it would be far less injurious to the interests of the Danube navigation, that the Dobrudja and Sulina mouth should be in Roumanian than in Bulgarian hands; for it is obvious that in the latter case the mouths of the Danube would be as good as completely in Russian custody.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 2.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 337. Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, March 19, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Reouf Pasha, Ambassador Extraordinary of the Sultan, left this to-day on his return to Constantinople viâ Odessa. He will be joined at Kursk by Osman Pasha, who has received his liberty.

As far as I can learn, there is no truth in the report of an offensive and defensive Treaty having been concluded here by Reouf Pasha, nor has any alleviation of the Turkish indemnity been granted by the Emperor, as was expected.

On inquiring here as to any secret engagements having been entered into here by Reouf Pasha, I am informed that in official circles it is said that it would be useless to enter into any secret arrangements with Turkey, as their secrecy would not be depended upon; and further that there was no necessity for any secret arrangement, as it must be evident that with the complete hold which Russia now has on Turkey, the latter must look to a Russian alliance, or to dependence on Russia as a political necessity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 3.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 342.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, March 21, 1878.*

HAVING been informed that the full text of the Treaty of San Stefano will be published to-day by certain organs of the English press, I have only thought it necessary to forward your Lordship a general *précis* of it.

I may observe to your Lordship that the proposed delimitation of Bulgaria, extending from the Black Sea to within a short distance of the Adriatic, a delimitation which is out of all proportion with the aggrandizement of Montenegro and Servia, and the terms in which its future organization is laid down, render it entirely subject to Russian influence, and amount virtually to the amalgamation of these territories with Russia.

The stipulation by which the payment of the remaining portion of the Turkish indemnity due to Russia is deferred for a later arrangement between the two belligerent Powers, independently of the Congress, will give to Russia complete hold over Turkey, and will enable her to interfere at any moment in the internal affairs of that country.

The free passage of merchant vessels through the Straits, bound to or proceeding from Russian ports in time of peace and war will, if assented to by Europe, safeguard Russia from any blockade. In short, the whole Treaty amounts to the destruction of Turkish rule in Europe, and to the partition of the greater part of European Turkey amongst the Slave races who will be under Russian protection.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 4.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 354.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, March 25, 1878.*

FROM information which has reached me from a confidential quarter, I am inclined to believe that the Russian Cabinet has given up all hope of conciliating England, and is now directing all its attention to gain over Austria, and to secure her neutrality in the event of war with England.

General Ignatieff has been charged with a special mission to the Empress of Austria, probably with this view, and left this yesterday for Vienna.

I am told that he is the bearer of an autograph letter from the Emperor Alexander to the Emperor Franz Josef, and that Prince Gortchakow has represented his mission is one of conciliation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 5.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 361. Very Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, March 27, 1878.*

HAVING ascertained that Mr. Stoughton, the American Minister, had lately had a lengthened interview with Prince Gortchakow, I requested Mr. Plunkett (who was previously acquainted with Mr. Stoughton) to endeavour to learn the object and result of his interview, and I have now the honour to inclose to your Lordship an interesting memorandum of a conversation which Mr. Plunkett has had with Mr. Stoughton.

I have reason to believe that, in the event of a war with England, the Russians will endeavour to purchase fast steamers in America, will arm them with one or two heavy guns, and place them under the Russian flag, with a view to prey on English commerce, more especially in the Pacific and the China Seas.

A naval officer has been lately dispatched to America (as reported in my despatch No. 313 of the 13th March), probably for this purpose, and I am informed that there is at present here an American agent charged with the sale of certain steamers which are now lying in American ports.

This is a matter of purely private speculation, and is probably not even known to the American Government, but it is a question of importance to us in the event of war, and should be narrowly watched by Her Majesty's Consuls at the American ports.

I rather imagine that San Francisco is the port which Russia may select as the basis for these operations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 5.

Memorandum.

IN the course of conversation the United States' Minister communicated to me to-day the substance of an interview which he had lately with Prince Gortchakow.

Mr. Stoughton informed me that Prince Gortchakow's language conveyed to him the idea that Russia would be willing to make considerable changes in the Treaty of San Stefano, if it were not for her suspicion that no concessions would satisfy England, and that what Her Majesty's Government required was either war, or some striking humiliation of Russia. In such a dilemma Russia could make no concession but must accept war, and, added Mr. Stoughton to me, "now that Russia has settled her questions amicably with Austria she thinks herself quite equal to war with Great Britain."

In reply to my inquiry as to what concessions he supposed Russia would be

prepared to make, he said that from his conversation with Prince Gortchakow, and with various other leading Russian statesmen, he believed—

1. That Russia would desire the question of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles replaced on the *status quo ante bellum*, and would not even ask for the free right of passage of her ships of war through the Straits, much less would she desire them opened to the men-of-war of all nations.

2. He believed Russia would be prepared if necessary to modify the limits at present assigned to the new Bulgaria, and would also be prepared to give up her exclusive right of control over the Bulgarian Administration, and submit it to the joint control of Europe before the expiry of the twelve months at present stipulated.

3. Prince Gortchakow said to him distinctly that so far from opposing the aspirations of Greece, Russia would support them in Congress, perhaps even to the extent of agreeing to her taking possession of the provinces south-west of Bulgaria if Great Britain—which he hardly thought probable—should propose that they should be given to her.

4. Mr. Stoughton considers that Russia will not yield on the question of the retrocession to Russia of that portion of Bessarabia which was cut off in 1856; but that on most other points she would be amenable to reason; he added, however, "in her present temper Russia will yield nothing to Great Britain, against whom she is exasperated, but in Congress she would make great concessions to Europe."

Mr. Stoughton said he had frequently noticed of late how much stress was laid on this distinction, and from it he argued that Russia was really desirous of avoiding a fresh war, at least for the present.

Mr. Stoughton told me that he had informed Prince Gortchakow, apparently, however, on his own authority and not by instructions from Washington, that, as the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles formed a commercial highway in which all the world was interested, the United States also would claim to be heard if any one of the Great Powers were to attempt to obtain a preponderating control over it, as, for instance, by taking permanent possession of any of the forts which command the Straits.

Mr. Stoughton then went on to refute the idea which some people entertained that in case of a war with Great Britain, Russia would be able to provide herself freely with fast ships from America to be used as privateers against British commerce. He based his arguments on two facts:—

1. That as long as Great Britain favoured the Greek element, and therefore prevented any cry being got up against her that she wished to bring back the Mussulmans to reconquer the Christians, public feeling in America would certainly be with her, and, secondly, on the more substantial fact that as long as the United States were neutral, their neutrality laws gave the Federal Government ample power to prevent any infraction of those laws, as, he maintained, had often been shown in the case of vessels bought for the Cubans, and which had been seized by orders from Washington before they had had time to leave American waters.

(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

March 26, 1878.

No. 6.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 1.)

(No. 365.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, March* 27, 1878.

I HAD an interview with Prince Gortchakow this morning. His Highness said that he was at a loss to know what Her Majesty's Government required of Russia before entering the Congress. He had just received a telegram from Count Schouvaloff saying that your Lordship had requested an answer in writing to your proposal, and that if he could not be empowered to do so your Lordship requested him to give you in writing his refusal to do so.

Prince Gortchakow observed that he had addressed to me an *Aide-Mémoire*, and had at the same time charged Count Schouvaloff to give your Lordship verbally the substance of it. He had now instructed Count Schouvaloff to give your Lordship a written reply of the same nature and in the same words. His Highness stated that he had communicated the complete Treaty to Her Majesty's Government, that there were no secret engagements behind it, and that he had stated that in the Congress each Power would have full liberty of its appreciation and of its action.

I here observed to his Highness that this right was inherent in each Power without his conceding it. The essential point was whether Russia would submit every Article to the Congress for discussion, though not necessarily for acceptance. His Highness immediately carped at the word "*submit* to the Congress," declaring that it was not a tribunal before which Russia was summoned, and that Russia would never submit to such humiliation.

"Either," said his Highness, "the question raised by Her Majesty's Government is one of perfect insignificance ('enfantillage'), the purport of which is incomprehensible to me, or it has a much weightier meaning, namely, the humiliation of Russia, which I should reject with indignation."

I strongly repelled this last insinuation, stating that no such feeling or intention animated Her Majesty's Government, and that they had unceasingly endeavoured to come to an amicable understanding in regard to the Congress, but it would be useless to meet in Congress without entire freedom of discussion and decision.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 7.

Consul Carruthers to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 1.)

(No. 1. Political.)

My Lord, *Taganrog, March* 22, 1878.

IT is generally known that secret societies formed of Socialists or other similar associations have for some years past attracted attention in various parts of Russia, and, notwithstanding the energetic measures employed for their suppression, they evidently have not been altogether put down. Independent of the late affair at Odessa, when certain members of the communism were, after resistance, arrested, quite recently at Rostoff, on the Don, a man was assassinated (another person in his company at the time having escaped seriously wounded), and a placard was found attached to the body, stating that all traitors which should denounce or give information of the society would be similarly dealt with; placards were subsequently posted up about the town, threatening with death every person that should accuse any member of the association in question. I now hear that fifteen persons have been seized by the secret police at Rostoff on a charge of conspiracy. It is scarcely probable that complots of this description can prove of danger to the established Government, implicated parties being principally young inexperienced persons and individuals of the labouring class; but should ramifications extend to the military, or among conscripts, the matter might become of consequence; and it appears certain that there are unquiet spirits at work, dissatisfied with the existing order of affairs.

Although peace with Turkey has been concluded, none of the troops appear to have been yet relieved from active service; on the contrary, I am informed some of the conscripts of 1865, not at that time called out, are now required to join the ranks, possibly with a view of replenishing the deficiency incurred by warfare and sickness.

I have been informed by a person of confidence, recently arrived from the north, that a few days ago a train of thirty waggons laden with torpedoes or torpedo appurtenances branched off at Lozovain from the Kharkoff-Rostoff line to the westward, but whether for Sebastopol, Nicolaieff, or the Danube, did not transpire.

Although the foregoing is apparently of little importance, it may not be, nevertheless, superfluous to submit the same to the notice of your Lordship.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. P. CARRUTHERS.

No. 8.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 1.)

(No. 230.)

My Lord, *Vienna, March* 23, 1878.

WHEN I informed your Lordship by telegraph of Prince Gortchakow's declaration to the Roumanian Agent at St. Petersburgh, that Russia would not consent to the discussion by the Congress of the question of the cession to her of Bessarabian Moldavia, I was not in possession of the inclosed telegram from M. Cogalniceano, communicating this statement to the Roumanian Agent here.

It would be difficult to convey in language more offensive than that employed by Prince Gortchakow, a resolution to despoil an ally from whom such valuable assistance had been received; and Her Majesty's Government could certainly desire no better justification than is afforded by it of their determination not to go into Congress till it was made clear that every Article in the Russo-Turkish Treaty might be discussed.

When the Russian Government intend that so important a part of the arrangements of 1856 as the removal of the Russian frontier from the banks of the Danube should be set aside without the Congress being consulted upon it, there could certainly be little security that it would be admitted to examine other Articles which may less palpably affect European interests and rights.

M. Balatchano informed me to-day that he had received instructions to represent to Count Andrassy that when on the one side the frontier of Russia is brought to the Pruth and the northern branch of the Danube, and on the other side there is created a large Bulgarian State entirely subservient to that Power, Roumania would be reduced to the position of existing only under Russian protection, and that Prince Charles, rather than accept such a protectorate, would wish to revert to the former order of things, and keep the Sultan as his Suzerain.

The deepest commiseration must be felt for the Roumanian people, though it may not be possible to have much sympathy for Prince Charles or his Government, who, having for years encouraged the Bulgarian revolutionary committees, and persistently endeavoured to weaken or break the very slender connection which bound the Principality to Turkey, without in any way interfering with the freedom of its internal administration, at once took an active part in the war against her. They could not have been expected to oppose the Russian advance; but had they remained neutral in the war, their present appeal to the Powers would have come with a force to which it has now no claim, though the interests of Europe will certainly not be advanced by a diminished Roumania being enveloped between the Russian Empire and a Russian dependency.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 8.

M. Cogalniceano to M. Balatchano.

(Télégraphique.) *Bucarest, le* 16 *Mars*, 1878.

SUR ma demande, le Général Ghica a eu, avec le Prince Gortchakow, une explication sur la question de la Bessarabie et sur les intentions de la Russie à cet égard. Le Prince Gortchakow a déclaré à notre Agent que malgré nos clameurs à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur, la décision de la Russie était irrévocable; qu'elle n'introduirait pas cette question devant le Congrès, parce que ce serait une offense pour l'Empereur; que si une autre Puissance voulait le faire, elle ne s'y prêterait pas; que c'est avec nous qu'elle voulait traiter; que si elle ne pouvait pas arriver à nous faire fléchir, elle nous prendrait la Bessarabie de force; que si nous voulions résister les armes à la main, ce serait fatal pour la Roumanie. Malgré ces menaces nous persistons à refuser de traiter et de céder.

No. 9.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 1.)

(No. 241.)

My Lord, *Vienna, March* 24, 1878.

COUNT ANDRASSY, who called upon me this afternoon, spoke at considerable length and with some animation against the course adopted by Her Majesty's Government, in declining to go into Congress until they had obtained from Russia the assurance that they should have the right of examining every Article of the Preliminary Treaty of Peace with Turkey.

Count Andrassy objects, that by requiring this assurance from Prince Gortchakow, Her Majesty's Government not only asks what is unnecessary and superfluous, but place the Russian Chancellor in a position to which he is not entitled.

His Excellency observed that it was not the Russian Government but himself who had convoked the Congress, and Prince Gortchakow would have no right to say what course would be followed by it, nor to declare what points should or should not be submitted to its consideration.

The whole text of the Treaty has been communicated to the Powers, and it is proposed that these should meet in Congress for the purpose of examining its bearing upon existing European arrangements, and of accepting or refusing their assent to the modifications which it may introduce into those arrangements.

It is evident, Count Andrassy maintained, that if the Congress is to perform this duty, it must examine each individual Article of the Treaty, to see whether it affects the provisions of previous Treaties or not; every one of the Powers must recognize the necessity, and he could not understand how Her Majesty's Government can suppose that any of them would oppose that mode of proceeding, or support the Russian Government if it should object to it.

Her Majesty's Government had said that they must not be bound by a majority in the Conference, and as he, Count Andrassy, said the same, he could not think it right to expect that on the other hand Russia should be asked to declare that she would consent to be so bound, and he was tempted to ask himself whether, in raising this question, Her Majesty's Government were actuated by a distrust of other Powers (by which he evidently meant Austria and Germany), or by a wish to find a pretext to decline taking part in the Congress.

I said that Her Majesty's Government were far from wishing to find such a pretext, and were not actuated by any feelings of distrust as regards the Powers in general, but that with respect to Russia, as there were strong grounds for believing that she only expected the Congress to deal with those Articles of the Treaty which she herself chose to represent as having a European character, Her Majesty's Government required a guarantee for the examination of the whole of it, as an indispensable preliminary, without which they could not consent to go into Congress.

That Her Majesty's Government had correctly read the intentions of the Russian Government was made clear by the late declaration of Prince Gortchakow to the Roumanian Agent at St. Petersburgh, that the question about the territory to be taken from the Principality to be annexed to Russia was one to be settled exclusively between the Emperor and Prince Charles, and that Russia would not submit it to the Congress, nor lend herself to any discussion upon it.

Count Andrassy replied that, whatever Prince Gortchakow may have said, or may be reported to have said, to Prince Ghika, it was quite certain that he would not attempt to hold such language to the European Powers. If there could be any doubt that a question affecting the territorial boundaries of Turkey was one with which the Powers were entitled to deal as modifying existing Treaties, we might be satisfied with the language in which this right had been proclaimed by Prince Bismarck in his speech to the German Reichsrath, when his Highness had stated that though a pecuniary indemnity might be a question for the two belligerents, a territorial indemnity was one of general interest.

Count Andrassy greatly regretted that Her Majesty's Government had raised a question upon which he could not go with them. If they abstained from going, the Congress must fall to the ground, and the prospects, whether for peace or for war, would be infinitely worse.

I gave Count Andrassy no reason for believing that Her Majesty's Government would recede from their resolution.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 10.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 243. Confidential.)
Vienna, March 24, 1878.

My Lord,

A CONVERSATION I had this afternoon with Count Andrassy on the Russo-Turkish Treaty did not inspire me with much confidence in his determination to make a stand against its most objectionable provisions.

He said that it contained much that he believed the Russian Government did not and could not expect to be agreed to. They must, for instance, know that Austria would not consent to allow the Montenegrin and Servian frontiers to be brought so close together.

They must also be perfectly aware that while the creation of the proposed Bulgarian Principality would put an end to the authority of the Porte in Europe, the position assigned to the other provinces by the Treaty was one that could not be accepted, as one likely to lead to any good result.

Count Andrassy might have been expected to follow this expression of his opinion that the creation of the Bulgarian State was incompatible with the existence of the Turkish Empire, by a declaration that it ought to be strenuously resisted; but he did nothing of the kind, and proceeded almost at once to examine what should be the policy of the Powers, if they failed in Congress in obtaining the abandonment of the creation of the proposed new Principality.

A trifling modification of its extent, by the exclusion of a few villages, would, as he said truly, have little effect, and though it would be easy enough to point out in Congress the defects of the Russian plan, this alone would not be sufficient, and the Powers ought to be prepared with some alternative project; and Count Andrassy more than insinuated that what he should himself desire would be the union of the western Provinces to Greece.

If such a project should be adopted, the annexation to Austria of Bosnia, the Herzegovina, and the territory between Servia and Montenegro, may, I imagine, be looked upon as a part of it.

When I stated my belief that Her Majesty's Government would not be party to such a dismemberment of Turkey, Count Andrassy asked what then had Her Majesty's Government intended by proposing that Greece should send a Representative to the Congress.

I replied that Her Majesty's Government considered that the interests, present and future, of the Greek populations in Turkey being compromised by the Slav encroachments, it would be right for them to have the advantage of a Representative to lay their position and claims before the members of the Congress, who were comparatively unacquainted with them.

The conclusion that I arrived at after this conversation is that Count Andrassy, if he has not adopted Prince Bismarck's view that Turkey must be regarded as already dead, and that measures must be taken accordingly, is at least not far from being a convert to it.

Some months ago nothing could be stronger than his declaration of his determination not to allow the creation of a great Slav State south of the Danube, and this was embodied among the seven points upon which the two Governments came to an understanding. Even within the last few weeks Count Andrassy interpreted something your Lordship had said to Count Beust as implying that Her Majesty's Government did not intend to stand by him on that point, and he showed considerable unnecessary irritation in consequence; but now that the limits of the proposed Bulgarian Principality are known, and found far to exceed anything that he then anticipated, instead of saying that it must be resisted, he proposes to discuss what is to be done with the rest of Turkey, if this great State is formed.

When I spoke of the razing of the Danube fortresses and of the exclusion of Turkish troops from Bulgaria as opening the road to Constantinople on any future occasion, he said he attached little importance to those conditions, for the Russians were already hated in Bulgaria, and this feeling would go on increasing in intensity.

I may be doing Count Andrassy an injustice, but when I see him endeavouring to persuade himself that such a Principality as it is proposed to create will not be a mere dependency of Russia, I cannot but conclude him to be influenced in his judgment by a wish to avoid making a serious resistance to that which he formerly

declared must at all risks be opposed and which he obtained the engagement of Her Majesty's Government to assist him in opposing.

When he asks to discuss what is to be done with the other Turkish Provinces after the establishment of a Bulgaria which, he says, must put an end to the Sultan's authority in Europe, it is hardly uncharitable to suppose that he is nearly reconciled to that measure.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 11.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 244.)
Vienna, March 24, 1878.

My Lord,

WHEN Count Andrassy showed me the Russo-Turkish Treaty which was communicated to him by the Russian Ambassador two days ago, I observed that M. Novikov had forwarded it to his Excellency in a private letter, and not in a formal note as is usual when it is intended to make an official communication of an important public document.

The communication may probably have been made to your Lordship in a similar manner, and may have no signification, but as the Russian Government is usually particular in matters of form, the unofficial mode of proceeding may have been intentionally adopted on the present occasion, and I therefore mention the circumstance to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 12.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 247.)
Vienna, March 25, 1878.

My Lord,

THE Austrian press of all shades of opinion has been unanimous in denouncing the Russo-Turkish Treaty as a formidable blow struck against Austria-Hungary.

Some of them have spoken of it as a second Sadowa to this country, but there is great difference of opinion among them as to the manner in which it should be met.

In Austria proper the tendency is decidedly pacific, and the annexation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina would be regarded as a compensation.

In Hungary, on the contrary, the feeling is warlike, and the large addition of Slav territory to the Empire would be regarded as an aggravation of the mischief. An occupation of Bosnia would also be looked upon there as directly at variance with the language of Count Andrassy to the Delegations before they voted the credit of 60,000,000 florins, when he said it was required, not for an occupation, but for the mobilization of the entire army. But though this warlike and anti-Russian feeling is general in the public, it does not follow that the Hungarian Ministers would be inclined to give in to it.

There is an impression—how conveyed I cannot say—that Count Andrassy would have adopted a more resolute attitude at an earlier day, when it could scarcely have failed of success, if he had been able to count upon the co-operation of Her Majesty's Government, but now it is thought that the auspicious moment has been allowed to pass, and that a rupture with Russia would be attended with too great risk.

The secrecy which had to be observed respecting the confidential communications that passed between Her Majesty's and the Austrian Government during the course of last summer, renders it impossible to remove the belief that it is Great Britain which was primarily responsible for a stand not having been sooner made, but the determination with which Her Majesty's Government refuse to attend the Congress without being assured of being able to discuss in it every point of European interest, may perhaps contribute to show which of the two countries can most properly be accused of a want of resolution.

The impression which is now all but universal is, as I have already intimated to your Lordship, that an understanding will soon be come to, if, indeed, it does not

already exist, between Austria and Russia, and that Count Andrassy will consent to all the main features of the Russian programme, contenting himself with some modifications of its details, which will be represented as concessions made to the interests of this empire.

His Excellency would, however, be placed in a position of extreme embarrassment by a rupture between Great Britain and Russia, and many persons are convinced that it would, in such a case, be an absolute impossibility for Austria-Hungary to avoid taking part with us in an attempt to prevent the establishment of an order of things in the East acknowledged to be even more detrimental to her interests than to those of England.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 13.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 246.)
My Lord, *Vienna, March 27, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship, the political reports which have been addressed to me by Mr. Monson from Buda-Pesth.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 13.

Mr. Monson to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Pesth, March 26, 1878.*

PRINCE GHIKA and M. de Stourdza start to-night for Bucharest. They declare themselves quite satisfied with the result of their interview with the Hungarian Ministers and the principal Members of the Parliament; and quite convinced that, in the event of war between England and Russia, it would be impossible to keep Hungary from taking part in it.

They specially request me to tell that they have this morning received official intelligence from Bucharest that Russia intends at once to take possession of Moldavian-Bessarabia, and to expel Prince Charles' officials from that province.

Inclosure 2 in No. 13.

Mr. Monson to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Pesth, March 26, 1878.*

WITH reference to my telegram of this day, respecting the opinion of the Roumanian Agents as to Hungarian disposition to go to war with Russia, I think it right to state from all that I can learn, I fear that this disposition is not shared by those who influence and direct the policy of the country. But among middle and lower classes of the Magyars, the war feeling is undoubtedly strong.

No. 14.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 254.)
My Lord, *Vienna, March 27, 1878.*

I INFORMED your Lordship that no intimation had been given to the Austrian Government of the mission of General Ignatieff, who arrived here yesterday evening, till they heard that he was already on the way.

Baron Langenau, the Austrian Ambassador at St. Petersburgh, only accidentally heard of his departure the day after he had left, and Prince Gortchakow then informed him that General Ignatieff, being the author of the Treaty of San Stefano,

and there being no other person so accurately acquainted with the views of the Imperial Cabinet, had been selected to give such explanations of it as the Austro-Hungarian Government might desire to have.

Count Andrassy tells me that the letter of which he was the bearer, from the Czar to the Emperor of Austria, contained little more than a statement to the above effect.

His Excellency remarked to me that it was all very well to talk of giving explanations about the Treaty, but its bearings and intent were too clear to require any.

There cannot, of course, be a doubt that General Ignatieff has been sent for a much more serious object than that of giving explanations and we can scarcely be wrong in supposing his aim to be the separation of Austria and Great Britain.

He does not appear to have opened himself fully in his first interview with Count Andrassy, which took place this morning. It was necessarily short, as he had an appointment for an audience of the Emperor, and his language was of a general character.

He began by dwelling upon the care that had been taken to avoid making any arrangements which Austria might regard as injuriously affecting her interests, and he professed to feel the utmost surprise when Count Andrassy intimated the objections he entertained to the creation of the Bulgarian Principality, declaring that England entirely approved of the arrangement, and basing the statement upon the cheers with which the announcement of it had been received in the House of Commons.

Count Andrassy retorted that he had no reason to believe that the proposal was favourably regarded in England, and that it would be a great mistake to suppose that Mr. Gladstone and his followers represented either Her Majesty's Government or the British nation. At all events, it was known that the creation of a great Slav State would not suit the views of the Austro-Hungarian Government, and therefore the present project could not be seen by them with indifference.

When General Ignatieff protested that the proposed Principality could not be designated as "large," Count Andrassy answered that though it might not be so large as compared to the Russian Empire, its boundaries had been extended beyond any reasonable limits.

General Ignatieff will find many influential persons favourable to a good understanding with Russia rather than with Great Britain, but the fact of the mission having been entrusted to him rather than to some less marked person will lessen the chance of its success.

Count Andrassy has never been at any pains to conceal the aversion he feels for him, and this sentiment is shared to its fullest extent by the whole of his Hungarian countrymen.

He has often boasted that he has no fear of being overreached by the General, and as he is certainly not exempt from vanity, he is likely to dread making concessions which may be represented as a success obtained over him by the Russian diplomatist, and it is perhaps worthy of being noted, that, when I found him to-day holding a language so much firmer than that which he used only three days before, he had just been having his first conversation with General Ignatieff.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 15.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 256. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, March 28, 1878.*

MY French colleague tells me that when General Ignatieff called upon him yesterday, he said that England had rendered the greatest service to Russia.

Her Majesty's Government had prevented peace being made after Plevna and after the passage of the Balkans, and had thus been the cause of the advance of the Russian army upon Constantinople, which had been followed by the peace of San Stefano.

I told the Marquis de Vogüé that General Ignatieff had been *more* than romancing, as at no period whatever had Her Majesty's Government attempted to

exert the slightest influence against the conclusion of peace, although they might not have thought it necessary to lay before the Porte conditions which were certain not to be entertained.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 17.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 259.)
Vienna, March 29, 1878.
My Lord,

ACCORDING to reliable information which Mr. Monson has received, it appears that besides twenty-five complete torpedoes, and at least ten guns, the Russians have ordered twenty-five "engines" at Fiume.

These "engines" are understood to be the machinery necessary for torpedoes, of which the other parts are being cast by the Lenberg-Mariazeller manufactory.

It appears further that these parts will be exported in the rough state to Russia, where they will be worked down to their proper shape and form, and filled with the said Whitehead "engines."

The Russians have no less than four officers and ten workmen at Fiume, and Mr. Whitehead allows the latter to be trained in his factory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 18.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 260.)
Vienna, March 28, 1878.
My Lord,

COUNT ANDRASSY distinctly said to me to-day that if Her Majesty's Government did not go into a Congress, Austria would not take part in one.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 19.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 261.)
Vienna, March 29, 1878.
My Lord,

AMONG the projects which it is supposed General Ignatieff might submit to the Austrian Government, some persons have thought that there might be a suggestion for a sort of Customs Union, or Zollverein, which should include Hungary, Servia, Montenegro, and Bosnia, which last would be annexed to Austria.

When I mentioned it to Baron Orczy, he combated it warmly as a project which would be wholly disadvantageous to Austria and Hungary, although it might no doubt be very beneficial to the needyPrincipalities whose commercial interests it was proposed to identify with them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 20.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 262.)
Vienna, March 29, 1878.
My Lord,

PERSONS with whom General Ignatieff has conversed do not consider him as being hitherto satisfied with the result of the mission, and he complains that the Austrians cannot be brought to see their own interests.

He implies that he has pressed them to take Bosnia and the Herzegovina, but that they would like to extend themselves to Salonica.

Baron Orczy spoke to me to-day quite openly of the object of the General's mission being to prevent this country from coming to an understanding for a common action with Great Britain; and I then observed that if he proposed modifications of the Treaty of San Stefano in the interest of Austria, I could not see any that would not be equally acceptable to Her Majesty's Government; but that the case would be different if he were to try to bribe the Austrian Government into acquiescence by proposing that they should indemnify themselves by large acquisitions of Turkish territory, extending, perhaps, from their frontier to Salonica.

I have, &c.
(Signed HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 21.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 230. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Berlin, March 26, 1878.*

I HAD the honour to receive your Lordship's despatch No. 142 of the 15th on the 21st instant, and I begged of Mr. Dering to institute inquiries respecting the map of Bulgaria alleged to have been drawn by Kiepert in consequence of the ethnological information afforded him by Professor Paparygopholos, of the University of Athens.

Mr. Dering informs me that Kiepert, at the request of the Ethnological Society of Athens, of which Professor Paparygopholos is President, is preparing a map of Bulgaria, based on the information supplied by that Society. This map, however, is far from being completed, and will not be sold at Berlin, but copies may probably be obtained from the above-mentioned Society at Athens, as soon as it is terminated.

Mr. Dering thinks he may, perhaps, be able to obtain one copy of this map from Herr Kiepert, who has promised to inform him as soon as the map is completed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 22.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 232. Secret.)
My Lord, *Berlin, March 28, 1878.*

AT a ball given last night by Prince Pless, I had some conversation with the Emperor, who seemed sincerely distressed at the news which had reached him a few hours previously from Count Münster to the effect that the meeting of the Congress being no longer possible, Her Majesty's Government might easily be forced by public opinion to drift into war with Russia.

I told the Emperor that it rested with His Majesty to promote a policy of conciliation and peace by exercising his great influence on his nephew the Czar to accept our reasonable and moderate demands in regard to the Treaty of San Stefano.

The Emperor vouchsafed no reply, but shook me most cordially by the hand, and then said that he would tell me privately and confidentially that he had just received a telegram from the Czar, announcing the Grand Duke Nicholas' success in obtaining the Sultan's promise to observe a strictly neutral attitude in case of war between England and Russia, besides which His Majesty had also reason to believe that General Ignatieff would be able to secure the neutrality of Austria in case of war.

Supper was announced by Prince Pless to the Emperor, and I could only thank His Majesty for his gracious communication.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 23.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 233. Most Confidential.)
My Lord, *Berlin, March 28, 1878.*

SIR HENRY ELLIOT, in his despatch to your Lordship No. 233, Confidential, of the 21st instant, respecting Prince Bismarck's advice to Austria to take possession of Bosnia, states that Baron Orczy laughingly observed to him that Prince Bismarck did not at all wish Austria to limit her acquisitions to Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

Here at Berlin well-informed persons say that Prince Bismarck would be glad to see Austria establish her protectorate over Bosnia, Servia, Herzegovina, Albania, and a portion of the Province of Monastir, so as to draw her frontier along the line of railway from Novi-Bazar to Salonica.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 24.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 238. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Berlin, March 30, 1878.*

TO judge from the irritation against England, it is evident that public opinion attributes the rejection of the proposed Congress more to England than to Russia; and the news of your Lordship's resignation has produced, after the first impression of consternation and regret, a general conviction that war between England and Russia has become inevitable.

The Emperor, I am told by all who have seen him lately, is anxious, worried, and out of spirits, and would gladly take the part of his nephew the Czar against England. Prince Bismarck, I hear, admits, in conversation with his friends, that he has again had a severe struggle with his Imperial master to persuade His Majesty to adhere to a neutral policy, and leave Russia to settle her difference with England without the aid of Germany.

Prince Bismarck is said to assure the Emperor that he does not believe in war between England and Russia: first, because the Treaty of San Stefano does not contain a *casus belli*; and, secondly, because it is the interest of both countries to avoid war and seek a peaceful settlement of the Eastern question, as Austria and Russia are now doing through Count Andrassy and General Ignatieff, and with a fair prospect of success. The Congress, Prince Bismarck thinks, if it had met now, would probably have failed to reconcile the angry feelings roused by late events between England and Russia; whilst later on, when Austria and Russia have agreed upon certain modifications of the Treaty of San Stefano, public opinion in England will become more and more favourable to a pacific agreement on the new state of things in the Balkan Peninsula through the means of a European Congress.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 25.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 241.)
My Lord, *Berlin, March 30, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship the accompanying despatches which I have received from Commander Grenfell, Her Majesty's Naval Attaché at this Embassy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

Inclosure in No. 25.

Commander Grenfell to Lord Odo Russell.

My Lord, *Berlin, March 29, 1878.*

MR. BAIRD, of Messrs. Baird and Co., St. Petersburgh, yesterday paid a visit to Berlin, with a view to hastening as much as possible the delivery of the machinery for torpedo boats ordered by the Russian Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. H. GRENFELL, *Commander, R.N.*
Naval Attaché.

No. 26.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 31.)

(No. 220. Very Confidential.)
My Lord, *Rome, March 26, 1878.*

ON my calling at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs this morning to return the visit of M. Cairoli, who came to see me yesterday, but did not find me at home, I was informed that Count Corti, who arrived yesterday afternoon, was upstairs, and I therefore went up to see him.

He told me that he had come to Rome with the determination of refusing the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, but that his resolution had been overcome by the King, and that he had now accepted office.

He inquired what was my latest news respecting the Congress, to which I replied that, as far as I was aware, the Russian Government had not as yet notified their acceptance of the only and very reasonable condition on which Her Majesty's Government could consent to take part in the Congress, viz., the production of the whole Treaty, in order that the Powers might see what Articles could be accepted and what could not. I informed Count Corti of the very conciliatory nature of the last communication made by Her Majesty's Government to the Russian Government, viz., whether the Russian Government were willing that the communication of the Treaty to the various Powers shall be treated as equivalent to placing the whole Treaty before the Congress in order that it might be examined and considered by the Congress in its relation to existing Treaties.

This communication, I said, had, as far as I was officially aware, as yet received no reply, though I had seen a telegram from the "Times" reporting that it had been answered in the negative.

Count Corti said that he believed that Russia, in point of fact, had no wish for a Congress, at all events, he was sure General Ignatieff had none, and that it had never been his intention that the Treaty of San Stefano should be submitted to the other Powers.

I then made some general remarks as to the identity of English and Italian interests in the East, which Count Corti showed no disposition to dispute, and I told him that I was charged to ascertain in strict confidence whether the Italian Government would be willing to come to an understanding with Her Majesty's Government for the safeguarding of those interests in the Mediterranean, the Straits, and the Black Sea, but as this was only an informal and friendly visit I was paying him, I would not trouble him with the details to-day, but would call upon him again for this purpose as soon as he was properly installed in office.

Count Corti said he should be quite ready to receive me the day after to-morrow.

His Excellency informed me, in the course of our conversation, that he did not intend to keep Count Tornielli as Secretary-General at the Foreign Department, a decision which does not surprise me, and which, I believe, will not be regretted by anyone, except, perhaps, the Russian Embassy, who has business at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, for I believe that no one has had greater cause for complaint as to Count Tornielli's dictatorial manner of treating those under the orders of the Foreign Department than Count Corti himself.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 27.

Mr. Adams to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 12. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Paris, March 31, 1878.*

MINISTER for Foreign Affairs sent for me this afternoon, and said he was much disturbed by a letter from French Ambassador at Berlin, that a telegram had been received by Lord Odo Russell on Friday, substance of which his Lordship had communicated to German Emperor, Prince Bismarck, and others.

That I had telegraphed that wishes and sympathies of France were entirely with England, and that Minister for Foreign Affairs only regretted that France could not now defend *actively* with England the cause of European public rights and international Treaties; that unfortunately, *for the moment*, France must confine herself to moral support, but gave that thoroughly without binding herself as to what action she might take in the future.

I assured his Excellency that there must be some mistake; that I had never reported such language to Her Majesty's Government, or that his Excellency held out any hopes of active support.

I recounted substance of my secret despatch No. 293, which his Excellency said was a most faithful account.

His Excellency repeated that the feeling of France remains unchanged. That she is determined to give no active support; that she cannot approve all clauses in the Treaty, and still desires Congress.

No. 28.

Consul Reade to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(Telegraphic.) *Smyrna, March 31, 1878.*

I AM authorized by a highly respectable Turk, on whose discretion and loyalty I can implicitly rely, to state confidentially to your Lordship, that he is prepared to undertake, if necessary, to raise, equip, (?) and place at the disposition of Her Majesty the Queen, within a term of six (?) weeks, 100,000 Turkish (?) soldiers, from this and the neighbouring district, and double that number in three months.

No. 29.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.)
(Secret.) *Foreign Office, April 1, 1878, 9·15 A.M.*

IN reply to your No. 337, Secret, Porte will do wisely to defer surrender of Batoum as long as it safely can, because possession of that harbour will facilitate any further enterprise against Turkey which Russia may meditate; and you should speak in this sense confidentially, but carefully avoid saying anything to engage future action of England, which is entirely contingent on course of Russia.

No. 30.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 1, 1878, 10·15 A.M.*

IF Her Majesty's Government receive any definite proposal from Russian Government for withdrawal of the military and naval forces of the two Powers to equal distances from Constantinople, they will carefully consider it. But any overture from England is undesirable, as it would be misconstrued both by Russia and elsewhere.

No. 31.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 1, 1878.*

YOU may inform Porte, confidentially, that our efforts will be directed to restore territory south of Balkans to Government of Porte, populations being secured by provisions analogous to those proposed at the Conference of Constantinople. But do not employ language implying any engagement to use military force.

No. 32.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1, 3 P.M.)

(No. 19. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, April 1, 1878, 1·5 P.M.*

I HAVE received indirectly a request for an interview, which I have refused, from a Garibaldian leader, who would be ready, if desired, to organize an expedition to assist insurrection in the Greek provinces. There is a strong feeling in Italy in favour of the Greek cause.

No. 33.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 77.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April 1, 1878.*

A RUSSIAN newspaper publishes a telegram from Odessa stating that Constructor of coast batteries there has received an order for 58,000 iron spades, to be sent immediately by steamer to Constantinople.

No. 34.

Consul-General Stanley to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

(Telegraphic.) *Odessa, April 1, 1878.*

COMMERCIAL steamship "Nakhimoff" sails from here to-night with torpedoes, her destination positively said to be Buyukdéré; her departure should have been to-morrow, but orders came to send her at once.

No. 35.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 1, 1878.*

YOU should inform Count Andrassy that the efforts of Her Majesty's Government will be directed to procuring the erection of the territory south of the Balkans, now comprised in the new Bulgaria, into a separate province, under the Porte, the populations being protected by arrangements analogous to those proposed at the Conference of Constantinople. They hope that they may have the cordial support of Austria in this policy.

No. 36.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Layard.

(No. 422. Secret.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 1, 1878.*

WITH reference to your telegram No. 330 of the 30th ultimo, stating that the Russians were pressing for the evacuation of Batoum, I have to state to your Excel-

leney that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the Porte will act wisely in deferring the surrender of this place as long as it safely can, because possession of the harbour of Batoum will facilitate any further enterprise against Turkey which Russia may meditate, and your are authorized to speak confidentially in this sense.

You should, however, be careful to avoid saying anything to engage the future action of this country, which is entirely contingent upon the course which Russia may pursue.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 37.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Layard.

(No. 424.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 1, 1878.

I HAVE to state to your Excellency that should the Russian Government make any definite proposal to Her Majesty's Government for the withdrawal of the military and naval forces of the two Powers to equal distances from Constantinople, it will be carefully considered.

They are, however, of opinion that any overture from England would be undesirable, as it might be misconstrued both by Russia and by other Powers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 38.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Layard.

(No. 426.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 1, 1878.

I HAVE to request that your Excellency will inform the Porte confidentially that Her Majesty's Government will direct their efforts to restoring to the Government of the Porte, the territory south of the Balkans, care being taken that the safety and well-being of the populations shall be secured by provisions analogous to those proposed at the Conference of Constantinople.

You should, however, avoid using language which might imply any engagement on the part of Her Majesty's Government to use military force.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 39.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 2.)

(No. 14. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, March* 13, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of a despatch from Mr. Vice-Consul Cooper regarding the distress amongst both Moslems and Christians in the neighbourhood of Pristina, and stating, in reference to his despatch of the previous day, that the persons concerned in the massacre of the 7th February had not been arrested.

As regards the reputed British subject Costanti Platopulo, Mr. Barker has replied to Mr. Vice-Consul Cooper's telegram that he has no knowledge of him, and this morning I received a telegram from Mr. Vice-Consul Maling from the Dardanelles merely stating that Platopulo, a native of the Ionian Islands, was formerly for some years in his service.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

Inclosure in No. 39.

Vice-Consul Cooper to Acting Consul Freeman.

Sir, *Pristina, Kosovo, February* 28, 1878.

IN taking leave of the Vali this afternoon, Riffat Pasha requested that, if possible, I would inform the English and other charitable societies that from the absence of foreign representatives, the distress in this vilayet has not been relieved by any of the aid so generously extended to other districts.

His Excellency stated that owing to the emigration of the Moslem population from the districts of Nisch, Kursumbje, Liskorac, Vranja, and others occupied by the Servians, there were 200,000 refugees in the vilayet at the present time.

I believe the above estimate of the numbers to be greatly exaggerated. The distress is chiefly amongst the sick, aged, and children.

Government issues food to those in actual want.

The greater number of the emigrants assembled round Skopeje, and if aid is sent it ought to be distributed by special agents. Hospital comforts and food for children are most required.

In forwarding the Vali's application on behalf of the Moslem emigrants I beg to draw attention to the Christians of Pristina, who were plundered by the Bashi-Bazouks. Thirty families are destitute, and only five receive a mouthful of bread from the authorities. They have lost all, and many are mourning for murdered relatives.

I regret to add, with reference to a statement in my despatch of yesterday, that the arrest of those concerned in the massacre of the 7th did not take place. The Vali says he is waiting till he can secure all; were he to arrest those in Pristina now, those away would take alarm and not return.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY COOPER.

No. 40.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 2.)

(No. 15. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, March* 13, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copies of two despatches of the 28th February and the 13th March respectively, from Mr. Vice-Consul Cooper, regarding the line of demarcation between Turks and Servians in the Kosovo vilayet, the respective positions of their troops between Mitrovica and Visegrad, and other military matters.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 40.

Vice-Consul Cooper to Acting Consul Freeman.

Sir, *Pristina, Kosovo, February* 28, 1878.

HAFIZ PACHA informed me this afternoon that an agreement had been signed at Vranja on the $\frac{1}{13}$th February, between the Russian, Servian, and Turkish Commissioners, defining the line to be observed by the Servian and Turkish armies during the armistice.

The line runs in a north-westerly direction from near Skakavica, where the boundary of the Prisrend Sandjak crosses the Kostendil-Skoplje road to above Irgovicts on the St. Ilija pl.; then by Han Bihjac, halfway between Vranja and Kumanovo to pl. 466 on the Vranja-Gilan road; following the crest of the Goljak pl. it turns west to near Pecekol (two hours from Pristina), and then north, crossing the Kursumlje road at Ljuter (three and a half hours from Pristina) it joins the boundary of the Novi-Bazar Sandjak on the Kopanich Gora.

No special instructions having been received as to the line to be observed in the

Sandjak of Novi-Bazar, it is agreed that the old frontier between Servia and Novi-Bazar shall be the line of demarcation.

The line has been marked on a tracing of the Austrian staff map scale 1/200,000, and signed by the Commissioners. A zone extending 2½ kilom. on either side is to be considered neutral. Armed parties are not to enter this 5 kilom. zone except with parlementaire, and both Turkish and Servian troops are to be behind their respective lines within five days from date of signature.

The line varies slightly from that pointed out generally by the instructions from Adrianople, when the line was to have passed by Vranja, but the Servians pointed out that after Assaf Pasha's defeat on the 28th January, they had pursued right up to Kumanovo, and actually held at time of armistice Gilan. The Turks, on the other hand, were in occupation of Preporac, on road to Kursumlje. The matter was compromised as above, the Servians withdrawing from Gilan, but holding the defile, the Turks evacuating Preporac and retiring to Ljuter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY COOPER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 40.

Vice-Consul Cooper to Acting Consul Freeman.

Bosna-Serai, March 13, 1878.

Sir,

I LEFT Pristina on the 1st March, and reached Bosna-Serai yesterday the 12th, having travelled viâ Novi-Bazar and Visegrad.

The Servians still hold the ground they occupied subsequently to the armistice in the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar, viz.:

1. The hill above Lepuci threatening the road from Novi-Bazar to Mitrovica, near Rogosno Han.
2. The villages on the Uvac and Vapa, within three-quarters of an hour of Sjenica.
3. The Nova Varos-Visegrad road between Kamenica Planina and Monastir Banja.

The Turkish military authorities take the matter very quietly. They heard from Constantinople on the signature of the armistice that the Servian frontier would be the general line of demarcation, and more specific instructions have not since been received.

In my despatch of the 13th February I gave the particulars of the Servian occupation of hill near Rogosno Han.

At Sjenica I was able to gather some details as to the other advances.

During the war the Servians occupied positions near Kladnica on the Tranjica-Sjenica road, about four hours from the latter town. On the signature of the armistice the Turkish outposts were withdrawn, and the Servians immediately advanced to the villages on the Uvac and Vapa at edge of Sjenica plateau. The Servian officer who came to announce the armistice to the Turkish authorities stated that the Servians had only pushed their men forward in order to find shelter, their positions on the Tavor plateau being terribly exposed.

The post road from Visegrad to Nova Varos was open till the 6th February, and the Turkish employés kept the two lines of telegraph (International Turkish) in repair. The armistice was known at Nova Varos on the 4th February. Some zaptiehs were sent on the 6th to collect wood, forage, &c., from the villages near Radohinia and Rutose; they returned the following day, saying that the Servians were occupying the district, and on the 8th Servian outposts were established on the Uvac, within an hour of Nova Varos.

At Sjenica, on the 5th March, I was told that, owing to this advance of the Servians, I could not continue my journey to Visegrad without Servian permission. I accordingly wrote to the officer commanding on the Yavor, and on the 6th, at Nova Varos, received a favourable reply, signed by the Lieutenant-Colonel commanding centre of the Yavor army. On arrival at the Servian outposts on the 7th, I was met by a staff officer, who had been sent from head-quarters at Kuetici, on the Tranjica-Sjenica road, to escort me through the Servian lines from Kamenica pl. to Monastir-Banja.

In the course of conversation with this officer, he admitted that the Servians had occupied the road since the armistice, but that their patrols had previously visited it, both by day and by night.

The telegraph lines are kept in order by the Servians, and no hindrance is placed on telegraphic communication between Nova Varos and Visegrad, but all traffic is stopped on the road.

A telegram announcing the signature of peace was received by Mustapha Pasha, the Liva commanding at Sjenica, on the 5th March.

The Bashi-Bazouks and the Mustahfiz in the Sandjak of Novi-Bazaar have been disbanded; they are still under arms at Visegrad, in the Vilayet of Bosnia.

The Turkish forces along the Servian frontier from Mitrovica to Visegrad are distributed as follows:—

Mitrovica.—4 battalions; 1 mountain battery.
Rogosno Pl.—1 battalion; 1 mountain battery.
Novi-Bazaar.—2 battalions; 1 company garrison artillery, 25 guns.
Dugapoljan.—2 battalions; ¼ company garrison artillery, 3 guns.
Sjenica.—1 battalion; ¼ company garrison artillery, 3 guns.
Nova Varos.—1 battalion.
Visegrad.—1 battalion Redif, 1 battalion Mustahfiz, 1 company garrison artillery, 14 guns.

The guns at Dugapoljan and Sjenica are Krupp field-pieces; those at Novi-Bazaar and Visegrad of various calibre and pattern.

The battalions in Sandjak of Novi-Bazaar are weak, but recruits are being drilled to fill the vacancies; and since the armistice there is a marked improvement in the appearance of the soldiers. New uniform has been issued, and a month's rest has apparently done something towards restoring confidence and discipline.

At Visegrad the battalions are over 1,000 strong, but in rags. Being recruited entirely in the district, they are, however, in good health.

Dugapoljan is defended by three redoubts, Sjenica by seven, Nova Varos by five, and Visegrad by eight. They are all field works of various trace.

Visegrad is a point of great importance, as possessing the only stone bridge across the Drina, here 140 yards broad, rapid, unfordable, and subject to heavy floods. The bridge—a fine masonry structure of eleven arches, 160 yards long by 21 feet broad, with a wooden block-house in middle, narrowing the roadway to 15 feet—is still in good order, though 300 years old and suffering from neglect.

Visegrad is surrounded on the east by low hills, again inclosed by higher ones within range of modern guns. The works of defence are on the inner range, and could not be held against an artillery attack.

The bridge is defended on the west by two redoubts, but these are commanded by higher ground on the Bosna-Serai road.

To hold the surrounding heights against attack on both banks of the Drina would require a much larger force than the present garrison.

The Servians, during the late war, 1877-78, have not attempted anything in the direction of Visegrad; but during the campaign of 1876 they placed a gun on the Stanisavac hills, which, sweeping the Nova Varos road by Dobranje, completely closed all communication between Visegrad and the east.

Many of the old bronze guns are being sent to Constantinople to be recast. A third of the officers serving at Visegrad have been ordered to Constantinople, it is supposed to organize the new levies.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY COOPER.

No. 41.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

(No. 16. Political.)

My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, March* 15, 1878.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 12, Political, of the 8th instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, having made further inquiries regarding the rumoured departure of a deputation from Bosnia for Vienna to advocate the annexation of this province to Austria, I am inclined to believe that there is some truth in the rumour. It is, of course, a matter concerning which it is exceedingly difficult to obtain accurate information, as any such deputation naturally endeavours to keep its

intention secret. I have been shown, however, to-day a letter from Brood on the Austrian frontier, which mentions the passage of a Catholic deputation from Bosnia: and another informant assures me that it consisted of three Franciscan monks and a Mussulman, and went from Travnik.

The "Times" of the 2nd instant publishes a telegram from its Vienna correspondent, who goes so far as to give the names of the members of the deputation; but they are certainly not correct. The Mussulmans are said to be Mehmet Bey Sokolovic and Atif and Hussein Beys Capitanovic. Sokolovic and Capitanovic are two well-known and influential families in this province; but, as far as I can learn, there is no member of the former called Mehmet, nor of the latter called Atif or Hussein. The Catholic priest, Fra Georgo Matic, referred to, is, and has been for many years, the curate of the parish of Serajevo, where he is at the present moment residing. He is one of the most intelligent and influential Franciscan monks in the province; but whatever his national sympathies, he would not compromise his position by any action openly hostile to the Turkish Government.

The "Times" of the 4th instant also published a telegram from Belgrade, which states that a conspiracy for the murder of the Turkish officials had been discovered at Serajevo, and that many Mahommedans, both in high and low life, had been put in prison on the charge of being implicated in it. I beg to state that there is not a word of truth in this report, and I avail of this opportunity to assure your Lordship that the intelligence telegraphed from Belgrade regarding this province is invariably false, and even improbable.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 42.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

(No. 17. Political.)

Bosna-Serai, March 15, 1878.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that the Muteshar of this province, Constant Pasha, left Serajevo on the 11th instant, for the Sandjaks of Svornik, Banjaluka, and Bihac, to inquire into certain complaints of the Christians against the Mussulman Beys and Turkish officials, which have been brought to the notice of the Governor-General by the Orthodox Archbishop of this town.

The most serious, I am informed, are against a certain Muharrem Aga, chief of the police at Banjaluka, and brother of the ill-famed Fehmi Effendi, of that town, formerly deputy to the National Assembly. Muharrem Aga is accused of being in the habit of levying black-mail from the Christians throughout the district, and more especially of having extorted a sum of about 700 ducats from the Igoumen or Abbot of the Orthodox monastery of Liplje, after having wounded him badly in the hand. The prisons of Banjaluka are also said to be full of the miserable victims of Muharrem Aga, who have refused or been unable to meet his demands. The well-known antecedents of the Mutessarif of Banjaluka, Salih Pasha, whose nomination and character I reported in my despatch, Political, No. 64 of the 6th July, 1877, render, I fear, such a state of affairs but too probable.

I also regret to have to report that numbers of so-called insurgents are being daily brought to Serajevo from the Sandjaks of Bihac and Banjaluka, and imprisoned at the barracks. There are at present, it is said, not less than 200 of these unfortunate beings in confinement. They are not insurgents who have been taken with arms in their hands, but men of all classes and ages—youths and old men scarcely capable of carrying a gun, peasants, townspeople, and well-to-do merchants—who have been accused, or are suspected of hostility to the Turkish Government. The way they are brought to Serajevo is revolting, with their arms bound with cords, and attached to one another in rows by heavy chains round their necks, barely clothed, and with difficulty dragging along their weary limbs. The Governor-General declares that he is in no way responsible, as the country is under martial law, and the arrests are made by the military authorities. He asked instructions, I am told, from the Porte as to what was to be done with these prisoners, and was ordered to send them to Constantinople. To this he replied that he first required money to clothe them, as otherwise, at this season, they would all die on the road, and I believe he has received no answer to this communication.

The insurrection in Bosnia, as I have already reported to your Lordship, has long since ceased to have any political signification, and now that peace is concluded with Servia and Montenegro, surely it is time that these arbitrary arrests and this ill-treatment of the Christians ceased. The country is thereby kept in a continual state of alarm, the Mussulmans are encouraged to acts of violence; and the return of the Christian fugitives is thus rendered utterly impossible.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 43.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

(No. 94. Most Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, April 1, 1878.

I HAVE had a conversation with Count Andrassy about General Ignatieff's (Mission).

The General, he says, had no authority to make proposals on part of his Government or to express their opinion upon the views of Austria. Count Andrassy had told him there were three things he must require: first, a large restriction of proposed frontier of Bulgaria, which at the west must run from the Gulf of Rendina up the Karasu, and on the east from the point of Sizopoli to join the proposed frontier to the north-west of Adrianople, continuing it down to the sea; second, that the Russian evacuation of Bulgaria should take place within six months, and that the occupation should not consist of more than 20,000 men; thirdly, that the organization of Bulgaria should be settled under the superintendence of all the Powers, as was done for Roumania in 1856, and not under that of Russia alone as proposed by her. Count Andrassy then came to the question of Bosnia.

If, he said, there was ground to think Turkish Government could carry out these the necessary reforms to satisfy populations and prevent recurrence of insurrections, he would be well satisfied, but he was convinced that they would not do so; Austria could not allow her neighbouring provinces to be constantly disturbed, and the only thing she could do would be to annex Bosnia and the territory between Servia and Montenegro, as well as the sea-coast between the present Austrian frontier and the Boiana, by which measure Montenegro would be separated from Albania.

Count Andrassy begs that this conversation may be regarded as strictly confidential, and may not be communicated to other Governments, and especially not to Russian.

No. 44.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

(No. 95.)
(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, April 1, 1878.

WHEN Count Andrassy spoke of the annexation of Bosnia to Austria, he said that the measure would be most unpopular among populations and German subjects of Emperor, and he would only resort to it reluctantly, and if no other measure for ensuring the peace of the province could be devised. It was only, he said, through a Congress that this could be accomplished.

General Ignatieff had also spoken to him of the impossibility of withdrawing the army from the neighbourhood of Constantinople while our fleet remained there; and Count Andrassy asked how, without a Congress, we could get out of the situation thus created.

In an ordinary way, he added, the occupation of Constantinople by Russia would be a *casus belli* for Austria, but not if it was represented as the consequence of the threatening attitude of another Power, and the total destruction of Turkey would be the result.

Count Andrassy had strongly approved entrance of our fleet, and I said I could not believe that he would admit that its presence gave a justification for a Russian occupation of the capital; that Her Majesty's Government had shown no unwillingness to go into a Congress, but must insist on the conditions that they had put forward.

He repeated arguments he has before used, that Her Majesty's Government can have the security that every Article of the Treaty would be examined in it, but I answered that more than had yet been obtained was indispensable.

No. 45.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

(No. 343.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 1, 1878.*

TURKISH Minister for Foreign Affairs begs me to state that bands are constantly crossing Greek frontier with the connivance of Greek Government commanded by officers of Greek army, and furnished with arms supplied by Greek Government, and that they are laying waste Thessaly and Epirus and driving the inhabitants into insurrection. Porte is unwilling to make war on Greece, but unless Greek Government puts a stop to these proceedings, which it can do if it thinks fit, Porte will be compelled in its own defence to take decided measures with its fleet. Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs earnestly requests Her Majesty's Government to intervene with the Greek Government to put a stop to this state of affairs, which is leading to so much bloodshed. Porte is ready, he says, to pledge itself to take into consideration the condition of its Hellenic subjects and to adopt measures for their future good government.

Sent to Athens.

No. 46.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

(No. 344.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 1, 1878.*

I AM informed by Turkish Minister for War that one regiment of the Russian Guard and two batteries will be embarked to-morrow at San Stefano for Russia.

Some of these troops will be transported in Turkish vessels, which go to fetch Turkish prisoners.

One division of Russian army is stated to have marched towards the Balkans.

No. 47.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

(Telegraphic.) *Canea, Crete, April 1, 1878.*

DESULTORY fighting occurred again on Saturday and may recur at any moment.

No. 48.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

(No. 345. Most Secret and Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 2, 1878.*

GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS is again pressing the Sultan to declare what he will do in case of war between England and Russia. His Majesty still refuses to commit himself to any course except neutrality, depending upon events. Grand Duke has also again insisted upon occupying Buyukdere, which the Sultan has absolutely refused, and would be prepared, His Majesty says, to resist even by force. Russians are, nevertheless, sending supplies there and taking houses. Austrian Ambassador saw Sultan yesterday, and informed His Majesty, in pursuance of instructions from his Government, that Austria would not accept Treaty of San Stefano, or tolerate Bulgarian Principality proposed by Russia. She would support interests of Turkey if Turkey would support those of Austria. What those interests are Austrian Ambassador could not explain. Count Zichy asked His Majesty, in the name of his Government,

what His Majesty was prepared to do in case Austria was ready to give Turkey moral or material help. Sultan replied that he should maintain neutrality and await events. I have this from the Sultan himself, and have reason to know that it is true; but it should not be known at Vienna that I have given this information.

No. 49.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

(No. 346.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 2, 1878.*

I HAVE received following from Vice-Consul at Philippopolis:—

"Considerable number of troops and guns are being directed towards Sophia. It is reported to me that 20,000 have passed Philippopolis during last two (days?); their final destination is to be Servia. I am confidentially informed that an order has been received from Scobeleff to issue cartridges to troops here, and to put all batteries of artillery in readiness."

No. 50.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

(No. 78. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April 2, 1878.*

HER Majesty's Consul at Helsingfors reports as follows:—

"Thirty torpedoes referred to in report have been sent from Sweaborg to Abo; forty steel torpedo-boats are ordered by Russian Government from Messrs. Crichton at Abo at 38,000 roubles each, to be furnished by the 1st June next.

"Five brigades of infantry and artillery, amounting in all to 40,000 men, are ordered to Finland, of which 15,000 will garrison Helsingfors, remainder along Finnish coast. Finland railway ordered to suspend private traffic from the 8th April, and to prepare to dispatch twenty military trains."

No. 51.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

(No. 96.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April 2, 1878.*

COUNT ANDRASSY still clings fondly to the hope of a Congress, and if Her Majesty's Government consider that by means of a Circular to all the foreign Cabinets stating the object with which he had proposed one, he might elicit answers which would give the requisite security for the examination of every Article of the Treaty, he might, I think, be perhaps induced to attempt that mode of arriving at an understanding.

In the event of Her Majesty's Government considering that it might be advantageous to encourage him in taking this step, I would beg to be informed, as precisely as possible, of the nature of the communication that they would wish him to make.

No. 52.

Mr. Vivian to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, April 2, 1878.*

VICEROY having been asked by Musurus Pasha and others what would be his attitude in the event of a war between England and Russia, has begged me to inform Her Majesty's Government that he intends to answer that, under no circumstances whatever, will he lend himself to assisting Russia; and he adds, that if Her Majesty's Government require it, he is ready with a contingent of 40,000 Egyptian troops.

No. 53.

Mr. Taylour Thomson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

(Telegraphic.) *Tehran, April 2, 1878.*

INTELLIGENCE published yesterday in London, and telegraphed here, indicating imminence of war with Russia, has made great impression on Persian Government.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, who accompanies the Shah to Europe, called here this morning, with the functionary who will act as his *locum tenens*, and he informs me that His Majesty, notwithstanding the above news, still adheres to his intention to leave for Europe on the 4th, but that if war was declared before he reached the frontier, His Majesty would probably be induced to return; while, in the event of war ensuing after he had entered Russia, he would proceed direct to Pesth (?) without visiting St. Petersburgh; but they both assured me that the attitude of Persia, in case of war, would be that of the strictest neutrality.

I had already made arrangements to quit Tehran to-morrow on the leave of absence granted me last year, intending to travel through Georgia, journeying (?), but entirely unconnected with the Shah's suite, and had presented the Secretary of Legation as Chargé d'Affaires to the Shah, at the audience given by His Majesty on his leaving Tehran; but, under present circumstances, I have thought it advisable to postpone my departure, and to await your Lordship's instructions.

No. 54.

Colonel Maude to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

(Telegraphic.) *Warsaw, April 2, 1878.*

DURING yesterday and the previous day fifty-six persons have been arrested in Warsaw, some of them students, but one a lady, in connection with a Polish revolutionary movement allied with nihilism.

I have the names of the leaders.

No. 55.

Telegram from Lord Tenterden to Her Majesty's Representatives abroad.

Foreign Office, April 2, 1878, 3·40 P.M.

THE Marquis of Salisbury is appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Lord Derby resigns the Seals to the Queen at Windsor Castle.

No. 56.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 2, 1878, 2·40 P.M.*

REPORTS reach Her Majesty's Government that Turkish troops in Thessaly are committing cruelties and outrages in no way excused by the necessities of military operations.

Prudence, if no other motive, should induce Ottoman Government to restrain their officers. You should remonstrate in the manner which seems to you likely to be most effectual.

No. 57.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 2, 1878.*

PLEASE ascertain with as little delay as possible whether we may say publicly it was Roumanian Agent who gave you information respecting Bessarabia, reported in your despatch No. 230 of the 23rd ultimo.

No. 58.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 2, 1878.*

HER Majesty's Government approve language used by you to Count Andrassy as reported in your telegram No. 95 of yesterday.

No. 59.

Consul Watkins to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 13.)

My Lord, *Larnaca, March 19, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of a despatch I addressed yesterday to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, with reference to the arrival of emigrants at Larnaca, and the wreck of the Austrian Lloyd's steamer "Sphinx;" 2nd, copy of my telegram of the 8th instant to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople on this subject; 3rd, and copy of a detailed report by Captain Ivanics on the loss of his ship, the "Sphinx," of which mention is made in my despatch to the Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES WATKINS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 59.

Consul Watkins to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.) *Larnaca, March 8, 1878.*

OFFICIAL information that Tartar fugitives were about to be sent to Cyprus had created great commotion and appeals made to the Consuls.

On 5th instant about 2,500 Circassians bound for Lattakia were wrecked on this island, which circumstance increases uneasiness, misery, and privation prevailing; inhabitants beg that emigration be prevented if possible.

Inclosure 2 in No. 59.

Consul Watkins to Mr. Layard.

Sir, *Larnaca, March 19, 1878.*

WITH reference to my despatch of the 5th instant and to my telegram of the 8th idem, copy of which last is inclosed, I beg to lay before your Excellency the following further particulars on the subject of the emigrants.

The vessel mentioned in my telegram to your Excellency as having been wrecked was the "Sphinx," one of the Austrian Lloyd's steamers bound from Cavalla to Lattachia, with about 3,000 Circassians.

The news of the disaster was communicated to the Austrian Vice-Consul by the Kaïmakam of Larnaca, upon which he requested the French Vice-Consul to telegraph to Beyrout for the French gunboat "Linois" to render any possible assistance. He also reported the disaster to Beyrout and elsewhere.

On the evening of the same day the Austrian Vice-Consul and his Chancellier assured me in the most positive manner that they had just received a letter from the 1st Lieutenant of the "Sphinx" (who was at Tricomo), asking for military assistance, as his life and that of a portion of the ship's company was in imminent danger from the Circassians, and further stating that the captain and the remainder of the crew, who had been left on the spot of the wreck, had been murdered by them, I telegraphed this news, with M. Pascotini's knowledge and precisely as he had stated it to me, to Mr. Eldridge.

On the following day, however, the news being a little more reassuring, I telegraphed it to Beyrout.

Her Majesty's Consul-General at Beyrout kindly sent the "Coquette" here on the 8th instant to take the Austrian Consul to the place of the disaster, where the

French gunboat "Linois" had gone direct from Beyrout. The "Coquette," on her way from this to Pallura, called at an intermediate village on the coast (Tricomo) and picked up the 1st Lieutenant of the "Sphinx," the rest having been rescued by the "Linois."

During this time the approaching arrival of another steamer with fugitives for Cyprus was again officially announced; the agitation of the people increased; telegrams were forwarded by the inhabitants to his Excellency the Prime Minister at Constantinople, and further representations were made by them to the foreign representatives here, which occasioned the dispatch of my telegram to your Excellency of the 8th instant.

The French and some of the other Consuls telegraphed to their respective Embassies at the same time.

The appeal to the Porte and to the foreign Missions had the desired effect, inasmuch as orders were received from Constantinople that the Austrian steamer "Timavo," which was on her way to Larnaca with about 2,000 fugitives, should not land them here, but take them to Adalia, and then return to Cyprus and convey the shipwrecked Circassians to St. Jean d'Acre. The "Timavo" arrived here on the 14th instant, and left the same night for Adalia. The "Coquette" went away the same day for the Syrian coast, having delayed her departure for a few days at the urgent request of a Committee of the inhabitants of Larnaca.

The causes which led to an objection on the part of the Cypriotes to receive fugitives are the lawless character of these latter, and also the great poverty of the island and the great want of breadstuffs occasioned by a series of bad harvests.

The shipwrecked Circassians are being collected at Famagusta. They are reported to have plenty of money with them and jewels.

I beg to inclose, for your Excellency's perusal, a translated copy of the Report which the Captain of the "Sphinx" made out regarding the loss of his vessel with upwards of 500 Circassians, and in which he thanks Captain Festing and his officers for their timely assistance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES WATKINS.

Inclosure 3 in No. 59.

Report of Captain Ivanics on the Loss of the Austrian Lloyd's steamer "Sphinx," under his command.

FRIDAY, 1st March, "Sphinx" left Cavalla with about 3,000 Circassian emigrants bound for Lattachia.

The 5th March at 7·10 A.M. we were doubling the rock "Klito" of Cape St. Andrea with a strong wind from the south-east, and thought of going to Famagusta to wait for better weather, take bread for the emigrants, and then continue for Lattachia. At 3 P.M. there was a strong gale from the south-east, which shifted afterwards to the west, then to the north, then to the east, returning at last to south-east. At this time the steamer would no longer obey the rudder, and a sea washed away forty persons from the forecastle. We had a council on board in order to put back towards Alexandretta, but on account of the heavy sea, and that the hatches were open, we were afraid that the first billow might fill the hold. The Circassians would not allow the hatches to be closed down for fear of being suffocated. So it was decided that we should continue for Famagusta. Towards sun-set we made out Cape Greco, and were about six miles from the coast of Famagusta. At 6·45 P.M. in the dark of a rainy night the captain discovered smoke coming out of the fore-hatch, and at the same time we were shipping heavy seas. We put the machine back with all our might, but the steamer unfortunately had grounded on a sand-bank. Meanwhile the fire augmented, and the heavy sea threw the vessel on the coast, and we sprung a leak; there was no working the engines. The cries and confusion of the passengers were fearful; the flames came out of the hatches.

We called the people to come out from the hold, but nobody could stir on account of the smoke and the flames, and none could go to their assistance. The despair was general. Seeing that the fire could not be put down with water, and that all would be burnt, in order to save the rest of the people, and with the consent of the Circassians themselves, the hatches were closed down, and the decks watered. All the night of the 5th to the 6th March we tried to extinguish the fire, and could do nothing towards

floating the ship. Meanwhile we shipped the seas on every side, and the steamer was drifting more and more to the shore.

On the 6th instant we landed the emigrants with our boats, and at 11 A.M. we opened the hatches and found many persons burnt, which the Circassians pretend to amount to 500. At 6 P.M. the emigrants being landed, the captain and crew of the "Sphinx" came on shore, fearing the Circassians would kill them, as they menaced to do. At 10 P.M. the fire on board the "Sphinx" broke out anew, and the captain wanted to go on board, but he was advised to fly with all the crew because the Circassians were looking for them, in order to kill them. The chief man of Bucolida, where they had taken shelter, gave them a guide and advised them to go to Famagusta, which they did in order to save their lives. All night they ran on in the dark through swamps where many of the sailors lost their shoes and stockings; many were left behind, not being able to continue. In this way we ran on for about eight hours, and at 7·45 A.M. of the 7th instant we came to Tricomo, where, being exhausted, we remained in order to rest; but even there we did not feel secure, as the Circassians were looking everywhere for the captain and crew in order to murder them.

Happily Her Majesty's ship "Coquette," and the French steam covette "Linois," arrived on the spot, and we went on board the "Linois," which had arrived the first, and from Tricomo we went to the scene of the disaster.

The captain of the steamer "Sphinx," in his own name and in that of his officers and crew, begs to express the deepest gratitude to the Commander and all the officers of the "Coquette" for having exerted themselves in their behalf.

(Signed) R. IVANICS.

Larnaca, March 12, 1878.

No. 60.

Consul Watkins to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 14.)

My Lord, *Larnaca, March* 21, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of a despatch I addressed to-day to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople with reference to the attempted sale of a girl from the mountains of Syria, and also copy of a despatch referring to the Bulgarian prisoners at Nicosia and at Famagusta.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES WATKINS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 60.

Consul Watkins to Mr. Layard.

Sir, *Larnaca, March* 21, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that twenty-seven Bulgarians were released the other day from the prisons at Nicosia, and are now in a state of great poverty and misery. The Greek Archbishop is helping them a little until measures are taken for sending them away.

I am informed that the number of Bulgarians still in prison for various offences is forty-eight at Nicosia and ten at Famagusta.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES WATKINS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 60.

Consul Watkins to Mr. Layard.

Sir, *Larnaca, March* 21, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that a man, calling himself Mehemet Ben Arif, offered here privately for sale, last week, a young girl named Hakba, from the mountains of Syria, whom he brought over from Lattachia.

On hearing of the attempted sale I communicated in a friendly way with the Kaimakam of Larnaca, who took the matter seriously in hand.

Ben Arif holds a document purporting to be a contract, by which the girl's mother hired her to him for the term of ten years, and for the sum of 17 silver medjidies in all. He was arrested. The girl was sent yesterday by the regular Austrian steamer to Beyrout, consigned to the Mutessarif there, who is asked by the local authorities of Cyprus to find out her parents, and deliver her to them.

I have written to Mr. Eldridge asking him to watch the case.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES WATKINS.

No. 61.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 3.)

(No. 33. Political.)

My Lord, *Canea, Crete, March* 19, 1878.

I HAD the honour yesterday to receive your Lordship's despatch No. 6 of the 4th instant, in which was inclosed a copy of a despatch from the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Greek Chargé d'Affaires in London, containing several statements as to the outbreak of an insurrection in Crete, and the action of the Turkish authorities and military forces; and your Lordship instructs me to furnish you with a report thereon.

M. Delyanni's despatch being dated the 15th February, refers to events which occurred in the first half of that month, about which I have already reported to your Lordship. The opening statement, for example, describing the disorders committed by the Bashi-Bazouks, who had been armed by Samih Pasha the very last day of his tenure of office, is in the main correct, though somewhat exaggerated; and these disorders were reported in my despatch No. 14 of the 8th February, where I stated that between 500 and 600 Peabody rifles had been distributed indiscriminately among the mob. Besides the acts of violence committed by these men in the village of Galata, there were not wanting cases of Christians being robbed and beaten by them on the roads, the natural result being that many of them decamped to the mountain villages, as I there mentioned. With regard to the statement that they were forbidden to bring their furniture into town, the action of Samih Pasha had been very inconsistent in this respect. As far back as August last I stated (despatch No. 57 of the 23rd August):—"As soon as it become apparent that the Christians were abandoning their villages, the Vali gave orders for them to be stopped and sent back, while free ingress is permitted to the Moslems, the distinction thus made between the two classes of the Sultan's subjects causing painful surprise." I subsequently stated (despatch No. 60 of the 31st August) that his Excellency had removed the prohibition as regarded the Christians; but when the town had become thronged with fugitives, Samih Pasha gave a general order for no more families or their effects to enter. As the Moslem immigrants had already found shelter in the town and neighbourhood, this order affected the Christians only, and it was naturally said to be purposely directed against them.

The statement that Adossides Pasha, on his return from Fré, promised, on my representations, to disarm "this band of official bandits" is not quite correct. As I said in my despatch of the 8th ultimo, I immediately went to Adossides Pasha and begged him to put a stop to the further distribution of arms; and his Excellency called the Colonel of gendarmes and in my presence peremptorily forbade any more arms to be given out. I added, what my Greek colleague appears to have omitted to state, that the ringleaders of those guilty of committing these disorders were arrested, and a special Commission, presided over by his Excellency, was formed to try them. And again (despatch No. 18 of the 14th February), "while one of the Chiefs of these Moslem volunteers had behaved with ruffianly violence, it is but fair to state that another has gained the general good will and confidence by his justice and humanity." I may now add that the prisons are full of Mussulmans guilty of acts of violence towards the Christians, and who have been condemned by the special Commission. In despatch No. 14 of the 8th February I also said, "The total disarmament of these men the Vali hardly dares to attempt." Afterwards, indeed, his Excellency was prevailed upon to issue more arms, but I remarked to your Lordship that the Porte was to blame for leaving the Vali without a military colleague, whom these matters specially concerned.

M. Delyanni's despatch then refers to what had taken place in Rethymo, which agrees substantially with what I had reported in the postscript of my despatch No. 17 of the 11th ultimo and No. 18 of the 14th; and no doubt the effect of these

disgraceful scenes was, as stated by the Foreign Minister, to propagate the insurrectionary movement.

The recall of the garrison and Governor (Kaïmakam) of Sphakia I had the honour to report in my despatch No. 13 of the 8th ultimo.

The despatch then proceeds to speak of certain Chiefs displaying the Greek flag, and proclaiming the union of the island with Greece. The first case of the kind, that of Mavroyanni, in Kissamos, was reported in my despatch No. 12 of the 2nd ultimo, but I there stated that the demonstration fell flat. On the 11th of the same month (despatch No. 17) I stated that the Greek flag had again been unfurled in Kissamos, Selino, and other districts, whose delegates proceeded to vote for the annexation of Crete to Greece, in opposition to the wishes of the other delegates.

The despatch ends by calling attention to the statement of M. Logotheti (the Greek Consul) that the conduct of the armed Christian bands and of the Christians in general had been exemplary and marked by conciliatory and humane sentiments—a fact admitted by the influential Mussulmans, as well as by the Consuls. To the general truth of this statement I have frequently borne willing testimony, and have mentioned also that Samih Pasha acknowledges its truth. I beg, however, distinctly to record my disbelief in the case of mutilation mentioned as having been perpetrated on the body of a Christian by Turkish soldiers. I heard of it as a rumour, my Greek colleague being the first to tell me of it, but it never got beyond the stage of a rumour, nor have I met with any one else who professed to believe it, though I made several inquiries on the subject. The only authenticated case of mutilation that has come to my notice is that mentioned in my despatch No. 2 of the 7th January, where some Mussulmans had cut off the nose and ears of a Christian whom they had murdered in the district of Candia. No soldiers have been guilty of such acts.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

P.S. *March* 21.—In a conversation I have just had with my Greek colleague, in which I casually mentioned the story of the Christian alleged to have been mutilated by Turkish soldiers, he freely acknowledged that he had been misinformed, and that there was no foundation for it.

T. B. S.

No. 62.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 3.)

(No. 34. Political.)

My Lord, *Canea, Crete, March* 21, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the blockade-runner "Panhellenion" has made her fourth successful voyage, and landed ammunitions of war and provisions at Psari Forada, near Hierapetra, in the south-east of Crete. The Turkish naval authorities are unable to keep up the blockade of the island as formerly from want of coal, and the squadron lying in Suda Bay is condemned to inactivity on this account. The Turkish vessels on the station comprise the three iron-clads, "Orkhanié," "Assari Tefik," "Ijlalie," the wooden corvette "Beyrout," and the dispatch vessels "Ismail" and "Suria." The latter was sent yesterday in search of the Austrian mail steamer, which, after quitting this port on the 18th instant for Rethymo and Candia, had not been heard of, but she was obliged to return after a few hours' run with empty coal-bunkers. The mail boat was afterwards picked up at sea by the Eastern Telegraph Company's steamer, which had been laying down a cable, and towed into Candia. She had met with an accident to her machinery, and in consequence the mail will not be delivered in Syra till the 23rd instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

No. 63.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 35. Political.)

My Lord, *Canea, Crete, March 25, 1878.*

IT is just a month yesterday since the breaking out of the abortive insurrection, which lasted only four days, and which ceased by a mutual understanding between both belligerents. It suited neither party that the petty warfare should continue, for the authorities had but 10,000 troops in the whole island, and the insurgents were mainly dependent on the towns for their supplies of food. During the truce which had been agreed upon the Turks have received some 7,000 additional troops, drawn from their strongholds north of the Balkans, and the military authorities have pushed forward the narrow limits in which they had been confined by the insurgents by occupying the villages of Platania, Haghia, Marina, and Stalo, ten miles to the west of Canea. Their object in thus advancing their posts seems to have been to secure the means of grinding corn for the troops, as Platania possesses water-mills, the existing mills being no longer adequate to supply the increased demand for flour, since there cannot be fewer than 12,000 soldiers in this immediate neighbourhood, besides 500 zapticks and 3,000 volunteers, or Bashi-Bazouks. The latter distinguished themselves, as usual, by pillaging the villages thus occupied, in Stalo particularly, not only carrying away such portable furniture as they could lay their hands on, but completely wrecking the houses; nor did the presence of the regular soldiers have the effect of restraining their violence. What Costaki Pasha apprehended has repeatedly occurred, for his Excellency was from the beginning averse to putting arms in the hands of the local Mussulmans, but he saw himself forced to yield to the popular clamour which called for that step, for there was no General at that time of sufficient authority on whom he could rely for support. He expressed himself with the greatest indignation at this wanton destruction of the property of helpless Christians, who had taken no part in the insurrection; and he begins to see that it is beyond his power to restrain the native ferocity of these Mussulmans, whose hate towards the Christians is unrelenting. An energetic Commander could undoubtedly put a stop to such scenes, but it is evident that the Turkish officers generally tacitly approve them.

The ultimate pacification of the island is by these events being rendered increasingly difficult, and they are more to be regretted because the majority of the inhabitants are far from disposed to resort to arms, having all along rested their hopes on the European Powers intervening in their favour so far as to guarantee them an improved administration, union with Greece, or the forming of Crete into an autonomous Principality; however earnestly they desire one or other of these alternatives, they are hardly prepared to fight for should Europe recommend less radical changes. The physical disadvantages under which they labour largely influence their present humour, for the Cretans are no longer the high-spirited, well-fed insurgents of 1866, the younger generation of whom had had no experience of the miseries attendant on war, for now even the young men remember as children the fearful sufferings which only ten years ago they and their parents underwent in the struggle for independence, either as fugitives in the mountains, or as refugees on a foreign soil. They are now reduced to a state of extreme destitution, and it is distressing to witness the haggard faces and hollow cheeks of the poor wretches who come into town to beg for a morsel of bread, and who support life on wild roots and herbs. This is not the material from which to recruit volunteers for any cause, for the several chiefs cannot afford to feed, from the resources they receive from Greece, more than the few hundreds who already rally round each of them. However disaffected the Cretan Christians are towards the Ottoman Government, their one thought now is to find the means for satisfying the cravings of hunger, and this must continue to preoccupy them till they begin to reap their crops in the end of May. Meanwhile vessels continue to land arms and provisions on different parts of the coast. Three such cargoes have been landed in Kissamos and Sphakia within the last three days, and the biscuits thus brought are more welcome than the arms. There is no attempt now of keeping up the blockade, the Turkish cruizers being short of coal.

The General Assembly sitting at Fré, in Apokorona, appears to be regaining the authority which had been set at naught by the chiefs when they opened hostilities. They have elected four notables to proceed to Berlin, where it is expected the Congress will meet, with the avowed object of reminding the members of that august Assembly of the claims of the Cretans.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

No. 64.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 36. Political.)

My Lord, *Canea, Crete, March 26, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that yesterday morning three battalions of troops were marched into the district of Alikianee, which begins about ten miles to the west and south-west of this town and extends to Kissamos and Selino. Costaki Pasha told me, in a conversation I had with his Excellency yesterday, that this step was decided on in consequence of a petition signed by sixty of the principal inhabitants of that district requesting that troops might be sent for their protection, as they were opposed to the idea of insurrection, which only the presence in their midst of the Chiefs come from Greece kept alive. Osman Nouri Pasha having received instructions when he left Constantinople gradually to extend the limits of the territory acknowledging the authority of the Porte, the opportunity seemed a fair one for carrying them out.

The sending of the petition to the Pasha has produced vehement indignation among the Chiefs, who, as is usual with them, have addressed a letter to the Consuls declaring that the petition had been got up by a few persons of no repute; that all the principal people had refused to sign it, and that some of their signatures had been forged. The probability is that they had signed it, but that they were afraid to acknowledge that they had initiated the movement. I incline to this belief because I am convinced that the people generally, as I have repeatedly stated, are averse from courting the risks and sufferings incident to insurrection, and prefer to gain their ends by peaceful methods.

It is yet too soon to learn how the soldiers have been received by the peaceable inhabitants of the districts to be occupied, and whether the Chiefs meditate opposition. The disgraceful destruction of Stalos, mentioned in my last despatch, is not an event calculated to reassure a timid population. The Vali, to whom I communicated my misgivings as to the doings of the volunteers, declared that on his representations Osman Pasha had forbidden any of them to accompany the expedition, and he added that he hoped by degrees to disarm the greater number of them.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

No. 65.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 371.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, March 29, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship copy of a Circular, as published by the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg," which has been addressed by the Roumanian Government to the European Powers, on the subject of the retrocession to Russia of Bessarabian territory ceded in 1856.

I also annex a commentary on this document published under official inspiration by the same journal.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 65.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of March 17/29, 1878.

ROUMANIE.—Voici le texte de la Circulaire du Gouvernement Roumain, qui nous avait été signalée par le télégraphe et dont nous parlons plus haut :—

Plusieurs actes diplomatiques et même des ouvertures directes et officielles ont révélé au Gouvernement Roumain le projet du Gouvernement Impérial de Russie de revendiquer les districts qui portent le nom de Bessarabie Roumaine. A titre de compensation, la Dobroudja serait annexée à la Roumanie.

Le Cabinet de Bucharest, fidèle interprète des sentiments unanimes de la nation, doit au pays et se doit à lui-même de se prononcer énergiquement contre cet échange, dont la répudiation se fonde sur les raisons suivantes.

La rectification de frontières en Bessarabie stipulée par le Traité de 1856, et le retour à la principauté de Moldavie d'une portion de son ancien territoire sur la rive gauche du Danube, avaient pour but la satisfaction d'un double intérêt, d'ordre public Européen :—

1. Assurer la libre navigation d'un fleuve qui forme la principale artère commerciale de l'Europe central, en confiant la garde de ses embouchures à un pays d'importance secondaire, dont la constante déférence aux intentions des Puissances était par là même certaine ;

2. Mettre les Principautés Roumaines, grâce à la restitution partielle d'une province qui leur avait anciennement appartenu, en mesure de remplir, selon les exigences de la topographie et les nécessités économiques, la mission qui leur était dévolue, du consentement et au profit de l'Europe entière.

L'heureuse transformation des Principautés et la prospérité toujours grandissante du commerce Danubien depuis 1856 témoignent de l'efficacité des dispositions concertées à cette époque.

Quelques détails mettront en lumière l'exactitude de ces affirmations.

L'histoire montre que l'activité commerciale des peuples riverains du Danube s'est ralentie ou s'est développée en proportion directe de l'accroissement ou de la diminution de leur contact immédiat avec le fleuve.

Les Traités de 1812 et de 1829 avaient livré à la Russie d'abord le territoire Moldave d'au delà du Pruth, puis le delta tout entier du Danube. Il est vrai que des réserves expresses stipulaient en faveur des nations riveraines la libre navigation du fleuve et que la neutralisation des parages voisins des embouchures résultait pratiquement de certaines interdictions édictées par ces Traités. Cependant le mouvement du commerce sur le bas Danube, comme frappé de torpeur, devint timide à l'excès. Il ne reprit l'énergie de son expansion et la liberté de son essor qu'après le Traité de 1856.

L'examen attentif de l'influence exercée par l'extension ou l'amoindrissement du territoire des Principautés Danubiennes, non-seulement sur leur état économique individuel, mais aussi sur l'ensemble du trafic Européen par le Danube, permet de constater les revirements soudains, les brusques fluctuations amenées par les changements de domination sur la rive gauche du fleuve. Ainsi la Moldavie est tombée dans le plus triste affaissement par suite de la perte de la Bessarabie en 1812, tandis qu'en 1830 la Valachie a retiré de la récupération des villes et territoires de Braïla, Giurgevo et Turno les plus précieux avantages.

La possession normale et sans entraves de la rive gauche du fleuve, depuis les Portes de Fer jusqu'à son embouchure, non pas avec des bandes de terrain d'apparence spécieuse et de réalité précaire, mais avec les districts qui donnent à cette possession sa valeur utile, a toujours eu comme corollaire presque mathématique pour la Roumanie un élan rapide de son commerce, de son industrie et de sa culture.

Au contraire, quand les territoires riverains ont été distraits de leur domination, les Principautés ont éprouvé des perturbations profondes, non moins funestes à leurs propres intérêts qu'aux intérêts connexes de l'Europe.

Aussi les divers Gouvernements Roumains, tour à tour bénéficiaires ou victimes des modifications accomplies, ont-ils témoigné leur plus vive gratitude envers les Puissances, quand les instruments politiques, généraux ou isolés, relatifs à l'affranchissement et à l'intégrité du sol Roumain, assuraient sa prospérité, ou se sont-ils sentis douloureusement atteints, lorsqu'ils voyaient morceler une propriété dont la légitimité reposait sur le droit historique et sur le droit naturel.

C'est ainsi que le Protocole du 6 Janvier 1857—qui, réduisant les bienfaits de l'œuvre de 1870, a soustrait à Moldavie le delta du Danube pour l'annexer à l'Empire Ottoman—a soulevé les justes plaintes des Roumains.

Ce Protocole lésait gravement les intérêts locaux et de plus annihilait les effets salutaires du principe logique qui s'était proposé de garantir la neutralité du Bas-Danube en conférant aux Principautés Roumaines la garde de ce débouché du commerce Européen.

Depuis lors jusqu'à ce jour la Roumanie a périodiquement renouvelé ses réclamations

à ce sujet, le déni persistant auquel elle s'est toujours heurtée a été une des causes principales des derniers événements survenus entre la Principauté Roumaine et la Turquie.

La Russie, à qui la Valachie reconnaissante doit la suppression des forteresses Turques de la rive gauche, a pu apprécier, depuis le Traité d'Ackermann, quelles étaient pour les Principautés les conditions les plus propices d'existence et de développement, et quelle importance capitale présentait pour elles la libre possession des rives du Danube.

Cet acte d'équité et de prudence politique, précurseur des idées qui ont sans doute inspiré les Signataires du Traité de Paris, a remédié en partie au malaise où languissaient les Principautés, depuis que les armées Ottomanes s'étaient installées à demeure dans les forteresses Valaques du Danube, et depuis que la Bessarabie fut tout à coup et pour la première fois détachée de la Moldavie en 1812.

Il est juste de convenir que depuis lors les Traités d'Ackermann, d'Andrinople, et de Paris ont amélioré en partie la situation des Principautés et ont marqué successivement pour elles des étapes mémorables dans la voie de la civilisation et du progrès. Aussi la Roumanie, instruite par sa laborieuse expérience et par la bienfaisante générosité de l'Europe, attache-t-elle un prix éminent au maintien de ses frontières actuelles, que rendrait complètes et normales la restitution du delta du Danube.

L'échange présentement offert serait essentiellement préjudiciable à la Principauté.

Il suffit en effet d'examiner la configuration des lieux pour se convaincre que la perte de la rive Bessarabienne rendrait pénible et onéreux au Gouvernement Roumain le maintien sous sa dépendence de la Dobroudja, qu'un large fleuve sépare du corps du pays, et avec laquelle l'autorité centrale n'aurait d'autres communications que les marais impraticables situés en aval de Calarasi et jusqu'à Braïla.

A n'envisager donc que cette face de la question, à ne consulter, en dehors de toute autre considération d'histoire, de droit et de politique générale, que les intérêts matériels, économiques et administratifs du pays, il appert que l'abandon de la Bessarabie Roumaine entraînerait pour toute la Roumanie les plus fâcheux résultats, puisque l'acquisition de la Dobroudja ne serait plus, dès la perte de la rive gauche du Danube, véritable et seule clef de la rive correspondante, qu'un embarras, une charge et peut-être un danger à titre permanent.

Est-il vrai que le déplacement de la Roumanie sur la portion terminale du Danube inaugurerait au profit de la Roumanie une ère plus belle, en lui remettant la garde exclusive des bouches du fleuve, dont le caractère de neutralité absolue serait à nouveau et rigoureusement confirmé ?

Une faveur aussi restreinte, une garantie pour la neutralisation du Danube organisée dans de telles conditions ne seraient qu'illusoires, car il est manifeste que la possession de la rive gauche entre Reni et Ismaïl, à l'endroit où la ramification n'est pas encore commencée, met la circulation du fleuve à l'entière discrétion de toute Grande Puissance militaire établie sur cette rive.

N'est-ce pas là le motif de sagace circonspection qui a déterminé l'Europe à réviser et à rectifier en 1857 le premier travail de la Commission Internationale chargée, en vertu du Traité de 1856, de fixer les nouvelles limites entre la Moldavie et la Bessarabie Russe ? N'est-ce pas afin de fermer toute communication avec le Danube par le Lac de Yalpuk, que la décision des Puissances a attribué à la Roumanie Bolgrad et Tabak ?

La modification actuellement projetée et proposée destituerait donc la Roumanie des moyens d'action rigoureusement indispensables tant à son développement matériel qu'à l'accomplissement régulier de la mission d'ordre public qui lui a été réservé.

Il y aurait là tout le moins imprudence de la part du Gouvernement Roumain à devenir maître des bouches du Danube, et à assumer la responsabilité de leur garde, sans avoir comme base la rive Bessarabienne, dont la domination légitime lui permettrait seule de défendre avec efficacité les annexes dont la possession lui reviendrait.

La prévision, trop justifiée par l'étude impartiale du passé, d'un ralentissement certain dans le mouvement du commerce Danubien est, aux yeux de la Roumanie, une menace trop redoutable pour que tous ses efforts ne tendent pas à la dissiper. Détruire ou compromettre la sécurité de la libre circulation du fleuve, c'est paralyser ou enrayer le développement progressif de l'Etat Roumain. Les données éloquentes de la statistique et les notions irrécusables de la topographie concourent à démontrer la justesse de cette assertion.

A côté de ces arguments purement économiques se placent des considérations majeures d'ordre politique.

La perte de Bessarabie, après les sacrifices de sang et d'argent en retour desquels

la Roumanie espérait une meilleure récompense, la perte de la Bessarabie, au lendemain de la proclamation de l'indépendance, produirait dans le pays une commotion dont les suites pourraient devenir désastreuses. Il appartient à l'Europe, si soucieuse de rendre stable une paix appelée par les vœux et les besoins de tous, d'écarter le péril de nouveaux troubles en Orient.

Tel est l'aspect de la question que le Gouvernement Roumain tient surtout à signaler à la bienveillante attention et à la perspicacité éclairée des Cabinets Européens.

Son plus cher désir est de conserver loyalement et de remplir dignement le poste d'honneur qui lui a été assigné à l'embouchure du grand canal par lequel s'effectue le commerce de l'Europe Centrale avec l'Orient.

C'est donc un devoir impérieux pour le Cabinet de Bucharest de déclarer aux Puissances qui en 1856 ont eu foi dans la nation Roumaine que, dans la position nouvelle récemment créée à la Roumanie par ses vaillants sacrifices, la possession de la Bessarabie et du delta Danubien peut seule consolider la Principauté dans son indépendence. Par là serait assuré un succès réel à l'accomplissement de la mission qui lui a été confiée dès 1856 par la prévoyante libéralité de l'Europe, à savoir la garde énergique et fidèle de la libre navigation du Bas Danube.

Bucharest, le $\frac{26 \text{ Février}}{9 \text{ Mars}}$, 1878.

On trouvera plus loin la Circulaire du Gouvernement Roumain que le télégraphe nous avait signalée. Nous la reproduisons comme un document démontrant à quel point l'esprit de parti, quand il se déchaîne dans une nation peu mûre, arrive à troubler le jugement et à obscurcir l'intelligence.

Il serait oiseux de réfuter ces aberrations—ce serait les prendre trop au sérieux. Nous nous bornerons à rappeler aux Roumains, puisqu'ils l'oublient:

1. Que la partie de la Bessarabie enlevée à la Russie en 1856 n'a pas été cédée à la Roumanie, qui n'existait pas, ni même aux Principautés-Unies, mais à la Moldavie, et cela, non en vertu d'un titre ou d'un droit quelconque, mais simplement parce que c'était le voisin le plus insignifiant et le plus inoffensif de ce territoire, dont on avait surtout en vue d'éloigner la Russie.

2. Que le Traité de 1856, en vertu duquel ce territoire a été attribué à la Moldavie et qui est son seul titre de possession, a été violé à tour de rôle par tous ceux qu'il concernait: par la Moldavie, qui s'est réunie à la Valachie malgré ses stipulations; par les Principautés-Unies, qui ont appelé un Prince étranger; par la Roumanie, qui vient de faire la guerre à la Turquie et de proclamer son indépendance; par la Turquie, qui a manqué à tous les engagements qu'elle avait pris pour l'amélioration du sort de ses populations Chrétiennes; par la France, qui est intervenue dans les affaires de Syrie et a occupé militairement cette province pendant un an, et enfin par l'Angleterre, qui, sans être en guerre, ni appelée par le Sultan, a violé le passage des Dardanelles et se promène encore à l'heure qu'il est dans la Mer de Marmara. Par conséquent le titre légal au nom duquel la Moldavie avait reçu ce territoire n'existant plus, le droit à la possession cesse de lui-même.

3. Que le but pour lequel en 1856 les Puissances avaient exigé de la Russie l'abandon de ce territoire, c'est-à-dire assurer la liberté de la navigation du Danube, n'existe pas d'avantage, la liberté de la navigation du Danube étant aujourd'hui pleinement reconnue et garantie par la Commission Internationale investie de tous les pouvoirs, de tous les droits, et de tous les moyens matériels nécessaires pour que la libre navigation du fleuve soit désormais à l'abri de toute atteinte; que par conséquent l'Europe n'a plus aucun intérêt à maintenir ou renouveler une chause qui ne serait plus justifiée par une nécessité d'intérêt général.

4. Que quant à la prétention du Gouvernement Roumain, que le développement de la navigation et du commerce sur le Bas-Danube serait dû au fait de la cession de la rive Bessarabienne à la Moldavie, c'est une de ces excentricités qui dépassent la mesure de ce qui est permis dans une discussion sérieuse. Ce développement a été une conséquence naturelle du déblaiement des embouchures du fleuve; or, ce déblaiement a été accompli par les travaux de la Commission Européenne et par les millions qui ont été mis à sa disposition sous la garantie des Puissances Européennes.

On ne s'aperçoit guère de ce que la Roumanie a eu à voir dans cette affaire, ni à quel titre elle s'attribue la mission de gardienne des intérêts Européens sur le Danube. L'Europe a si peu eu cette pensée qu'elle a enlevé à la Moldavie pour l'annexer à la Turquie en 1857 le delta du fleuve qui lui avait été donné en 1856, c'est-à-dire la plus grande partie du territoire riverain des bouches du Danube qu'on enlevait à la Russie.

5. Enfin que sans méconnaître l'assistance que l'armée Roumaine a prêtée à l'armée Russe pendant la guerre, il faut cependant éviter les exagérations patriotiques et ramener les choses à leur valeur réelle. Quand la guerre entre la Russie et la Turquie devint inévitable, la Roumanie n'avait que trois partis à prendre: proclamer sa neutralité et la faire garantir par l'Europe, marcher comme vassale Turque avec son suzerain, ou se joindre à la Russie.

Le Gouvernement Roumain essaya d'abord la première de ces combinaisons, sans aucun égard pour la cause générale des Chrétiens d'Orient que la Russie allait défendre. Elle ne réussit pas. L'Europe, qui renonçait aux garanties du Traité du $\frac{18}{30}$ Mars et à celles particulières du 15 Avril, 1856, n'était pas disposée à faire la guerre pour défendre la neutralité Roumaine.

Marcher avec les Turcs contre la Russie, en se faisant payer le prix de son concours, aurait eu l'inconvénient de mettre la Roumanie entre deux feux et d'en faire le champ de bataille des deux belligérants. Or, les probabilités n'étant pas en faveur d'une victoire définitive des Turcs, la Roumanie aurait payé tous les frais de la guerre. On comprend qu'elle ait reculé devant cette perspective.

No. 66.

Consul-General Stanley to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 3.)

(No. 19. Decypher.)

My Lord, *Odessa, March* 29, 1878.

CHIEF of Staff here stated to-day that, in case of war with England, Tchernaieff would be sent to Central Asia, and would endeavour to stir up a hostile feeling against England, especially in Afghanistan, and incite disaffection in India.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

No. 67.

M. Millios and others to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 3.)

My Lord, *Athens, March* $\frac{14}{26}$, 1878.

IN sight of the general and unanimous enthusiasm prevailing among all Greek populations for noble and magnanimous England, the undersigned Representatives of the Epirotes, residing in Athens, feel it their earnest duty to express to you, my Lord, and through you to Her Britannic Majesty's Government, and to the whole representation of the British nation, their fellow countrymen's deep and inalterable gratefulness for the kind sentiments shown by them in the behalf of rights of an oppressed people, who never ceased to found her best and most sanguine hopes on a nation eminently Christian and liberal, and who never doubted that, in the case of a European crisis, Greece, whose past and future are intimately connected with European civilization, could not have a more sincere protector and ally than the powerful nation, who is able and knows to protect such civilization whencesoever it may be threatened.

But the populations of Epirus in the present momentous time, when the most horrible scenes of devastation, of massacre, of violence and dishonour, of enslavement are repeated in that unfortunate and blood-knotted land, these populations, we say, are the more eager to express to the humane Government of generous England, their deep gratitude for the salvation of numerous and helpless creatures of women and children, and old men, seeking on desert shores an escape from knives of their bloody oppressors, as delaying or failing to do so, they would be liable to ungratefulness which has always been unknown to Greek hearts.

Wherefore the Epirotic Committee in expressing its own deep and respectful thankfulness, begs to add that when that unfortunate Greek populations are protected by such Government of such a great nation, their future can be viewed without any anxiety.

(Signed) S. MILLIOS, *President.*
(And 9 others.)

No. 68.

Mr. Adams to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 302. Secret.)

My Lord, *Paris, March 31, 1878.*

M. WADDINGTON wrote to me yesterday that he wished to see me on a matter of some importance, and I called upon his Excellency in the afternoon.

He said that he had been much disturbed by a letter from the French Ambassador at Berlin, stating that Lord Odo Russell had received a telegram on the 20th which purported to come from me, and which his Lordship had communicated to the German Emperor, to Prince Bismarck, and to other persons.

The substance of this telegram from me, according to M. de St. Vallier, was that the sympathies and wishes of France were entirely with England, and that M. Waddington only regretted that France could not now defend actively with England the cause of European public right and of international Treaties; that, unfortunately, France was obliged, for the moment, to confine herself to moral support, but that she gave such support thoroughly, and did not bind herself as to any action she might take in the future.

M. Waddington said that this communication had made some stir in Berlin, according to M. de St. Vallier, and that he certainly had never held such language to me, nor in any way promised active support on the part of France.

I assured his Excellency in reply that there must be some mistake in the matter; that, for my part, I had certainly never reported such language to Her Majesty's Government as coming from his mouth. In corroboration of this I recounted to him the substance of my Secret despatch No. 293 of the 28th instant, which recorded his views expressed to me on the previous day, and his Excellency declared without hesitation that I had given a most faithful account of what had passed.

M. Waddington begged me to telegraph to your Lordship the substance of our conversation of to-day, and he said he would, on his side, telegraph to M. de St. Villier. He concluded by repeating that the policy of France remains unchanged, and that she will not, indeed cannot, give active support to any other country, or join in any war; that he certainly does not approve all the clauses in the Treaty of San Stefano, and that he still desires a Congress, as the best chance of bringing the present crisis to a satisfactory conclusion.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

No. 69.

Memorandum respecting Russian Oppression at Philippopoli.—(Communicated to the Marquis of Salisbury by M. Gennadius, April 3.)

THE Mussulmans who have taken refuge in Philippopolis have been transported by the police authorities to the opposite side of the town, where they most assuredly will all perish from hunger and other hardships.

Hadji Sampan-Aga, not having yet left the town, was called upon to give bail that he would not leave, on the plea that there were several charges against him. He did not hesitate to do so, but Messrs. Takelas and Venthilos, Greeks, who went bail for him, were insulted by the Chief of Police, and were set down as philo-Turks.

The same official, upon the orders of the Governor, forced the Mayoralty to give a ball on Sunday next, the anniversary of the accession to the throne of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia. Every householder is expected to display on that day a Russian flag and to illuminate, else his house will be occupied as an hospital.

A few days ago the police ordered that all wine-shops should be closed by 9 P.M. The publicans all obeyed, but it appears that this did not suit the police authorities, for they were thus deprived of fines, and they adopted other means. They ordered the publicans to open their doors to police constables. This injunction was also obeyed; but in the wake of those who first knocked, others followed, who remarked that the publicans were to pay a fine for opening their doors to constables of other quarters of the town than their own. The next morning the Police Magistrate condemned some to a fine of 5*l.*, and some to fifty lashes. Most of those so treated are Greeks, and of these two are Hellenic subjects.

This is but one instance of the oppression which is gradually developing, and which causes general despair; the more so as the Russian authorities will not recognize the Consular authorities.

A fresh census is being taken by the Russians, this being the third since their entrance. The explanation is the difficulty they find themselves in by the fact that Philippopolis is mainly, if not solely, a Greek town; therefore they endeavour to force more and more Greeks in each successive census, and by all manner of oppression, to declare themselves as Bulgarians.

No. 70.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 347.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 2, 1878.*

REPORT from Athens that "Times'" correspondent at Volo has been killed; nothing known of circumstances here. Porte has telegraphed for information. Strong complaints had been made to me against this gentleman, who was alleged to be aiding the insurgents, and he was warned of the danger he was running by going about from village to village. Hobart Pasha had written to me about his proceedings, stating that he was in communication with Athens.

Urgent instructions have been (sent to) all military authorities in Thessaly to prevent all pillaging and ill-treating of non-combatants. There is reason to believe that there is much exaggeration by Greek Agents.

No. 71.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 97.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April 2, 1878.*

THE information contained in my despatch No. 239 was not given to me confidentially, and I see no reason against saying that I received it from the Roumanian Agent.

The "Morning Post," of a day or two earlier date than my despatch, reported the language used by Prince Gortchakow almost in the same words.

No. 72.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 3.)

(Telegraphic.) *Bucharest, April 2, 1878.*

AUSTRIAN railways have ordered the return of their rolling-stock from all the Roumanian lines.

No. 73.

Lord Odo Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 21.)

(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, April 3, 1878.*

I HAVE read your Lordship's Circular of the 1st instant to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and given his Excellency a copy of it.

In thanking your Lordship for this communication, his Excellency said that he would submit it to the Emperor and to the Chancellor as soon as possible.

No. 74.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 98. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, April 3, 1878.

I WOULD submit to your Lordship's consideration whether the inquiry of the Austrian Ambassador at Constantinople, reported in Mr. Layard's telegram of yesterday, respecting the support that would be given by the Porte to Austrian interests in return for support given to those of Turkey, may not have connection with the question of the acquisition of Bosnia by Austria.

It is stated that at the commencement of the war, the Porte offered that province to the Austrian Government if they would support it in resisting Russia, and it appears not impossible that Count Andrassy may wish to provoke a renewal of the offer.

If this is so, I would strongly recommend compliance.

Bosnia will henceforth be of no financial or material benefit to Turkey, who may perhaps be even obliged to cede it without any direct advantage.

If the Porte, by voluntarily offering it to Austria, can secure co-operation of this Power in resisting the proposals of Russia which threaten the more vital interests of Turkey, the sacrifice would, in my opinion, be cheap.

I shall endeavour to ascertain the views of the Austrian Government as far as is possible, without dropping a hint that I am acquainted with what passed between Count Zichy and the Sultan.

No. 75.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 348.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, April 3, 1878.

WITH reference to telegram of yesterday, Captain of "Ruby" informs Admiral that a telegram stated to have been sent by Acting Vice-Consul at Volo, reporting massacres, which led to ship being dispatched there, was a forgery, probably by Greek agents; that the stories of massacres are greatly exaggerated; that Greek brigands as well as Turkish irregulars are committing excesses; and that Turkish authorities are doing their best to protect and remove fugitives. Greek agents are doing their utmost to drive populations into insurrection, and are the cause of disorder which is taking place. I have urged in the strongest terms upon the Porte to prevent outrages being committed, and most stringent orders have been sent to that effect. Moreover, Hobart Pasha, who is at Volo, is doing his best to protect the populations, but it is only the Greek Government that can put an end to the state of things of which it complains. I send home to-day copy of Report of Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Ruby."

No. 76.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 3.)

(Telegraphic.)

Bucharest, April 3, 1878.

ROUMANIAN Agent at Paris is going to London. This Government hopes that he will meet with a favourable reception by your Lordship.

No. 77.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 3, 3:30 P.M.)

(No. 20. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Rome, April 3, 1878, 1·45 P.M.

THE Italian Ambassador at Vienna has telegraphed that (General Ignatieff?) having failed to come to an understanding with Austrian Government, he believes Count Andrassy intends to make a further effort to secure the meeting of Congress.

General Menabrea has telegraphed substance of your Lordship's Circular (not yet received by me), and it has produced the best impression here. Count Corti has little confidence in success of further efforts to bring about Congress, but he will desire M. Nigra to inform Prince Gortchakow confidentially that in the opinion of the Italian Government the whole Treaty ought to be submitted for discussion.

No. 78.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Taylour Thomson.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 3, 1878, 2 P.M.

WITH reference to your telegram of the 2nd instant, there is no reason why you should defer your leave.

No. 79.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Vivian.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 3, 1878, 7·30 P.M.

I HAVE to instruct you to convey to the Viceroy of Egypt the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for his friendly assurances, as reported in your telegram of the 2nd instant.

No. 80.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. .)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 3, 1878, 7·30 P.M.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 343 of the 1st, I have urged upon Greek Chargé d'Affaires the great impolicy of assisting in enterprises which are acts of war on Turkey; and have pointed out that a war between the two Powers might facilitate extension of Selav dominion. It is very important you should, as far as possible, induce Porte to prevent the outrages on which this countenance from Greek Government is defended. If Porte shows any inclination to send fleet to Athens, discourage to the utmost of your power and let me know immediately.

No. 81.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 3, 1878, 7·45 P.M.

IN reply to your telegram of this day, you may tell the Roumanian Government that I shall be very glad to see the Roumanian Agent. Her Majesty's Government had already been in communication with him through Her Majesty's Embassy at Paris as to his coming to London.

No. 82.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 3, 1878, 8 P.M.

IN reply to your telegram No. 343 of the 1st instant, which was also sent to Athens, Mr. Wyndham reports that he has communicated to the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs the views entertained by the Porte relative to the insurrection, which they state is being encouraged by the Greek Government in Thessaly and Epirus.

No. 83.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

No. 197.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, April 3, 1878.*

I APPROVE your having stated to the Emperor, as reported in your despatch No. 232, marked "Secret," of the 28th ultimo, that it rested with His Majesty to promote a policy of conciliation and peace by exerting his influence to induce the Emperor of Russia to accept the demands of Great Britain in regard to the Treaty of San Stefano.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 84.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield.

(No. 18.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 3, 1878.*

I HAVE received your telegram of this morning, informing me that the Roumanian Agent at Paris is about to visit London, and with reference to the hope expressed by the Roumanian Government that he will meet with a favourable reception from Her Majesty's Government, I authorize you to say to the Minister for Foreign Affairs that I shall be very glad to see M. Callimaki Catargi.

Her Majesty's Government have already been in communication with him as to his proposed visit to this country through Her Majesty's Embassy at Paris.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 85.

Consul Carruthers to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 4.)

(No. 2. Political.)
My Lord, *Tuyanroy, March 26, 1878.*

I HAVE been informed, from reliable sources of information, that fifteen regiments of Don Cossacks of the 3rd series or division, have been ordered to make all necessary arrangements for taking the field when called upon. It is stated that, should this force be employed in active service, all the able-bodied male population of the Don Cossack territory, between the age of 21 and 40, will have been enrolled.

Conscripts for artillery drill are continuously arriving at this place and being sent forward in succession, after they have undergone a certain amount of training. Reports are prevalent that forty new batteries of field artillery are under formation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. P. CARRUTHERS.

No. 86.

Consul Sanderson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 4.)

(No. 28. Political.)
My Lord, *Galatz, March 29, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, and which I forwarded by an English steamer leaving Galatz early this morning.

I am also forwarding by another steamer copies of my despatches addressed to your Lordship Nos. 22 to 27, Political, inclusive.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PERCY SANDERSON.

Inclosure in No. 86.

Consul Sanderson to Mr. Layard.

(Confidential.)
Sir, *Galatz, March 28, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that Greek subjects are being sent from Galatz and Ibraila to take part in the insurrection in Epirus. Up to the present about thirty-five have been sent down by different vessels, the arrangements for their passage being made through the Greek Consulate at Galatz, and the money being found by subscription among the Greek merchants. The "Euterpe," a vessel belonging to M. Lambrinidi, is expected shortly, and will probably take as many as she can accommodate.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PERCY SANDERSON.

No. 87.

Consul Sanderson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 4.)

(No. 29. Political.)
My Lord, *Galatz, March 30, 1878.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 27, Political, of the 28th instant on the subject of military movements, I have the honour to report that the Russian gun-boat "Utka" (not "Vudka" as the name was erroneously given in my despatch No. 26 Political) left Galatz last night proceeding up the river, and the "Stefan ul Mare" arrived the same evening and remains here for the present.

In addition to the Russian troops that have passed through Galatz, I am informed that about 1,500 men have crossed from Toultcha into Bessarabia, making the Russian force there from 5,000 to 6,000 men, and that the whole of the villages on the lines of the Pruth and the Danube are being gradually occupied by small bodies of Russian troops. The Roumanian civil authorities have not been interfered with.

It is reported here that exports from Toultcha and Kustendji have been forbidden.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PERCY SANDERSON.

P.S.—A copy of this despatch has been forwarded to Constantinople.

No. 88.

Mr. Adams to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 4.)

(No. 310.)
My Lord, *Paris, April 3, 1878.*

I HAD the honour yesterday to receive your Lordship's despatch of the 1st instant, requesting me, by the Queen's commands, to explain to the French Government the course which Her Majesty's Government have thought it their duty to pursue in reference to the Preliminaries of Peace concluded between the Ottoman and Russian Governments, and to the European Congress which it has been proposed to hold for the examination of the Treaty.

In accordance with your Lordship's instructions, I have read this despatch to M. Waddington, and have placed a copy of it in his Excellency's hands.

His Excellency thanked me for this communication.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

No. 89.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 4.)

(No. 349.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 3, 1878.*

NOURI AGA, referred to in Lord Derby's despatch No. 353, has been arrested and imprisoned here.

No. 90.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 4.)

(No. 100.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April 3, 1878.*

ROUMANIAN Agent here has communicated to me a telegram from the Roumanian Agent at St. Petersburgh, of which following is the substance:—

"Prince Gortchakow sent for me this morning. As soon as I entered he said: Is it true that your Government intends to protest against VIIIth Article of Treaty, which provides for a communication of the army of Bulgaria with Russia through Roumania? The Emperor, already ill-disposed towards you by your attitude about Bessarabia, would lose all patience if such a declaration is made, and His Majesty orders me to tell you, for the information of your Government, that if you have the intention of protesting or opposing the Article in question, he will order the occupation of Roumania, and the disarmament of the Roumanian army. Upon my observing that it was with Roumania and not with Turkey that Russia should concert for passage of her army through the Principality, Prince Gortchakow said: We did not choose to have anything more to do with you on account of your conduct. It is important you should know that we insist upon free passage through your country, and that you should inform your Government of the declaration of the Emperor. Your Government must explain themselves categorically. Do they, or do they not, intend to protest and oppose themselves to the right we have reserved ourselves under this Article?"

There will be no objection to publication of this telegram, but the publication must not be stated as being authorized by Roumanian Agent, who has also informed me that, in spite of the threat, the protest against the Article had been handed to-day to Count Andrassy.

No. 91.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 4.)

(No. 101. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April 3, 1878.*

WITH reference to my previous telegram, Roumanian Agent informed me confidentially that Prince Charles had instructed his Agent at St. Petersburgh to inform Prince Gortchakow that, notwithstanding the declaration of the Emperor, he must protest against the VIIIth Article of the Treaty, and that he would not suffer his army to be disarmed. It would resist, though it might be crushed.

No. 92.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Elliot.

(Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 4, 1878.*

WITH reference to your telegram No. 98 of the 3rd instant, Her Majesty's Government on the whole think it better not to give any instructions to Mr. Layard with regard to the cession of Bosnia to Austria. There would be no propriety in expressing an opinion unless asked for it, and they would place themselves in a false position by either advising or dissuading Turkey on the point.

No. 93.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 4.)

(No. 79.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April 4, 1878.*

GENERAL IGNATIEFF returned here Tuesday evening from Vienna. From what I can learn, his mission has not succeeded, although in conversation yesterday he told me that he was satisfied with result, but did not expect to have to return to Vienna.

It is certain that the opinions of the two Governments in regard to Treaty are widely divergent.

No. 94.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 4, 1878, 8 P.M.*

MUSURUS PASHA has protested against the hostile incursions of the Greek population into Thessaly.

I have informed him that I have already pointed out to the Greek Chargé d'Affaires in London the impolicy of Greece countenancing acts of war against Turkey, and that I would reiterate the advice. At the same time I warned his Excellency of the necessity of restraining the Turkish troops from outrages such as had recently been committed against the population of the Greek provinces.

No. 95.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Wyndham.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 4, 1878, 8·5 P.M.*

I HAVE strongly urged the Greek Chargé d'Affaires in London to induce the Greek Government to abstain from acts which Turkey had a right to consider as acts of war; and I pointed out that a war between Turkey and Greece, into which Turkey might be led by bad advisers, would seriously embarrass at this moment the policy which Her Majesty's Government is pursuing, and might hinder the efforts they are making on behalf of the Greek race.

No. 96.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 443. Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 4, 1878.*

YOUR despatch No. 378, Very Confidential, of the 20th ultimo has been received and laid before the Queen, and I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government approve the answer which your Excellency returned to the Sultan's inquiry on the subject of the demand made by the Grand Duke Nicholas for a public audience of His Majesty.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 97.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

(No. 198.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, April 4, 1878.*

COUNT MÜNSTER sounded me to-day with the view of eliciting my opinion on a scheme for establishing the Congress on the following basis:—

That no mention should be made of the Treaty of San Stefano in the bases laid

down for its deliberations, but that its object should be held to be simply the revision of the Treaty of Paris.

I did not give any encouragement to this idea, pointing out that a vague base of the kind suggested by his Excellency would give no guarantee that the Powers would start from points of view sufficiently similar to afford a hope of even an elementary agreement. I indicated the opinion that if a Congress were to meet it would probably meet more usefully at a later period, when the way to it should have been smoothed by a preliminary exchange of ideas.

It seemed to be doubtful whether such an exchange of ideas could at this moment take place usefully between England and Russia directly; but there might be more advantage in communications carried on through some third impartial Power, such as Germany.

Count Münster expressed his general concurrence in this view, adding that the German Government would be very averse to holding a Congress at Berlin if it were likely to end in failure.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 98.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 262.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, April 4, 1878.*

COUNT SCHOUVALOFF called yesterday at the Foreign Office and spoke to me on the subject of the Circular despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives abroad, of the 1st instant, relative to the Treaty of San Stefano, and to the proposed Congress.

His Excellency observed that if it was to be understood from the Circular that England intended to negative the Treaty as a whole, then the Circular must be regarded as an instrument of war; but that if it was only intended to point out the object with which certain modifications should be introduced into the Treaty, then it was an instrument of peace.

I assured Count Schouvaloff that the Circular was not an instrument of war, but declined to enter at present into the nature or extent of the modifications which England might desire to make in the Treaty.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 99.

Consul Abbott to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 7.)
My Lord, *Tabreez, February 20, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copies of letters addressed by the Armenian Archbishop of Azerbijan and myself to the Foreign Office Agent at Tabreez, respecting the tortures inflicted by Mahmoud Khan, Chief of the Tchelibianlee tribe, upon the Christian inhabitants of Karadagh.

Trusting that the course I have adopted will meet with your Lordship's kind approval, I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM G. ABBOTT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 99.

The Armenian Archbishop of Azerbijan to Ali Khan.

(Translation.) *Tabreez, January 13, 1878.*

COMPLAINTS have been frequently made regarding the evil actions of the Tchelibianlees, in the district of Karadagh, and petitioners have come to Tabreez to report facts which are an outrage to humanity and justice.

Since the recent return of the son of Mahmoud Khan from the camp, he has increased his exactions a thousand-fold.

His Excellency the Sahib Divan appointed Mehmet Jaffer Beg to inquire into the grievances of the Armenians. He accordingly proceeded to Karadagh, and drew up a report on the subject; but nothing further was done, and the guilty parties were not punished.

In consequence of the apathy of the Government, the audacity of Mahmoud Khan exceeded all bounds. He sent several of his own people to the Armenian villages, when six women and a child were deprived of their head and neck ornaments, and of the sum of 95 tomans.

Mahmoud Khan afterwards went himself to the village of Serai, where he arrested eight men, whom he tortured by burning them with red-hot irons. By these means, and by beating them without mercy, he extorted from his victims a further sum of 275 tomans, and then proceeded to plunder the village. The inhabitants were stripped of nearly everything they possessed, and an aged woman was killed under the horse of one of Mahmoud Khan's servants.

Thirty-six Armenians, whilst returning to their homes from the Russian territory, whither they had gone in search of work, were waylaid by Mahmoud Khan's servants, who robbed them of their clothes, arms, and 1,700 roubles in ready money.

Within the space of a month and a-half Mahmoud Khan has fleeced the Armenians of 1,700 roubles and 700 tomans, and has rendered no account thereof.

I entreat you to bring these facts to the knowledge of the Sahib Divan, in order that his Excellency may investigate the matter, and bring the guilty parties to punishment.

If these outrages come to the ears of foreigners, it will be a cause of reproach to the Persian Government, and, on my part, I cannot view the matter with indifference, for, under no Government, is it permissible to beat and murder women. The honour of my religion and nation is at stake, and unless the present state of things be remedied, I shall be obliged to appeal for justice to Tehran and to other quarters.

(Signed) ANDREAS,
Archbishop of the Armenians in Azerbijan.

Inclosure 2 in No. 99.

Consul Abbott to Ali Khan.

Sir, *Tabreez, January 22, 1878.*

I REGRET to inform you that I have received intelligence of the barbarous treatment which the Armenian inhabitants of Karadagh have encountered from Mahmoud Khan Tchelibianlee, who, for some time past, has been an instrument of cruelty and oppression in that district.

It appears that he recently inflicted tortures of the most revolting nature upon these unfortunate people, in order to extort money from them. Armenians of both sexes have been cruelly beaten, burned with hot irons, and subjected to other tortures, by orders of this same Mahmoud Khan, who has stripped them of the best part of their property, and still remains unpunished.

I therefore deem it my duty, in the cause of humanity, to express my abhorrence of these infamous proceedings; more especially as His Majesty the Shah has abolished torture in his dominions, and notified the same to the Foreign Legations at Tehran.

I have also the honour to request that you will have the goodness to communicate the present letter to his Excellency the Sahib Divan, in order that he may bring its contents under the notice of His Royal Highness the Valyahd; and I do not doubt that the Deputy Governor will cause Mahmoud Khan to be conveyed to Tabreez for punishment, that he will interdict him from again returning to Karadagh, and, by affording adequate reparation to the victims of his cruelty, remove the unfavourably impression which a knowledge of these facts will not fail to create in Europe.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM G. ABBOTT.

No. 100.

Consul Abbott to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April 5.*)

(No. 8.)

My Lord, *Tabreez, February 21, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Armenian Archbishop of this province recently called upon me to deliver a letter (of which a translation is herewith inclosed), addressed to me by the Diocesan of the convent, plundered last summer in the Turkish district of Albakh.

Your Lordship will perceive that no reparation whatever has been afforded to the Christians who suffered from these depredations, and that their property has not been restored to them.

I regret to state that Koolee Khan, sent by the Sahib Divan to the frontier, immediately established friendly relations with Ali Khan, Chief of the Shekkak Kurds, with whom he received large presents of money—a fact of which, I am informed, he openly boasts at Tabreez; that the bulk of the plunder was sold by the Kurds at public auction, and that the remainder, including an embroidered curtain and other church ornaments, is still in the possession of Ali Khan.

The conduct of the Deputy Governor in conniving at the proceedings of this Kurdish Chief is deserving of severe censure, whilst that of Koolee Khan would justify his dismissal from office.

The authorities of Azerbijan have thus afforded every encouragement to the Kurdish tribes to renew their incursions next summer, and any assertions they may make to the contrary are unfortunately belied by facts which have created a scandal throughout this province, highly discreditable to the Persian Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM G. ABBOTT.

Inclosure in No. 100.

The Diocesan of the Armenian Convent of St. Bartholomew at Albakh to Consul Abbott.

(Translation.)

Selmas, January 14, 1878.

ALL these days of sorrow have passed over us, but we have not as yet enjoyed the fruit of our hopes.

His Excellency the Sahib Divan promised me at Tabreez that he would recover our lost property, and repeated that assurance at Selmas. But these promises have not been fulfilled.

The Sahib Divan, the Ikbal ed Dowleh, and Koolee Khan, have all derived a profit by this transaction, and established a cordial friendship with Ali Khan, Chief of the Shekkak Kurds. The Ikbal ed Dowleh dispersed a few of the Shekkaks without inflicting any injury upon them, and after his departure they all returned to their homes with impunity. It was Ali Khan's son Mammé who broke open the gates of the convent, and the buffaloes and carts belonging to the convent now in his possession are proofs of the theft committed by him, his brothers and relations.

I implore you, for the love of God, to have pity upon us who are waiting in hunger and wretchedness for your intervention on our behalf. If our property be not restored to us this winter it will be impossible to recover it in the spring. Ali Khan Shekkak meditates my assassination, and if it be necessary for me to come to Tabreez please communicate with me to that effect and I will proceed there, even at the risk of my life.

(Signed) ELIAZAR VARTAPEL VOSKANIAN.

No. 101.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April 5.*)

(No. 395.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March 23, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a private letter from Vice-Consul Brophy, giving an account of the state of the Turkish population between Bourgas and Adrianople, and of his visit to the latter town in order to obtain the protection of the Russian military authorities for some Mahommedan fugitives who are in fear of the Bulgarians.

I shall await Mr. Brophy's official report before approving his proceedings.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 101.

Vice-Consul Brophy to Mr. Layard.

(Private.)

My dear Sir, *Adrianople, March 21, 1878.*

I HAVE come here from Bourgas (on horseback to Baba Eski) over the Hasseki Balkan. I had only intended to ride as far as Kirk Kilissé, but from what I learned I thought it best to come to Adrianople, where I hoped to find Mr. Blunt, not knowing that he had left for Constantinople.

I have already reported officially about the number of Turkish fugitives who are now with their wives and families in the mountains of the Bourgas district, but since passing through the district in question, I found that the affair was even more serious than I had considered it to be; and as nothing could be done at Bourgas, on account of the various *rayons militaires*, the small number of troops there, and the disinclination on the part of Russian Commanders to incur responsibilities, I determined to try Adrianople.

From what I learned, there are now Turkish fugitives, men, women, and children, whose numbers are estimated at 20,000 (say 5,000—8,000) entrenched at Osman Baghir, near the village of Alagunk (six hours from Bourgas), and in the valley extending south-west to Belevren, about ten miles in length. These people have been there for nearly two months, their march towards Constantinople having been stopped near Kirk Kilissé by the Russians, and are now almost starving, "dying off like flies," as I was told, and have to make foraging expeditions to the neighbouring Bulgarian villages to get grain.

Their delegates who came to meet Bourgas, and whom I saw afterwards at Evrenish Keui in the mountains, told me that all these fugitives are most anxious to surrender to the Russians, but on the condition that a sufficient force should be sent to protect them from the Bulgarians, and to escort them in safety to Bourgas or any other port. As at Bourgas no such force is obtainable, they implored me to go to head-quarters, and so I came here, intending to put the matter in Mr. Blunt's hands. He not being here, I applied to General Lipriski, commanding the troops in this district, who has promised to telegraph on the subject to the Grand Duke, and to have troops sent in sufficient numbers to take the Turks safely to Bourgas.

If this is done, steamers should be provided to convey these fugitives to Asia (or anywhere else), as they say they will not stay in this country, one of their reasons for this decision being that they undoubtedly committed great atrocities when flying towards Kirk Kilissé. Still, they can hardly be left to starve, which must be their fate if they remain where they are. I fear that in Bourgas they will be in great misery until they are shipped off, and if so, can anything be done for them by any of the compassionate funds? I shall be riding back to Bourgas (I start to-morrow) over much the same line of country, and shall get some Turks to take me into the refugee camp.

The Russians, by-the-bye, are now disarming Bulgarians as well as Turks. If they had done so at first, a great deal of bloodshed would have been spared.

The condition of the interior is terrible, and as the Russians use up the few cattle left, I do not see how any grain can be sown this year.

Belevren, near Göktépé, was assaulted and taken on the 14th instant by Russians and Bulgarians, why, how, or wherefore I could not make out, though on the 16th I was only two hours from it. Perhaps on my return I shall hear. The Russians, when with Bulgarians, let the latter settle with the Turks, and only look on without firing. When the Turks surrender, the Bulgarians strip them of all they have.

From Bourgas I shall send a full report, and in the meantime I trust that you will approve my proceedings in coming to Adrianople.

Believe me, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES BROPHY.

No. 102.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 396. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March 23, 1878.*

I INCLOSE copy of a private letter addressed to me by Consul Reade, with respect to the feelings of Russian officers as to a war with England. It is so far of interest that it confirms the statements which reach me from various sources as to the language of Russian officers in other places occupied by the Russian forces.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 102.

Consul R. Reade to Mr. Layard.

(Private and Confidential.)
My dear Sir, *Varna, March 21, 1878.*

I HAVE just received some confidential information which it may be proper that I should communicate to your Excellency privately.

General Salih Pasha said to me a day or two ago that he wished to inform me of what he had lately heard from a Russian Colonel, and which, from his apparently sincere and ingenuous manner had struck him (the Pasha).

The General was sent on a mission to Durekoi, near Shumla, where a Russian Colonel is stationed, and after dinner, in the evening, the Colonel asked what news he had received. The General replied that he had received none; but, on being pressed by the Colonel, he said, "Well, it appears, according to the papers, that war between Russia and England is not unlikely."

The Colonel, after looking about him, as if to ascertain that no one was listening, and with some hesitation, said: "Shall I tell you the real truth? *Eh bien*, we have heard of this, and it is abominable on the part of our superiors, who know perfectly well what we *militaires* have suffered, not only from the fighting but also from the weather. They know very well how many of us, officers and men, are still suffering from bronchitis and other maladies caused by exposure to the cold and bad food, and also that many of the men are even suffering from gangrene caused by frostbites. It is all very well to say that we are accustomed to cold, but they know very well that we are also accustomed to good houses, and can get good food in Russia, which cannot be had in these miserable Bulgar places, and, knowing all this, they want us to fight England and Austria, both of whom enter the field fresh.

"I am not the only one that says this; a great many of our officers and men say the same, and we are all *bien tristes* on the subject. These 'messieurs' (meaning the superiors) are comfortable enough themselves at St. Petersburgh and San Stefano, but we only know how we are in these abominable places."

He also added: "Our demands are considered great, no doubt; but do you think that we expect to get half of what we have asked? To obtain little, one must ask much, and when this moment arrives (putting his two thumbs together) we shall have to give way." He finished by saying several times, "C'est abominable; c'est abominable."

I will also add what I have heard, indirectly and confidentially, from General Sulami Pasha, late Commander at Silistria.

He said, and wished it to reach me, that if England goes to war with Russia, whatever the head people at Constantinople may think or do, not only he, but many other of his comrades whom he could name, would, if England would receive them, not only serve themselves, but would also bring with them numbers of good troops. As regards himself, he felt pretty sure of being able to bring from 20,000 to 30,000, and there are others he knew who would bring as many, or perhaps more. All, he said, we should require would be that England found the means, as we have no money, and we would serve in any capacity the English wished without the slightest difficulty. He added that he was pretty sure that England could get, in this way, little short of 200,000 good troops.

My informant also told me that he knew that the privates had been spoken to in

this sense, and that from the result it was ascertained that they would follow their officers.

I trust that you will understand and appreciate my motives in having made this communication to your Excellency.

Your, &c.
(Signed) R. READE.

No. 103.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 397. Very Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March 23, 1878.*

Mr. Wyndham repeated to me his telegram to your Lordship of yesterday's date, expressing the earnest hope of (?) the Greek Government that I would use my influence with the Patriarch of the Greek Church at Constantinople, to prevent him from yielding to any of the wishes of Russia with regard to the Bulgarian Church. Mr. Wyndham had also informed me that the Bishop of Thebes had recently left Athens, charged, it was believed, with a mission to the Patriarch, in favour, I infer, of Russian policy. I availed myself of an opportunity to-day to bring the subject to the notice of the Patriarchate.

The Patriarch himself is seriously ill, and unable to attend to business, but the Protosinghalos, who represents him, assures me that nothing could induce His Holiness to come to any terms with the Bulgarian Church in the sense desired by Russia.

It would be impossible for the Patriarch to do so, he said, either dogmatically or politically. Whatever might be His Holiness' personal views he would have to consult, before taking any such step, the other Patriarchs, the Bishops, and the Synod, and they would never consent to an agreement with the Bulgarian Church, on the terms that had been suggested by Russia, which were entirely in her interests, and for the furtherance of her designs.

Some of the Greek newspapers published here had been induced, the Protosinghalos observed, to advocate the scheme proposed by Russia in this matter; but they would be directed to withdraw their support from it, and to contradict categorically any rumours that might prevail as to the probability of the Patriarch agreeing to it.

The Protosinghalos earnestly requests me to consider this communication as strictly confidential, as, if it came to the knowledge of the Russians, they might find the means of doing great injury to the Greek Patriarchate, to revenge themselves.

The Bishop, who is arrived here from Athens, Monsigneur David, is the Bishop of Phokidos, not of Thebes. The Protosinghalos stated that he was not aware that His Eminence was charged with any mission relating to the Bulgarian Church.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 104.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 398.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March 25, 1878.*

RAOUF PASHA arrived here yesterday from Odessa, accompanied by Osman Pasha, the hero of Plevna. They both proceeded at once to the Palace, and were invited to dine with the Sultan. Raouf Pasha called upon me early this morning by order of His Majesty, to offer me an apology and explanation for not having called on Her Majesty's Ambassador when at St. Petersburgh. His Excellency said that the statement that he had visited the German Ambassador was incorrect. When at the house of Prince Gortchakow he had met General Schweinitz, and had subsequently seen him at a public ceremony to which he had been invited by the Emperor; but he had not called upon the Ambassador, nor upon any other member of the diplomatic body. He had refrained from doing so, he said, for various reasons. He had been sent to St. Petersburgh on a special mission, and he thought it better not to have any

communications, either official or private, except with the Emperor and his Ministers. The only visit he had made was to General Ignatiew. He begged me to offer this explanation to Lord A. Loftus through your Lordship, and to express his regret at the same time, that a mistaken notion of his position had unintentionally led him to act in a manner which had given offence to Her Majesty's Ambassador.

I have informed the Prime Minister that your Lordship had accepted the expression of regret at Raouf Pasha's conduct on the part of the Sultan and his Highness which I had been authorized to communicate to you, and that Lord A. Loftus had been requested by your Lordship to continue in charge of Turkish interests. Ahmed Vefyk Pasha expressed great satisfaction, and begged me to convey his warm thanks to your Lordship. His Highness said that the Sultan would be greatly pleased to hear of it, as he had been much annoyed by the want of courtesy shown by Raouf Pasha to Her Majesty's Ambassador, after the many services that his Excellency had so kindly rendered to Turkey.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 105.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 399. Secret.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March 25*, 1878.

AFTER Raouf Pasha had given me the explanations with respect to his conduct towards Lord Augustus Loftus, reported to your Lordship in my preceding despatch, his Excellency entered upon the subject of his mission to St. Petersburgh. He said that the Emperor of Russia, having known him formerly at Livadia, had expressed a wish that he should be chosen as the Turkish Representative of the Sultan for the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty of Peace. When he left Constantinople he was under the impression, and so were his colleagues and the Ministry, that His Imperial Majesty was prepared to make considerable concessions with regard to the terms exacted from Turkey.

The Grand Duke Nicholas and General Ignatieff had unquestionably led the Turkish Plenipotentiaries to believe that such would be the case, and it was partly on this understanding that the Porte had been induced to accept the very hard conditions imposed upon it. He was, therefore, greatly surprised to find that the Emperor would not listen to his representations on the subject. All that he succeeded in obtaining from His Imperial Majesty was the return to Turkey of the fortress and district of Bayazid, which was, no doubt, an important advantage to her, whilst it was really no great loss to Russia.

On all other points the Emperor was inflexible; merely hinting that it depended upon Turkey's future conduct whether he might hereafter be induced to make further concessions.

Raouf Pasha declared most emphatically that no secret understanding with Turkey had been come to with, or had been proposed by Russia. His Excellency said that the Emperor and the Russian Government had treated him with marked consideration and distinction, and he was bound to state that no pressure had been brought to bear to commit him to any promise with respect to the future relations between the two countries.

As far as he could learn from the conversations he had had with Russian officers of various ranks, they were all tired of the war, and very anxious to avoid a quarrel with England, of which they appeared to dread the results. His impression, judging from what he had heard at St. Petersburgh, was that, in order to secure peace, the Emperor would be ready to make considerable concessions, and even to withdraw the Russian demand for the extension of the new Bulgarian Principality to the provinces to the south of the Balkans, if England and Austria, or even if England alone, were to hold firm language on the subject.

His Excellency further stated that there appeared great anxiety at St. Petersburgh for the removal to Russia of the Russian troops now at San Stefano and at other places outside the limits of the proposed Bulgarian Principality. But Prince Gortchakow declared that they could not be removed as long as the British squadron remained in the Sea of Marmora. The Russians, his Excellency believed, would agree to a simultaneous withdrawal, as, for instance, the embarkation and departure of a

division, or of a certain number of troops, to take place at the same time as one of the British ironclads should leave for Besika Bay. The release of the Turkish prisoners in Russian hands was about to take place, and he was going to send ships for them to Odessa, Sebastopol, and elsewhere, which could, he suggested, be used for the transport of part of the Russian forces. With the steam-vessels which the Russians themselves could supply, the whole of the Russian army could then speedily be removed from Turkish territory, with the exception of the 50,000 men which, under the Treaty, were to be retained in Bulgaria.

His Excellency urgently requested me to submit what he had stated to me to Her Majesty's Government. As long, he said, as the Russians were at San Stefano, there was great peril to Turkey, and she was paralyzed, as they could at any moment occupy the capital. Once the Russian army were withdrawn from its present positions, Turkey would regain her liberty of action, and could then determine upon her future policy.

I told his Excellency that I would communicate what he had stated to me to your Lordship, but that I could not hold out any hope that Her Majesty's Government were prepared, under present circumstances, to withdraw Her Majesty's ships from the Sea of Marmora.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 106.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 400. Secret.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March 25*, 1878.

THE Prime Minister asked me this afternoon if I knew whether Her Majesty's Government were going to the Congress prepared with any distinct plan for the settlement of the Turkish question. I replied that I was unable to answer his question. His Highness went on to say that he thought it very desirable and very important that he should be made acquainted with the views of Her Majesty's Government, and should come to an understanding with them as to some arrangement to be submitted to the Congress, which might, with the support of England, be substituted for that demanded by Russia. If Her Majesty's Government were disposed to treat him with confidence, he would consider any communication that was made to him as one of a strictly private nature, and he begged me so to consider what he was then saying to me. If he knew the views of Her Majesty's Government, he might be able to promote them by adopting them as those of the Turkish Government, and by doing his utmost, and using all the influence he might possess to obtain the concurrence in them of other Powers.

His Highness said that the points to which the Porte attached the greatest importance were:—

1. The limitation of the proposed Bulgarian Principality to the country between the Danube and the Balkans. If it were absolutely necessary, Sofia could be included in it, but it would be fatal to Turkey to have to give up the line of defence of the Balkans, and the Province of Roumelia, with Philippopolis.

2. The possession of Olti and Narinnan, giving Turkey a defensible position in Armenia, which she would not have if these places, and the districts depending upon them, were ceded to Russia.

3. A considerable reduction in the amount of the pecuniary indemnity fixed by the Treaty of San Stefano, which Turkey could not possibly pay, and which would consequently give Russia a hold upon her from which she would never be able to extricate herself.

His Highness observed that if Her Majesty's Government were prepared to assist the Porte in obtaining these concessions, he would be ready to come to an agreement with them upon any other points to which they might attach importance, and he believed that something could yet be done to avert the fatal consequences to Turkey, and to Europe, which must ensue if the Treaty of San Stefano were fully carried out. He added that he had been the more ready to accept the Treaty as it stood, as it was so extravagant in its terms that it was utterly impossible to put it into execution, and that it would be found absolutely necessary to change it in almost every material point.

I asked his Highness whether the Porte was prepared to make any concessions

to the Greeks. He replied that he was quite ready to come to an understanding with them.

I told his Highness that I would submit what he had stated to me to your Lordship, and I accordingly telegraphed its substance to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 107.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 401. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March 25, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose, herewith, copy of a memorandum, given to me by a trustworthy person, relating to the views of some of the leading Armenians of Constantinople, as to a future constitution of the Province of Armenia, which they hope to obtain by the help of England. It agrees in the main with the statement made to me by the Armenian Patriarch, as reported to your Lordship in my despatch No. 364 of the 18th March, with the exception that it does not appear to contemplate the annexation of Silicia to the proposed "autonomous" State. It admits that Monseigneur Narses, the present Gregorian Armenian Patriarch, has been in communication with the Russian head-quarters at San Stefano, and that an agent has been sent by some of the Armenians here to St. Petersburgh. I understand that Khorem Nar Bey, the ex-Patriarch, and another dignitary of the Church, have been entrusted with this mission. It is also stated in the memorandum that it is the intention of the persons who are getting up the movement in favour of Armenian "autonomy," to send a deputation to the members of the coming Congress to advocate their cause.

The inclosed document deserves your Lordship's attention, as it shows the nature and object of the agitation which has commenced for the purpose of extending to the Turkish dominions in Asia "autonomous" institutions similar to those which are about to be introduced into Turkey in Europe. It may be the commencement of a movement which may lead to serious results, affecting our interests in the East. It is stated in the memorandum that after the Crimean War England thought of securing to Armenia a "certain autonomy;" I have no recollection of such having been the case. Had it been so, considering the interest I have always felt in Armenia, and the Armenians, I should probably have been aware of it. In those days the doctrine of autonomy was not in vogue. That England desired to procure good government, and proper protection, for the Armenians, as for all other communities, Christian and Mahommedan, under Turkish rule, is no doubt true; but this is a very different thing from attempting the formation of a semi-independent province, which must, sooner or later, separate from the Turkish Empire, and can only become a dependency of Russia.

The Armenians are worthy of the sympathy, consideration, and help of England. Something might, no doubt, be done at the Congress to ensure for them, and especially for those who inhabit the Eastern provinces of Asia Minor, good and just government for the future, and, above all, protection from the Kurdish tribes, to whose excesses and outrages they have been constantly exposed. They are, in their own country, a quiet, industrious, and frugal people, chiefly engaged in agriculture, and living in friendly relations with the Mahommedan Turkish population which, like themselves, suffers from the lawless violence of the Kurds. In Constantinople, and in the principal towns of Turkey, they become prosperous bankers and merchants. Some of them fill confidential posts at the Porte, and are entrusted with important political affairs. Others are the agents of wealthy Turkish families, and of high officials, and thus exercise very considerable influence. Out of Turkey, as in India, they have been successful in commerce, and enjoy, I believe, a good reputation for intelligence and integrity. In Russia large numbers of them are engaged in trade, and some, probably natives of districts in her possession, have risen, as it has been seen during the war, to high commands in the army, General Melikoff and two other generals being, I am informed, of Armenian origin.

Of all the Christian communities subject to Turkish rule, the Armenian has been most disposed to live peaceably with her Mahommedan fellow-subjects, and even to amalgamate with them. The Armenians of Constantinople, speaking the

Turkish language, are brought, more than the Greeks, into intimate relations with the Turks. It is greatly to the interest of the Porte to encourage the Armenians, and to treat them with justice and liberality, so as to satisfy them, and to prevent their turning to Russia for help and protection. England might contribute materially to this end. To give autonomy to a province which is at present quite incapable of self-government, would probably lead to more harm than good, and to results which would be far from favourable to British interests.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 107.

Memorandum.

M. T. TERKIAN, ex-Interprète et Secrétaire de l'Agence Diplomatique de Serbie, et Membre du Conseil National Arménien, est venu m'entretenir des aspirations de la majorité de la nation Arménienne en présence de la situation qui lui est faite par les derniers événements. Cette démarche était faite avec la connaissance du Patriarche Arménien, qui avait également exprimé son désir d'expliquer et de confirmer personnellement, dans une entrevue toute confidentielle avec le Représentant de la Reine, les faits dont l'exposé suit, sous la promesse que toutefois le compte-rendu de cet entretien éventuel ne figurerait pas dans le "Blue Book."

Les Arméniens et leur Patriarche tiennent à constater avant tout qu'ils ne veulent en aucune façon de la protection Russe que amènerait indubitablement leur absorption par la Russie et ainsi la perte de leur nationalité.

La visite de Monseigneur Narsès à San Stephano et l'envoi d'un délégué à St. Pétersbourg n'ont été que des mesures de prudence. Il s'agissait surtout de ne pas abandonner les Arméniens, des Kurdes et des Circassiens. Le Grand Duc avait promis de prendre en considération la requête, et en effet un Article du Traité mentionne des réformes en Arménie mais sous la surveillance d'un Commissaire Russe.

Cette dernière partie de l'Article en question est loin de plaire aux Arméniens indépendants, qui voit dans cette ingérance d'un Commissaire Russe dans les affaires administratives de leur pays une porte ouverte à une agitation future à l'égal de celle qui a précédé les événements de la Bulgarie dans cette province, et ne devant tourner qu'au profit des soi-disant protecteurs.

L'histoire des faits passés ces derniers temps est un enseignement pour les Arméniens qui ne tiennent nullement à servir à leur détriment d'instrument aux projets Russes.

La communauté Arménienne songe à envoyer une députation près des membres du futur Congrès, auxquels elle remettra un Memorandum pour que le sort des Chrétiens d'Arménie, tout aussi dignes d'intérêt que leurs autres coreligionnaires de Turquie, soit aussi traité dans le Congrès.

Ce Memorandum, tout en ne se prononçant pas contre la Russie, rappellera aux délégués Anglais au Congrès, outre l'opportunité de l'amélioration de la condition des Arméniens, la nécessité politique de protéger et garantir les intérêts Britanniques aux sources de l'Euphrate en y créant une autonomie Arménienne, ou tout au moins un Gouvernement comme celui du Liban, garanti par toutes les Puissances.

L'Angleterre a constamment manifesté ses appréhensions sur la possibilité d'une influence étrangère sur le chemin des Indes. Or, l'Arménie se trouvant dominer cette route, l'Angleterre doit tenir essentiellement à l'élimination de tout protectorat Russe dans ce pays.

En aspirant à une autonomie, ou tout au moins à une réforme radicale de l'administration de leur pays, les Arméniens ont la conscience d'être plus aptes à gouverner conformément aux lois de la civilisation et du progrès que les Turcs.

On pourrait, dans toutes les localités où ils constituent la majorité des habitants, confier l'administration municipale à des Arméniens.

Il est évident qu'ils préféreraient être constitués en un Etat neutralisé et garanti, qui, tout restreint qu'il serait, pourrait s'étendre de la Mer Noire à la Méditerranée et être une digue aux progrès de la Russie vers le sud comme la Roumanie aurait pu l'être si elle en eût été neutralisée en temps opportun.

Il est notoire qu'après la guerre de Crimée l'Angleterre songea à doter l'Arménie d'une certaine autonomie.

La France qui, alors, espérait ramener les Arméniens au Catholicisme et faire d'eux les auxiliaires de sa politique en Turquie, s'était opposée fortement à ces tendances de l'Angleterre.

Un point qu'il est important de constater, car il sera un des facteurs les plus puissants dans cette union Anglo-Arménienne, c'est la presque identité des rites Anglicans et Arméniens; leurs Articles de Foi ne présentent aucune différence sérieuse qui puisse faire appréhender l'impossibilité d'un rapprochement des deux religions, car l'appareil pompeux du rite Arménien, une fois éliminé, les doctrines restent sans points opposés qui ne puissent être résolus.

Jusqu'à ce jour, le clergé et la Porte avaient le plus grand intérêt à empêcher la fusion des deux Églises, mais le premier, devant la perspective de devenir dans un avenir plus ou moins éloigné le vassal de l'Orthodoxie Russe, doit aujourd'hui préférer le ralliement à une Église telle que celle d'Angleterre, dont elle n'a à craindre aucun empiètement, tout en restant en communauté de foi, d'esprit, et d'intérêts avec elle.

Pour faciliter l'œuvre, l'Angleterre trouvera un vaste champ pour exploiter dans la misère des populations, l'abandon de l'agriculture résultant de l'incertitude des lendemains, en portant remède à ces maux par la création d'écoles, d'établissements de bienfaisance, d'entreprises commerciales et financières, qui amènent la prospérité et le bien-être des peuples qui ne les ont jamais connus depuis des siècles, et ainsi serviront de bases inébranlables à l'influence Anglaise.

En somme, les Arméniens espèrent voir doter leur pays de toutes les conquêtes de l'art et de l'industrie sous le protectorat Anglais. Jusque-là le Patriarche Arménien se verra forcé de composer avec la Russie, mais bien à contre cœur, redoutant son protectorat, qui, comme il est dit plus haut, déguiserait sans aucun doute des projets ambitieux à la réalisation desquels elle emploiera les Arméniens en s'en servant comme instruments d'agitation.

Sans aucun doute qu'il existe un parti inclinant vers la Russie parmi les Arméniens. Il se compose des fonctionnaires au service de la Porte, dont ils partagent la politique Russophile, de ceux qui ont été gagnés secrètement à cette politique, et de certaines basses classes; mais la partie intelligente, éclairée de la nation est tout-à-fait opposée à ces tendances et préférerait encore rester sous la domination Turque que de se voir livrée à la Russie, qui en entreprendrait la Russification, au contraire de l'Angleterre, qui a toujours eu le respect des nationalités.

Les Arméniens croient que la création d'un régime autonomique donnerait satisfaction à leurs intérêts légitimes comme à ceux de l'Occident, que l'extension de la puissance Russe paraît devoir menacer un lésé aussi bien en Asie qu'en Roumélie. D'abord la Russie ne pourrait plus avoir les mêmes prétentions que par le passé, du jour où elle se trouvera en présence, sur la ligne frontière d'une population Chrétienne paisible, adonnée à l'industrie et au commerce, au lieu de ces hordes sauvages, l'approche de l'humanité dont la conduite barbare justifiait l'ingérence de la Russie dans les affaires intérieures de la Turquie.

L'Angleterre se sentirait moins menacée quand elle verrait les positions des sources de l'Euphrate occupées par une population dévouée, ne pouvant de longtemps nourrir aucun projet ambitieux.

Ce ne serait même pas un préjudice pour les Musulmans de ces localités, où Chrétiens et Musulmans fraterniseraient bien vite si on substituait à ce régime inepte, qui pèse à peu près autant sur les uns que sur les autres, le respect des droits et une administration plus régulière.

Voici les limites de la partie de l'Arménie qui pourrait être soumise au régime autonome:—

La ligne de démarcation commencerait à un point du littoral de la Mer Noire, près la bouche du Khalys, entre Samsoun et Kerassonde, de là remontant la vallée de Chalkaïrka, jusqu'à Gumudu Hané, se diriger au sud et atteindre l'Euphrate à Eguine; puis en suivant le cours de ce fleuve jusqu'à Biredjek se diriger vers l'est entre Afu et Harrn, laissant au nord la province de Diarbekir, et passant enfin par Merdine longer la crête des Monts Djoudid, et s'arrêter aux confins du Royaume de Perse.

No. 108.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 402.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March 25, 1878.*

I N the printed papers sent to me by your Lordship, I find, under the date of the 5th instant, a telegram from Sir Henry Elliot in answer to your Lordship's inquiry whether he can suggest any scheme applicable to Bulgaria as a tributary principality, to the effect that if such a principality is unavoidable, every effort should be made to confine it to Bulgaria proper between the Danube and the Balkans, the districts to the south of those mountains being in very different circumstances, in consequence of the large Greek population, whose position would be intolerable if absorbed into a great Slav State.

I venture to state to your Lordship that I entirely concur in Sir Henry Elliot's views on this subject. It may, perhaps, now be impossible to prevent Russia carrying out her long-matured design of including in Bulgaria the rich and important provinces to the south of the Balkans, but it is greatly to be feared that this extension will bring into collision the Slav, Greek, and Albanian Mussulman races, and will prepare the way for future wars. In the provinces to the north of the Balkans the vast majority, if not the entirety, of the Christian population consists of Bulgarians. The Balkans would still furnish a line of defence for what remained of the Turkish Empire in Europe, and would prevent a dangerous struggle between the Bulgarians and the Greeks. The direct Turkish rule, so modified as to insure complete protection to all races and creeds, and to insure good government and necessary reforms in the administration, might be continued to the south of the Balkan range. The Christians of both races would then be able to increase their influence and wealth by their intelligence and industry, as they were rapidly doing before the Russian invasion, and time would show to which the real superiority belonged, and how a just settlement of their respective claims might be arrived at; whilst the Mussulmans themselves would find that they could live in perfect union with their Christian fellow-countrymen and enjoy the same rights and protection. Such an arrangement would, I have every reason to believe, be eagerly accepted by the Greeks, and would satisfy their just claims.

This it appears to me would be the most wise, politic, and humane way of settling the Turkish question, and the one most in accordance with the interests of England and of Europe. The Bulgarian Principality, as contemplated by Russia, can only lead to the cruel persecution of the Mahommedans and other creeds not Bulgarian, and to grave injustice to the Greek and other races which will be subjected to Bulgarian rule.

If it were possible for Her Majesty's Government to adopt the policy suggested, there might still be hopes of the Turkish question being settled with due regard to justice, to humanity, and to the rights of the various races that inhabit Turkey in Europe, and without a general break-up of the Turkish Empire, and the incalculable consequences to which it may lead. I advocate this policy, as I have always done, in the interests of both Christians and Mahommedans. It would be unworthy of an Englishman to demand religious and civil liberty for one race and to deny it to another. It is no longer the Christians of Turkey in Europe but the Mussulmans who require protection, and of all the Powers it is England who, in conformity with her interests as the ruler of a vast Mahommedan population, and with the principles which she has ever advocated, should extend it to them.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 109.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 404.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March 25, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch from Vice-Consul Calvert, transmitting copy of a protest addressed to him by the Greek inhabitants of Philippopolis against annexation of the new Bulgarian Principality. The statements contained in this document and in Mr. Calvert's despatch with respect to the treatment of the Greeks by the Russians and Bulgarians are well worthy of the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. They indicate the dangers that may be anticipated from the struggle which is likely to ensue between the Greeks and the Slavs, should the

former be placed under Bulgarian rule, and go far to confirm what I have already ventured to submit to your Lordship on this subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 109.

Vice-Consul Calvert to Consul Blunt.

Sir, *Philippopolis, March* 11, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to report to you that the Chiefs of the Greek community of Philippopolis called upon me the other day to complain of the policy which is being pursued towards them by the Russo-Bulgarian Administration, and to protest against the district of Philippopolis being included in the proposed Principality of Bulgaria.

They have also addressed to me a written appeal, embodying the same sentiments and signed by the members of the Demogerontia, or National Council, a copy of which I beg to inclose herewith.

Copies of this document have also been addressed to my French and Austrian colleagues.

I have already acquainted you with the unjustifiable methods by which the Russians, according to their own admission, are endeavouring to suppress the Greek element in the population. The Russian authorities make no secret of the Panslavistic schemes with which they have entered upon the reorganisation of Bulgaria. General Stalibin has even been so candid as to inform me that his instructions were (he has just been removed from the Governorship of the town) to promote the interests of the Slavs against and above those of the other races inhabiting the province. It is stated that his removal is due to his not having followed those instructions so completely and strictly as the Russian Government would have desired. Although it was he who, as I have had the honour to mention to you, called upon M. Tacchella to resign the Vice-Presidency of the Municipality for a very unblameable act of kindness towards a Turk in distress, the General has himself, it seems, incurred the reproach of being a friend of the Greeks and the Mussulmans; so, at least, his Excellency informed me to-day.

It is not to be wondered at that the Greek community, finding itself in danger of being forced to renounce its name or to emigrate, should now seek to interest the Western Powers in its behalf. It asks for too much, perhaps, in deprecating the annexation of the whole Province of Philippopolis to Bulgaria. The Christians of the northern districts of the Province are all Bulgarians, and it would, therefore, be just (allowing that the Mussulmans are to be ignored in the reconstruction of European Turkey) that that portion of the Province should be included in the new Slavonic Principality. But, in the southern districts of Ruptchus (Rhodope), Akhi-Tchelebi, Sultan-Yeri, and Hasskioï, the Mussulman population predominates, or predominated before the late exodus, and it is in these districts, also, that all the Greeks and the majority of the other non-Bulgarian populations dwell.

In these districts the proportion of the non-Bulgarian to the Bulgarian population is, according to Bulgarian statistics, upwards of 70 per cent. In the districts of Akhi-Tchelebi and Sultan-Yeri the population may be said to be exclusively Mussulman, a fact which was taken into consideration by Russia when the project of Bulgarian autonomy was brought before the Conference in 1876, these two districts being excluded from the region which it was then proposed to remove from under the Administration of the Porte.

If, therefore, the wishes of the Greeks and other non-Bulgarian inhabitants of this Province could be permitted to have any weight in the deliberations of the approaching Congress, it might be suggested that the limit of Bulgaria be drawn at the River Maritza, from Harmanly-Tirnova on the east to Belova on the west.

The towns of Philippopolis and Tatar-Bazardjik, in the former of which, at least, the non-Bulgarians form the majority of the population, and in which the Greeks possess the bulk of the existing trade, would thus be excluded from the Principality of Bulgaria.

It is, I would most respectfully venture to observe, a question admitting of consideration whether it would not be advisable, by excluding from the new Principality, as far as possible, such debateable ground as the districts south of the Maritza, to

obviate the otherwise inevitable conflict between Greeks and Slavs which will follow, at no great interval, the withdrawal of the Russian army of occupation, a conflict which the Russians already anticipate, and the ultimate dimensions and consequences of which no one can foretell.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. J. CALVERT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 109.

M. Pappadatis and others to Vice-Consul Calvert.

M. le Consul, *Philippopolis, le 6 Mars*, 1878.

L'ELEMENT Grec du Sandjak de Philippopolis, ayant le sentiment de ses droits, avait adressé, le $\frac{1}{13}$ Novembre, 1876, une protestation à la Conférence de Constantinople contre toute annexion du territoire natal à une province autonome Bulgare.

Aux motifs qui nous imposaient alors cette démarche sont venus s'ajouter aujourd'hui d'autres motifs plus sérieux encore. Dès que notre pays a été envahi par les troupes Russes, nous avons été victimes de persécutions inouïes, dont nous n'avions pas encore eu d'exemple dans cette province; nos biens ont été pillés, nous avons été insultés et menacés, et nos écoles ont été envahies comme les mosquées des Turcs, et nos prêtres empêchés, dans le district d'Akhi Tchelebi, de célébrer la messe dans nos propres églises; nous avons été contraints à enterrer nos morts pêle mêle avec ceux des Bulgares, et on nous force aujourd'hui à renier notre origine, et de nous avouer Bulgares et ne plus parler notre langue.

Tels ont été les premiers actes de l'administration Russo-Bulgare à Philippopolis.

Vous connaissez mieux que nous ce qui se passe ici et dans l'intérieur de la province depuis cinquante jours. Nous ne vous fatiguerons pas de détails qui prouvent que le Panslavisme, avant même de s'introduire et d'être accepté en Turquie sous forme d'autonomie Bulgare, emploie tous les moyens d'oppression pour faire disparaître les autres éléments, l'élément Grec principalement, et faire prédominer l'élément Bulgare.

Quels intérêts ont poussé les Slaves, en 1876, à provoquer en Thrace une insurrection théâtrale nous l'ignorons; mais nous sommes persuadés que, si l'autonomie Bulgare comprend notre province, les conséquences en seront désastreuses pour nous. Une révolution éclatera, et nous serons exterminés par les Slaves, comme le sont aujourd'hui les malheureux Musulmans.

Au nom des Grecs de cette province, nous protestons donc contre toute annexion à une Principauté Bulgare, d'un pays si rempli encore de nos souvenirs nationaux, et nous osons vous prier, Monsieur, de bien vouloir transmettre notre protestation à votre Gouvernement.

Le Gouvernement Anglais a toujours protégé les droits des Chrétiens en Orient; nous avons le ferme espoir qu'aujourd'hui, encore, il ne nous abandonnera pas dans les circonstances si difficiles où nous trouvons.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) ATH. GUMUSHGUERDAN.
K. PAPPADATIS.
K. AIVALI.
Z. NEMZIOGLU.
Dr. M. VLADOS.
BL. SCORDELIS.
S. ANTONIADIS.
D. ARGYRIADIS.

No. 110.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 5.)

(No. 105.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March* 25, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a Memorandum sent to me by the Porte, complaining of the proceedings of a "Times" correspondent in Thessaly. I have informed the Porte that I cannot remove the gentleman in question, and that it must

take such steps as it may think proper should it have reason to object to his presence in the insurgent districts. The part which "Times'" correspondents are alleged to be taking in exciting war and insurrection against the Turkish Government in various parts of Turkey appears to be a new phase of English journalism.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 110.

Memorandum.

VOICI le télégramme que le Vali de Yannina a adressé au Premier Ministre, en date du $\frac{4}{16}$ Mars, 1878:—

Le correspondant du "Times" est arrivé à Volo, et s'est adressé au Consul d'Italie en demandant deux zaptiés et une lettre officielle pour se rendre au village de Bulgarina, dans l'intérieur du district de Yénidjé.

Si elle délivrait une telle lettre, l'autorité aurait eu l'air de vouloir garantir la vie du voyageur au milieu de localités infestées par des rebelles Grecs, qui ont déjà brûlé plusieurs villages devenus par là le théâtre des hostilités.

Faire accompagner le voyageur dans ces endroits, fusse même par plusieurs zaptiés, c'eut été fort dangereux. Pour tous ces motifs nous avons décliné la demande du susdit Consulat.

Ce monsieur s'est rendu auprès des insurgés des villages Bulgarina et Kesrich en compagnie du frère d'un des Chefs insurgés nommé Papacosta, d'un habitant de Volo, originaire de Yénidjé, et séjournant à Volo depuis quelques mois. Il a visité le district de Yénidjé en se donnant le titre d'Anglais et de fils du correspondant du "Times." Il a prétendu que les insurgés devaient se rendre dans le district où d'autres insurgés Grecs allaient les rejoindre pour dévaster les localités. Il a dit que les troupes Ottommes étaient en petit nombre et a donné des renseignements au sujet des points fortifiés, en ajoutant que bon nombre d'individus appartenant à des familles notables de la Grèce, ainsi que des étudiants, allaient se mettre à la tête ou rejoindre les insurgés.

Ces nouvelles ont été communiquées par le Sous-Gouverneur de Yénidjé. Ce monsieur se trouve ici pour exciter le peuple. Des renseignements dignes de foi disent que le but de son voyage n'est autre que de fomenter des troubles. Il serait à peine nécessaire d'attirer l'attention de votre Altesse sur le résultat fatal que pourrait produire une condition aussi séditieuse, surtout en présence des circonstances que nous traversons.

Je prie, en conséquence, votre Altesse de vouloir bien faire les démarches nécessaires auprès de l'Ambassade de Sa Majesté Britannique, à l'effet d'obtenir l'éloignement du pays de cet individu, dont la présence engendre des inconvénients.

No. 111.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 407.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March* 26, 1878.

I RECEIVED last week from Consul Barker a telegram informing me that irregulars had been sent against a monastery in Mount Olympus where women and children had taken refuge. I immediately brought the matter to the notice of the Prime Minister, who at once telegraphed to the Vali of Salonica on the subject. The Vali has replied that Mr. Barker's statement is entirely without foundation. Nevertheless his Highness tells me that orders have been sent to the local authorities to prevent anything of the kind happening.

I also informed Admiral Hornby of the substance of Mr. Barker's telegram and he at once gave orders for Her Majesty's ship "Ruby" to proceed to the coast of Thessaly to afford any protection that might be required to Christian fugitives.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 112.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 408.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March* 26, 1878.

GHAZI OSMAN PASHA called upon me to-day. His Excellency said that the Sultan had directed him to pay me a visit as soon as possible, His Majesty kindly adding that he looked upon me as his personal friend, and the friend of his country.

The Pasha, who struck me much by his intelligent appearance and modest bearing, spoke gratefully of the interest which had been shown in him by the Queen and Her Majesty's Government, referring to the telegrams which had been sent by your Lordship to the Emperor of Russia about him, and of which, he said, he had learnt at Bucharest.

His Excellency spoke but little on military and political matters; but he observed that great preparations were being made in Russia for war, and that about 400,000 men were being called under arms. They were, however, he said, raw recruits, and it would take some time before they could be made into good soldiers. He confirmed what Raouf Pasha had told me as to the anxiety felt in Russia about a war with England.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 113.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 411.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March* 26, 1878.

I SPOKE to-day very strongly to the Prime Minister and to Safvet Pasha, with respect to the reports that had reached me as to the conduct of the Albanian and other irregulars towards the Christian population of Thessaly and Macedonia, and to the excesses that these lawless marauders were committing. I had already communicated to the Porte the substance of various despatches which I had received on this subject from Consul Barker, Vice-Consul Suter, Mr. Longworth, and other persons. I found that my communications had been translated into Turkish to be submitted to the Ministers.

I urged that steps should be taken without delay to remove the Albanians altogether from the provinces bordering on Greece, and to replace them by regular troops, the Porte having now a sufficient number at its disposal for this purpose. Both Ahmed Vefyk Pasha and Safvet Pasha at once admitted that it was very desirable that the irregulars should be withdrawn as soon as possible, and they assured me that orders had already been given to that effect. It would appear by the reports to which I have referred that the Turkish military and civil authorities are doing their utmost to restrain the Albanians, and it may be urged in justice to the Porte that the excesses committed by these marauders, which are greatly exaggerated by Greek agents and the Greek press, and which the Hellenic Government denounces to Europe, have been mainly caused by the encouragement given by that Government to the insurrection in Thessaly and Epirus, and to the armed bands that have crossed the Turkish frontiers and are laying waste Turkish territory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 114.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 412.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March* 26, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inclose in original a memorandum with reference to religious freedom in Turkey, signed by several English and American gentlemen residing here, and given to me with a request that I would forward it to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 114.

Memorandum respecting Religious Liberty in Turkey.

THE attention of those to whom is committed the settlement of questions affecting all the populations of Turkey is respectfully invited to a point which is believed to be of great importance, and which, it is feared, might be overlooked amid the multitude and magnitude of the practical questions pressing for instant settlement.

The Turkish Government has granted religious liberty to its Christian subjects even when denying them their civil rights, but it has left them under civil disabilities on account of their religious faith, and it has never granted liberty to any of its Moslem population to accept Christianity.

The highest officers of the Government have often asserted that the famous "religious liberty" clause of the Hatti-Sherif of 1856 was never meant by the Turks to apply to converts from Islam to Christianity; and we know that the power of the Government is exerted, when they deem it needful, to prevent a renunciation of the religion of the state by any Mussulman.

This gives the principle of religious liberty a one-sided and unjust application, which is and will become more and more an occasion of irritation and harm. Increasing intelligence and greater civil freedom and equality among the people of different nationalities, and the perception on the part of the Osmanlis that their Christian fellow-subjects are distancing them in the race of material progress, will tend to increase religious inquiry among the Moslems themselves; such inquiry does now exist. In numerous cases intelligent men have, in their conviction, accepted Christianity, but have been deterred from a public confession of the faith they have at heart accepted because aware that such confession is impossible without loss of all civil rights and social standing; for to renounce Islam is regarded a civil offence.

Any settlement of affairs in this country which is to be permanent must secure the rights of all, irrespective of race or creed; we believe that the permanent peace and prosperity of the various populations of this land demand that there be secured, for Moslem and Christian alike, full and untrammelled religious liberty.

Such liberty would include the right possessed by every citizen of whatever race or creed—a right frankly acknowledged and acted upon—

1. To confess and conform to the requirements of his faith, without molestation;

2. To embrace and confess another faith than that in which he was born, when his convictions so require, and that with no compulsion or improper inducements whatever for or against such change;

3. To freely explain, to those who desire to hear, the tenets and observances of his faith; every man being bound in reference to all these points to a proper regard to the public peace and to the exercise of due respect to the rights and religious faith of others.

(Signed) EDWIN. E. BLISS.
(And 24 others.)

No. 115.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 415.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March* 27, 1878.

THE Grand Duke Nicholas paid his visit to the Sultan yesterday. After the prolonged negotiations, which I described in my despatch No. 378 of the 20th instant, it was finally settled that His Imperial Highness should come to the Palace of Dolmabaghtche in the Emperor's Yacht "Livadia," and that he should be there received by His Majesty. The question as to whether the Sultan should meet His Imperial Highness at the bottom of the stairs was settled by His Majesty being at the door of an apartment on the ground floor, which was chosen for the audience. The Grand Duke landed in the state barge, attended by eight or ten persons. The reception lasted for about twenty minutes. His Imperial Highness then crossed the water to the Palace of Begler Bay, where he was soon followed by the Sultan to return his visit. The Grand Duke met His Majesty at the landing-place, where companies of Turkish and Russian troops were drawn up on either side. On this occasion the Grand Duke was accompanied by a numerous and brilliant staff. The

Sultan then returned with His Imperial Highness to Dolmabaghtche, and took him over part of the Palace.

To-day the Grand Duke dines with the Sultan, accompanied by his son and the Dukes of Oldenburg and Leuchtenburg.

I understand that no private conversation took place between His Imperial Highness and the Sultan, who was accompanied by his brothers and by Ahmed Vefyk Pasha.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 116.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 416.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March* 27, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch from Consul Reade, giving a different account of "the massacre" at Eski Djuma from that which he had originally sent to me. It would now appear that the Turkish authorities do not deserve the severe blame cast upon them. It is to be regretted that, when such events unfortunately occur, care is not taken to ascertain the exact circumstances of the case. Statements of an exaggerated and inaccurate nature get abroad and lead to very serious mischief.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 116.

Consul R. Reade to Mr. Layard.

Sir; *Varna, March* 23, 1878.

WITH reference to my despatches of the 6th February and 2nd and 17th instant, on the subject of the late massacre at Eski Djuma, I have now the honour to report to your Excellency that I have seen and interrogated a Yusbashi of Police, Mehemet Aga, an Albanian, whom I knew at Rustchuk till August last, and who was serving at Djuma, and came away with the Kaimakam immediately after the departure of the troops under Salih Pasha.

Mehemet Aga assures me that he was actually present two days previous to the departure of the troops, when Salih Pasha called the Chiefs of the population, and distinctly told them that as the troops and police were ordered to fall back on Shumla, he could not advise them to remain at Djuma whilst there was no Government there, and he urgently called upon them to come away with him, offering them all the assistance they might require. They replied that they would not stir, and would remain at their own risk and peril.

The General again and again urged them to come, but to no purpose.

Mehemet Aga further assures me that the story of the Kaimakam having armed the prisoners is a gross fabrication. There were five or six prisoners in arrest, and these for petty acts of larceny, and were brought away to Shumla by the Kaimakam.

The Aga also states that the massacre was not confined to the Christians, as to his certain knowledge between twenty and thirty Mussulmans were also killed.

Now, this Mehemet Aga I know well, and a more trustworthy officer I have not met in this province. I should certainly put far more faith in his statement than I would in that of the Bulgars, which, in the absence of other information, I could not but transmit to your Excellency.

It also so happens that I am acquainted with the character of the Kaimakam, Nedjib Bey, which is unexceptionable, and I am therefore now convinced that the stories sent to me from Shumla and Djuma are at variance with the truth.

Salih Pasha I knew well when I was in Albania, and from my knowledge of his character I was certainly at the first greatly astonished at what was attributed to him.

The fact is, the Bulgars of Djuma expected the Russians to enter at once, and determined to remain, notwithstanding the urgent pressing of Salih Pasha, and, as Mehemet Aga adds, of the Kaimakam also; and it appears to me to be a matter of

legitimate doubt, when the town was denuded of troops and police, as to who commenced the disorders, which no doubt led to the massacres.

If the Bulgars, as has been the case in so many places, commenced oppressing the Mussulmans, they brought upon themselves what followed, and from the fact that a number of Mussulmans were also killed, I am strongly inclined to suspect that this was the case.

Djuma being left without any Government was owing certainly to the Russians, for not having come to a proper understanding with the Turks, as was done almost everywhere else where one took place of the other.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. READE.

No. 117.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 118.)
Constantinople, March 27, 1878.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a letter addressed to me by Mr. Matteosian, the "Vekil," or official representative at the Porte of the Protestant community in Turkey, requesting my assistance in bringing before the coming Congress the position of the Protestants, with a view to obtaining for them full religious toleration in any new arrangements that may be made in the European provinces of Turkey. I have already brought this subject to the notice of your Lordship, and have pointed out that some measures should be taken to check the spirit of persecution which unfortunately threatens to prevail amongst the Bulgarians against all those who do not profess the same sectarian creed as themselves.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 117.

M. Matteosian to Mr. Layard.

Constantinople, March 25, 1878.

Sir,

I BEG leave to call attention to a subject of vital importance in regard to the progress of evangelical faith in the East. The coming Congress will, no doubt, seek to arrange for the proper government of the peoples included in Bulgaria and other new States in Turkey.

For a long time past religious liberty has been enjoyed among Christians in the Empire, and it will be a matter to be deplored if, in the arrangement for these new provinces, any one sect shall be allowed to dominate over another through any failure to guard this point in these arrangements.

We beg your Excellency's kind assistance in getting this matter brought before the Berlin Congress, and thus secure for every man in these provinces the liberty to profess and follow his own religious convictions without let or hindrance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HAGOP MATTEOSIAN,
Vekil of the Protestant Community.

No. 118.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 119.)
Constantinople, March 27, 1878.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of despatches which have reached me from Her Majesty's Consuls at Salonica, Rustchuk, and Sulina, reporting upon matters of interest which have recently occurred in their respective districts.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 118.

Acting Consul Barker to Mr. Layard.

Salonica, March 17, 1878.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that the news of the taking of the small fortress of Platamona by Doumliotti, the Chief of the insurgents in Mount Olympus, has been confirmed. This Platamona (the ancient Heraclion) had only three cannons and ten soldiers as garrison.

As soon as the Greeks, under Doumliotti, had landed and gone to Litochoro, near Catterina, two small bands of robbers, about thirty men in all, united together under a chief "Evangheli," and augmented by other insurgents, proceeded to the village of Colondro, sent of the Bishop of Kitus, and compelled all the villagers in the neighbourhood to bring their families to Colondro and the Bishop to give them and the standard of the revolution his benediction.

Against these robbers and insurgents the Governor-General has sent 450 Mustaphiz (by sea); 600 regulars, under Mustafa Agas, and 3 cannons (by sea); 900 regulars and 3 cannons, under Fetim Bey (by land); 300 regulars, under Liva Ibrahim Pasha; 600 regulars, under the Commander-in-chief, Asaf Pasha (by sea). Total, 2,850.

The brigands and volunteers, finding themselves only 150, set off with the women and children to Aghios-Pantas in the mountains, setting fire and burning down the Bishop's premises and the church adjoining.

Asaf Pasha, leaving a garrison of 1,000 soldiers at Colondro, went with Tehir Bey and 3 cannons to Kitros, and from thence to Catterina, which has been made the head-quarters.

Nothing has been heard of the 600 (or more) volunteers who arrived and landed at Saint Theodoros. It is said they are in a part of the mountains inaccessible to regular troops.

Asaf Pasha, on arriving at Catterina, was presented with petitions from the Mahommedan and Christian population, seeking redress and protection from the Circassians and Ghega Albanians, who have, on the pretext of suppressing the insurrection, but without any authority, pillaged and killed several persons, saying that if prompt measures be not taken to repress them, the whole country will be obliged to take up arms to defend themselves.

They attacked and plundered the estate of M. Bizzo, Dragoman of the Consulate at Kitros and Ayamides, and carried off 100 horses and mules, and burnt 80 huts belonging to his Wallachian shepherds.

This was done just before Asaf Pasha arrived at the estate, where he slept one night, and he saw and heard *viâ voce* the complaints of the peasants, whom he found loyal to the Government, in spite of the incitement and orders of the Bishop of Kitros.

The post leaving in an hour prevents my sending your Excellency details of these excesses.

From Mr. Suter, under date the 14th instant, I learn that "the insurrectionary movement continues to increase," and that "the number of wounded Turkish soldiers brought into Larissa proves that serious fighting has taken place."

Great complaints are made against the irregular troops, but not the regulars, and I shall have the honour of forwarding particulars by next post.

The Italian squadron, with one Admiral on board the "Venezzia," left on Friday the 15th instant. We have here the Italian "Roma," with Rear-Admiral Del Santos, the Austrian "Funsberg," and the French frigate "Couronne."

The town of Litochoro has been seen burning from Salonica; particulars not yet received.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. B. BARKER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 118.

Acting Consul Barker to Mr. Layard.

Salonica, March 19, 1878.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, for your Excellency's information, a copy of the document I received from Mr. Vice-Consul Suter, which the want of time prevented my sending to your Excellency by yesterday's post, being the translation of a letter from a person at Livadia to him, on the conduct of the irregular soldiery.

Also a copy of an extract from my dragoman, M. Bizzo's Report to me of the 16th instant, relating the excesses committed by the Circassians in his property at Kitros, which came under his own eyes and those of Asaf Pasha, who went there with the troops to act against the insurgents in Mount Olympus.

I have learnt that the town of Litochoro was attacked and burnt by the troops on the 15th instant; twenty to thirty corpses were found, fifty percussion old-fashioned guns, four breech-loaders, one flag, and four cases of cartridges taken.

Having learnt that 500 Bashi-Bazouks have been sent to Catterina, and that they are directed to act against a monastery where the women and children of the insurgent village have taken refuge, I signified to the Governor-General that he would do well to telegraph immediately to Asaf Pasha that he must prevent any massacres. His Excellency replied that he had that moment done so, at the request of the Italian and Austrian Consuls, who also had heard this report. But the circumstance of sending Bashi-Bazouks there at all, when such a large force of regulars was already in the field, speaks very ominously against the intentions of the authorities here, and leads to the fear that the scenes of last year in Bulgaria will be enacted over again.

The mortality among the soldiers from typhus is very great. My colleagues and I are devising the means of inducing the authorities, both civil and military, to take precautionary measures for the health of the city, by sending the patients out of town, and placing them under tents before the hot weather begins.

Three more medical men have arrived. Doctors Clement and Rowe for the Stafford House, and Doctor Jolly for the Red Cross Society.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. B. BARKER.

Inclosure 3 in No. 118.

Translation from the Greek of a Letter addressed to Vice-Consul Suter at Larissa, by a person at Livadia, in Thessaly, dated February 17, 1878.

Livadie, le 17 *Février*, 1878.

Honorable Monsieur,

APRÈS la garantie officielle déclarée récemment par les Puissances Européennes pour la sûreté des Chrétiens de l'Empire Ottoman, quelques-uns croyaient que les cruautés et les excès de l'élément souverain auraient déjà disparus, certes à l'insu de leur caractère et qualité; mais aussitôt que cette garantie a été fournie, toutes sortes d'impiétés ont été commises, c'est-à-dire des pillages, des sacrilèges, et des meurtres.

Les Ghegas et les Albanais qui font la ronde sur l'Olympe en poursuite de brigandage, ravissent, battent, et tuent sans pitié. Il y a huit jours 100 Ghegas allèrent au village de Miliese, et après l'avoir pillé, en chargèrent les butins sur des chevaux, faisant partie de la proie. Les villageois ainsi dépouillés avec prières demandaient leur propriété; mais les ravisseurs nonobstant les battaient et les fusillaient, mais heureusement personne n'y fut tué.

Trois Ghegas allèrent au troupeau d'un certain Gegon Baboum, sous prétexte qu'ils avaient besoin des chevaux aux corvées; ils frappèrent le pauvre Chrétien pour le contraindre de leur payer une récompense suffisante à sa délivrance, et le pauvre homme n'ayant pas assez d'argent pour satisfaire leur avidité, fut gravement blessé. Le Docteur d'Elassona se rendant voir le blessé, assura le Caïmacam de cette ville qu'il serait mort dans peu. Le Caïmacam s'apercevant que le blessé aurait révélé les meurtriers, ne remplit pas son devoir. Deux jours après ce crime un autre Ghega, ne pouvant pas faire une provision gratuite d'une valeur de 15 à 20 piastres chez un épicier d'Elassona, l'attaqua avec son épée, mais l'épicier étant robuste, arracha l'épée de ses mains; deux autres Ghegas voyant leur camarade désarmé prirent, en se précipitant, l'épée des mains de l'épicier, et la remirent au furieux Ghega en lui disant que "Si tu ne tues pas un Ghiaour, tu ne sera pas un Ghega." Aussitôt dit il se précipita vers le pauvre Chrétien et le blessa mortellement.

Hier, quatre Ghegas avec leur chef en poursuite de brigandage saisirent dans la forêt, E. Cozaniotino, à deux heures distance de Livade, où il coupait du bois; prenant d'abord les deux mulets, ensuite ils tuèrent notre jeune compatriote par deux coups de fusil; mais ces sanguinaires n'étant pas contents de cela, ils tombèrent furieusement contre le cadavre aux baïonnettes. Ce très-navrant méfait commis par les farouches Ghegas, nous avons vérifié de nos yeux, au milieu des pleurs non-seulement des parents, mais de tous nos compatriotes.

L'autre jour deux Albanais, patrouilles des forêts, trouvèrent deux chasseurs, et leur prirent les armes, et ceux-ci retournèrent chez eux à Carlza, quatre heures loin de Caterina. Lorsque les premiers sont allés dans ce village les habitants vinrent les rencontrer pour demander les armes, mais les Albanais refusèrent brusquement la restitution; pourtant les villageois insistaient à la réclamation des armes; alors les Albanais, s'éloignant un peu, firent feu contre les villageois, dont un a été tué et un autre blessé gravement. Lorsque ces braves gardes arrivèrent au village de Saint Demetrius, une heure et demie distant de Livade, ils reçurent une lettre d'absolution du Capitaine des Ghegas campés là-bas, et dictée suivant la volonté des Albanais (auxquels nous donnions hier de l'hospitalité dans la ville en leur passage à Ellassona) pour les disculper du crime qu'ils ont commis. Le Capitaine connaissant intimement le Caïmacam, recommanda instamment les Albanais de se rendre à Ellassona, où ils seraient sans doute justifiés, ajoutant l'énonciation habituelle aux Turcs que "vingt Ghiaours ne valent pas un Musulman."

Tel est, M. le Consul, l'état insupportable des Chrétiens dans le district de l'Ellassona.

Comme vous êtes le Représentant de la Puissance la plus philanthropique de l'Europe, nous vous prions chaleureusement de recommander au Gouvernement Ottoman ce qu'il est nécessaire à l'assurance de la vie, de l'honneur, et de la propriété.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) ATHANASIUS A——N,

Docteur en Médecine.

Inclosure 4 in No. 118.

M. Bizzo to Acting Consul Barker.

Salonique, le 16 *Mars*, 1878.

(Extract.)

A PEINE Asaph Pacha est arrivé à Caterina qu'il a été renseigné par les habitants Chrétiens et Musulmans des méfaits qui sont commis par les Circassiens et par les Guégues, et que si le Gouvernement refuse de punir les coupables, le soulèvement de la population Chrétienne sera générale.

En quelques jours, et en présence des autorités civiles et militaires, ont été commis les crimes suivants: -

1. Le 9 Mars une centaine de Circassiens sont entrés à Varkos, qui est une heure loin de Caterina, et avec quelques Guégues et autres Musulmans ont tué un homme avec sa femme et ses trois enfants, dont le plus petit âgé seulement de quelques mois. Ils ont gravement blessé deux personnes et ont tué une autre femme. Les restants des villageois se sont échappés du village et alors la bande ennemie a saccagé toutes les maisons [et ont pris] avec eux aussi tout le bétail.

2. Le 10 Mars les mêmes se sont rendus aux villages de Carlza et Mantria. Les habitants ont immédiatement abandonné leurs foyers et se sont réfugiés sur les montagnes. Un pauvre villageois a été tué et toute la propriété du village a été pillée et emportée. Près de Catterina les dits Circassiens et compagnons ont rencontré soixante-dix vaches appartenant aux Grecs Poulis Nalatu et Liolio, Chrétiens, et ils ont aussi emporté le dit bétail.

Les Circassiens et les Guégues, tant à pied qu'à cheval, se promènent librement dans le district de Catterina et Veria, et la fortune, la vie, et les bestiaux des villageois sont exposés et sans protection. Le même jour qu'Assaf Pacha était attendu à Kitros, 300 Circassiens armés sont entrés de force dans nos propriétés à Kitros et Ajanvidés, où ils ont pillé et désolé nos villageois; ils ont incendié quatre-vingt cabanes appartenant aux bergers, et ils ont aussi enlevé 100 chevaux et mulets. Cette scène a été constaté par un officier Ottoman qui se rend à la rencontre d'Assaf

Pacha. Le dit Général a promis de faire justice aux villageois et de faire rendre les animaux qui furent enlevés, et il a pris note de la bonne conduite des fidèles habitants de mes propriétés, qui ont refusé de se joindre à l'armée révolutionnaire malgré les incitations de l'Evêque de Vitros.

Inclosure 5 in No. 118.

Acting Consul Barker to Mr. Layard.

Salonica, March 20, 1878.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that about a week ago the Mahommedan population of Drama, about 600 persons, waited upon Mr. Charnaud, a British subject, who has large commercial dealings with that town, and begged him, in the name of the population of that sandjak, to go to Constantinople to present a petition to your Excellency in the sense that they had heard Drama would be included in the Bulgarian Principality, and they want to become British subjects, because they cannot bear the fact of their town and sandjak being placed either under Russians or Bulgarians.

Mr. Charnaud has applied to me to report this to your Excellency.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. B. BARKER.

Inclosure 6 in No. 118.

Acting Consul Barker to Mr. Layard.

Salonica, March 23, 1878.

(Extract.)

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that a Government man-of-war has brought here about 300 or more rifles, and some boxes of cartridges found in Litochoro after the insurgents had left the town and a part of it burnt by the soldiers; and I have been informed by his Excellency the Vali, that the villages in the district near Mount Olympus have mostly made submission to Assaf Pasha, and begged he would protest against the insurgent volunteers who threaten to burn down their villages if they do not join them. A few wounded soldiers have been brought here.

Your Excellency's cypher telegram of the 7th was carefully studied by me, and I took immediate measures to carry out your Excellency's instructions. Colonel Synge, who arrived here last night, and with whom I paid a visit to his Excellency and to the Archbishop to-day, is satisfied that these measures will enable him to send your Excellency in a few days a very complete Report. He will leave again to-morrow on a tour in another direction.

His Excellency the Vali has received intelligence that twenty battalions of soldiers (the garrison of Widdin) will soon arrive here from Uesup by railway, and preparations are being made to lodge them.

A large transport, the "Sultanieh," and an Austrian Lloyd steamer are expected here to take away 2,500 Circassians.

The Austrian man-of-war "Fuusberg" leaves here to-day on her return home to refit.

P.S.—The statistics which I succeeded in getting prepared by the authorities immediately on the receipt of your Excellency's telegram, have been completed and sent to me sooner than I expected, and Colonel Synge will have the honour to send them by to-morrow's post to your Excellency.

Inclosure 7 in No. 118.

Acting Consul Barker to Mr. Layard.

Salonica, March 25, 1878.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that the Governor of Volo, Fasli Bey, has informed the Vice-Consuls at that port that torpedoes had been placed

in the port, and that a boat of the Imperial marine would be stationed to warn and guide the vessels entering.

The insurgents in Mount Pelion have made another appeal to the Vice-Consuls, and to the humanity of their Governments, to take measures to prevent the burning of villages, and the massacre of women and children by the Turkish soldiery.

Mr. Vice-Consul Suter, under date the 20th instant, from Larissa, reports to me as follows:—

"During all last week engagements constantly took place on Mount Olympus, and on the 15th instant the village of Rhapsani, where the insurgents had established their head-quarters, being observed from here to be on fire, the local authorities despatched a military officer, with a Christian member of the 'Megliz,' to ascertain and report what had occurred there. These persons returned from their mission yesterday, and I inclose the translated substance of a note in Greek given to me by the latter-mentioned person, by which it will be seen that the place referred to, together with several other well-to-do villages in the vicinity, after being pillaged by them, have been burnt by the irregulars."

Hobart Pasha arrived at Volo on the 16th instant, and left on the 21st, and was expected back on the 23rd. A Turkish transport has landed there 3,000 soldiers.

The mortality from typhus among the sick here, and from among the Circassians, continues.

Mr. Longworth left Larissa on the 18th instant for Trieula, on his way to Yannina.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. B. BARKER.

Inclosure 8 in No. 118.

Consul R. Reade to Mr. Layard.

Varna, March 23, 1878.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that I was yesterday informed by some of the railway officials here, that several of their messengers who have returned from missions inland give deplorable accounts of the treatment of Mussulmans in many quarters by Bulgars.

They state that they witnessed acts of oppression and violence which, if the Mussulmans get any opportunity, cannot but lead to far worse disasters.

I am informed also that many of the Russian troops at Rustchuk, Silistria, and Bazardjik, are retiring into Roumania. At Kustendji there are hardly any Russian troops.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. READE.

Inclosure 9 in No. 118.

Vice-Consul Stokes to Mr. Layard.

Soulina, March 2, 1878.

Sir,

I HAVE now the honour to inform your Excellency that fourteen Turkish ships of war, composed of steamers, monitors, and gun-boats, arrived here this evening from Rustchuk and Silistria. Some of the steamers were drawing between eleven and twelve feet of water, therefore I am convinced that the River Danube is free of all obstacle, although as yet I have not received any official intimation of the fact from the Russian officials. Two Russian torpedo boats arrived here at the same time.

Telegraph communication is not yet established here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) OCTAVIUS STOKES.

Inclosure 10 in No. 118.

Vice-Consul Stokes to Mr. Layard.

Soulina, March 21, 1878.

Sir,

I HAVE now the honour to report to your Excellency that up to the present time I have not received any official notification from the Russian officials of the free navigation of the Danube. Vessels drawing eight feet of water are allowed to proceed up river, and those of a greater draught are allowed to do so upon their own responsibility. I have learnt, from a private source, that the European Commission of the Danube will not declare the river open until they have a guarantee from the Russian authorities that the river has been cleared of torpedoes. The United States' despatch boat "Despatch" arrived here on the 18th instant, and returns to Constantinople to-morrow morning.

I have, &c.

(Signed) OCTAVIUS STOKES.

No. 119.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 426.)

Constantinople, March 28, 1878.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch from Vice-Consul Sankey, stating that he has received official notice from the Russian authorities that all torpedoes have been taken up from the harbour and roads of Kustendji.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 119.

Vice-Consul Sankey to Mr. Layard.

Kustendji, March 17, 1878.

Sir,

I HAVE to report to your Excellency that I have received official notice from the Russian authorities that on the above date all torpedoes had been taken up from the harbours and roads of Kustendji.

To my knowledge several of the torpedoes laid in the roads broke from their moorings during the winter, and have not since been found.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. SANKEY.

No. 120.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 430.)

Constantinople, March 29, 1878.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a letter from Mr. Vice-Consul Calvert to Major de Winter with reference to the distribution of relief to the Turkish fugitives from the Baroness Burdett Coutts' Compassionate Fund, which he had kindly undertaken to administer, in company with some other European gentlemen residing at Philippopolis. I did not like this letter to go to Lady Burdett Coutts without passing through your Lordship's hands, and leaving it to your Lordship to transmit it to her or not as you may consider it best for the public interest. Mr. Calvert's account is worthy of your Lordship's attention, as affording further evidence of the ill-feeling which prevails between the Bulgarian towards the other populations in Roumelia.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 120.

Vice-Consul Calvert to Major de Winton.

Philippopolis, March 17, 1879.

Sir,

ABOUT a week after the arrival of the Russians here, the Turkish peasantry who had fled before them began to return, on the faith of promises, officially given, that their lives, honour, and property should be respected. Before they reached this town, however, their condition was most pitiable, not to mention the outrages and indignities (to the women) which they had suffered from the Bulgarians on their way back to Philippopolis; they had been robbed of everything they had left by the latter; and this was in the height of the cold weather. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, had already perished of cold and starvation in the mountains to the south of this place, and numbers of them died on their way back to Philippopolis. On arriving here they would have hardly been better off but for the relief they received from our Committee. The empty Turkish houses in the town were soon crowded with them; but these dwellings were without doors or windows, and many of the sick and feeble died in them.

We immediately began to distribute rations amongst them. To make our resources go as far as possible, we were obliged to give them bread alone; but even for this they were exceedingly grateful.

The quantity of rations given out rose with the increase of the returned fugitives, whose numbers shortly reached about 15,000.

At this period (the first week in February) we were distributing some 5,000 rations per day.

Seeing, however, that our funds were running low, the Committee addressed a request for assistance to the Russian Governor of the town, General Skalabin. We stated to him that, the occupation of the town by the Russians having cut us off from communication with the outer world, we could not apply for an increase of the funds at our disposal, which were rapidly diminishing, in consequence of the large number of starving Turks whom we were succouring (the sum we then had still in hand was about 200*l.*); and we begged, therefore, that the Russian authorities would kindly afford to us the means of continuing our labours in behalf of the starving victims of the war. The General at once promised to give us the assistance we asked for.

Vast stores of rice, beans, flour, &c., had been left here by the Turkish authorities, and his Excellency said that we should have an immediate supply of several thousand okes of these provisions. He directed us to apply for them to the Chief of the Commissariat, and we did so. We applied twice and three times a-day for more than a week, the Commissariat officer putting off the delivery of the stores from day to day on various pretexts, until, deeming that it was useless to make any further applications, the President of the Committee wrote a letter to the Commandant of Police, who had likewise been directed by the General to see to our being supplied with the promised provisions, informing him that, as he and the other Russian authorities had failed to keep their promise, we found ourselves under the necessity of discontinuing the work of relief, and throwing upon them the responsibility of the distress which must ensue.

The Governor thereupon sent for M. Tucchella, and assured him that the Chief of the Commissariat was alone to blame for the delay, and that the latter had been dismissed on account of it. He added that the stores should be immediately given to us. But, on the following day, his Excellency sent the Commandant of Police to inform the Committee that he could not assist us in continuing our work unless we would consent to elect as members of the Committee the Bulgarian and the Greek Bishops, and unless we would succour Christians as well as Turks.

The Committee declined to accept the former part of this arrangement, and, as to the latter demand, replied that, its mission being to succour the most destitute, it could not undertake to feed Christians who comparatively were not in want to the exclusion of Turks who were dying of starvation; but that we had still a few Christians in receipt of our charity, who should continue to receive it.

The Governor afterwards perceived that he had committed himself to a false step, I imagine, as he intrusted M. Tucchella, in the latter's private capacity, not as a member of the Committee, with the distribution of the provisions he had promised.

Some hundreds of deaths from starvation occurred during the time that the food which might have saved their lives was withheld by the Director of the Russian Commissariat.

Although we had notified to the Russian authorities that our funds would not allow of our continuing the distribution of relief much longer, the Committee continued for about a fortnight longer to afford rations to a limited number of poor.

As there were necessarily a considerable number of orphans amongst the fugitives, it was decided to establish, with our remaining funds, an asylum for them.

This refuge has now been in existence for about five weeks. It costs very little to keep up. The attendants are all refugees, and, therefore, glad to give their services in return for food, clothing, and shelter.

M. Tacchella has sent to it a portion of the provisions entrusted to him for distribution by the Russians.

The establishment is under the direction of a young Turkish surgeon, Hilmi Effendi, who has thrown heart and soul into the undertaking, and receives from us a salary of 4*l.* Turkish a month.

There are now ninety children of both sexes in the asylum. On entering they are washed, shaved, and newly clothed. The improvement in their appearance after a few days' rest and proper nourishment is wonderful.

About twenty of them are sick, many of whom are suffering from frost-bite, and all these are kept in separate rooms.

I am glad to say that there have as yet been no cases of typhus among them, a disease which is terribly prevalent in the town; and I think this may be ascribed to the good sanitary conditions existing in the establishment.

Not to leave the children without some occupation, all those who are old enough and in good health are being taught to read and write, Hilmi Effendi having taken upon himself the duties of teacher. The older children are made to assist in the household work of the establishment.

I trust that Mr. Layard will not disapprove of our applying a portion of the funds entrusted to us in this branch of relief. Many of these children would, in all probability, have died had they not been taken in hand by our Committee, and their being maintained by it relieves a certain number of adult refugees of the moral obligation, so difficult for them to fulfil, of taking care of the orphan.

I must not omit to mention that General Stabilin, the Russian Governor, visited this asylum, and gave the Committee 480 fr. towards its support. He insisted, however, that we should admit Christian children into it, and we readily undertook to do so if he could indicate to us any Christian orphans in a state of poverty equal to that of the Turkish children we had taken in.

Should any further funds be granted to us, they could still be most usefully employed among the refugees here, of whom there are about 7,000 left, the remainder, chiefly inhabitants of the Samakon district, having been sent back thither.

Ready-made clothes and medicines would also be very acceptable, as we have come to an end of all those kindly forwarded to us by Mr. Layard. The "Milk Food," in tins, sent by his Excellency's directions, has been of the utmost value among the smaller children in the orphanage, and has undoubtedly been the means of saving the lives of several who would otherwise have died for want of nourishment which they could digest; but our supply of this valuable article is now running short, and needs replenishing.

I inclose copies of two Reports by Drs. Lyle Heath and Langdon, of the Turkish army, who were left behind here by Suleiman Pasha to attend the wounded after the retreat of the Turks, and who have both kindly devoted a portion of their spare time to the care of the invalids of the asylum.

Mrs. A. Mumford, an American lady resident here, and Dr. Minassian, of the Stafford House, have also very kindly undertaken to assist in the case of the orphans.

Mrs. Mumford especially is devoting herself to the task of increasing the comfort and happiness of these unfortunate children.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. J. CALVERT.

P.S.—I omitted to mention in the body of this Report that the premises secured by us for the orphanage being very extensive, we established in one wing of the building a hospital ward for sick women, of whom there are at present fifteen under our charge.

F. R. J. C.

No. 121.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 432.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March 29, 1878.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 353 of the 12th instant, I have the honour to state that a copy of Vice-Consul Brophy's despatch, relating to the alleged massacre by Circassians and Albanians at Roum Yenikoui, was translated into Turkish for the information of the Porte, and that I am assured by Safvet Pasha that there is an earnest desire on the part of the Turkish Government to bring its authors to justice.

But the district in which it took place is now in the occupation of the Russians, and it is not known where Nouri Agha and his accomplices are to be found. His Excellency has asked me to endeavour to ascertain, and I have accordingly directed Mr. Brophy to make inquiries on the subject, and to inform me of the result as soon as possible. Your Lordship may depend upon it that I will not lose sight of the matter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 122.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 433.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March 29, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of an interesting private letter to Sir C. Dickson from Dr. Ryan, employed by the Stafford House Committee at Erzeroum, relating to the state of that town and to the outrages committed by the Kurds upon the Armenians in the district of Khinnis, now occupied by the Russians.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 122.

Dr. Ryan to General Sir C. Dickson.

Dear General Dickson, *Erzeroum, March 14, 1878.*

I AM sending you a few lines thinking they may be acceptable, as giving you a short idea of what has occurred here since the occupation by the Russians.

There are now, I think, about 8,000 soldiers here, also a regiment of dragoons, two or three batteries of artillery, and about 200 policemen. The most perfect order prevails; there are Russian guards in every street, as well as cavalry patrols, who are always moving about. There was a small affray which took place between two Russian soldiers with several Turks, it ended in the Russians using their bayonets pretty freely, and wounding two or three Turks, but slightly.

I had two of them in hospital, but only for three days, when I sent them out; with this exception nothing of consequence has occurred. About ten days ago some Armenians were counting a number of cartridges, which they had stolen from the Turks, when from some cause or other, one of them exploding, exploded all the rest, blowing the roof off the house, and killing four persons.

I should say that the judge's verdict on this case would be "Serve them right."

I have paid two visits to General Melikoff, and have found him very friendly and courteous. I should fancy that he was greater as a diplomatist and administrator than as a soldier. He has been taking the most active sanitary measures for preserving the health of the town, and preventing a fresh outbreak of typhus, or another epidemic such as cholera, of which we are always in dread. Under his orders, the Turkish dead, who have been buried only to the extent of about two feet, are being reburied at a much greater depth, with a good coating of lime over them.

He has also insisted on the proprietors of houses clearing away the immense heaps of snow lying before their doors. We had a fall of about two feet of the latter three days ago, but as the sun is getting very hot the snow is melting quickly, and the streets

are more like small rivers than anything else. We are still busy in our hospitals. All our beds are full, and the Turks keep them so by emptying their hospitals into ours. I had to make a very strong protest to the manner in which it is done. The other day we received ten new cases, and all of them died the first night, and four days previously we received eight, and all of them died within forty-eight hours; no wonder, too, for they were taken out of a warm bed, lying very ill, into a cold atmosphere, and were obliged to walk for ten minutes with nothing but their night-gowns on them.

There is still a great deal of distress among the poorer class here, and the Rev. Mr. Cole is very busy, but I believe that the sum sent him so generously by Mr. Layard has nearly come to an end. I am sorry to say that the Kurds are at their old tricks again. About sixty miles from here is the plain of Khonos, in which are about 200 villages, twenty-five of which are occupied by Armenians, the remainder by Kurds. About three weeks or a month ago, some Russian soldiers (dragoons and Cossacks, I believe), were sent into some of these villages to forage and rest their horses. One of these villages was attacked by about 700 Kurds, who were put to flight, and thirty-five of them killed and wounded by ninety dragoons; the Armenians aided these latter by clearing the way and showing them the road. In revenge for the part taken by the Armenians, the Kurds have been ravishing and have even gone so far as to murder, in those villages not occupied by the Russians. In one village they went and asked the son of the Governor (the latter having fled), where his father kept his money, and on the son replying he did not know, they cut his hands and feet off, and then killed him. The Kurds spent twenty-one days in the village, during which time they ate 100 sheep, and when they left they took everything worth taking from the houses, including a large quantity of barley for their horses. In another village thirty of them entered and remained two or three days, ravishing the women, &c.

In another village called Karakoupri, 500 of them entered and ravished a number of women. One of them was confined the night before they arrived, and she ran away with her babe, but being pursued she threw the latter away.

Russian troops are in eight of these villages, but they keep there and do not move about.

These incidents were told me to-day by an Armenian who had just come from there; he had run away, as the Kurds had threatened to kill him if they should catch him. Mr. Cole went to General Heymann last night (General Melikoff being very ill), and explained the state of affairs; the only remedy the General recommended was the emigration of these Armenians into Russian territory—not altogether quite feasible. Typhus fever here is greatly on the decrease. We have about 2,000 Turkish sick and wounded. I saw to-day three soldiers, the only ones remaining out of 800 men, all the rest either having died from disease or been killed; he told me that his regiment held one of the forts on the hill over the town about a month ago. They used to pull out about thirty men dead from cold every morning. However, all that is happily over. I do not know how much longer we shall be here, but we will not be sorry to leave. We have had a pretty hard time of it. And now I think I must have wearied you, so I will conclude with kind regards.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES RYAN.

No. 123.

Vice-Consul Biliotti to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 35. Political.)
Trebizond, March 20, 1878.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, copy of two letters, dated 13th and 15th instant, from Dr. Stoker, of Erzeroum, speaking of outrages perpetrated by Kurds, and which induced me to forward to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople a telegram thus worded:—

"Kurds to avenge death of thirty killed in engagement with Russians are reported to commit outrages on Armenians in Chinis district. Russian forces there not sufficient to oppose them. Further outrages feared in direction of Moosh."

In addition to the information contained in the letters inclosed in copy, I may add

that these acts of violence seem to have produced a deep impression on the Armenians at Erzeroum.

The Kurds of Chinis, who were hitherto considered to be comparatively quiet, may, if not checked, extend their depredations and murders to the immediate neighbourhood of the town.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ALFRED BILIOTTI.

Inclosure 1 in No. 123.

Dr. Stoker to Vice-Consul Biliotti.

My dear Sir, *Erzeroum, March* 13, 1878.

THERE are rather ugly stories told here to-day about the Kurds in the district of Khoonosh; as you are probably aware, there are 250 villages in the district, 200 Kurds and 50 Armenian.

Some of the villagers arrived here to-day, flying from the Kurds. They tell that before twenty days there was a slight engagement between the Russians and the Kurds, in which the latter lost thirty men, and now they are avenging themselves by ravaging the Armenian villages, stealing, murdering, and violating the women and young girls.

In the villages where the villagers arrived from, five people had been murdered, and several girls carried away by the Kurds.

There are very few Russian soldiers in the district, and some of them are reported to be leaving; also the villagers are fleeing.

They told a story about a woman who was confined on the roadside, seeing the Kurds coming, buried her child in the snow and fled.

Further outrages are anticipated in the direction of Moosh. I will write you fuller particulars by the next opportunity. Loris Melikoff leaves to-morrow for Kars.

(Signed) GEORGE STOKER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 123.

Dr. Stoker to Vice-Consul Biliotti.

My Dear Sir, *Erzeroum, March* 15, 1878.

I WROTE you a few lines the other day about what was happening in the Khoonosh district. I have examined some of the men who have fled from the district fearing the Kurds. There was an engagement twenty days ago between 700 Kurds and 50 Russian dragoons, between the villages of Carchoonsh and Khert.

The Kurds were defeated, and lost thirty men; Russians, one killed, three wounded. This defeat enraged the Kurds very much, and they declared their intention of revenging themselves on the Armenians.

They have visited seven villages—Guvandook, Burnusda, Khert, Kara-Keupru, Shahabdin, Kara Choban, Mardoff; they have stolen all the cattle and grain from these villages, ravished the women in Shahabdin and Khert, and killed people in Kara-Keupru, Burnusda, and Guvandook.

(Signed) GEORGE STOKER.

No. 124.

Vice-Consul Biliotti to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 36. Political.)
Trebizond, March 20, 1878.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to communicate to your Lordship the last news brought from Erzeroum by the Turkish post, which has just arrived.

In consequence of orders from the Porte, Hussein Pasha, Civil Governor of Erzeroum, and Staff departed from that town about ten days ago, but the day following he received another telegram instructing him not to move if he was still

there, or to stop wherever he was. This second order reached Hussein Pasha at Ashkaleh, where he has fixed his residence for the present, leaving Erzeroum without any Turkish civil authority.

The Turks were continuing to remove their artillery, of which 227 pieces had already been conveyed to Puruh Capan a week ago.

The number of the Turkish troops between Erzeroum and Baiburt is reckoned at between 5,000 and 6,000, and of those between the former town and Erzinghian at from 16,000 to 18,000 men.

Of Russian troops there are at Erzeroum no more than 10,000, and many sick and wounded, of whom upwards of 100 die daily.

The evacuation of Erzeroum by the Russian troops in a not very remote period is looked upon as certain, and, according to the statement of Russian officers themselves, it is to take place on or about the 9th of April next.

It was rumoured some time ago that ten Russian battalions would march down to Trebizond to embark for Russia, but on the departure of the post from Erzeroum six days ago it was contradicted.

However, the rumour was not groundless, for twelve days ago one of the Russian officers who passed through Trebizond lately, writing to a friend here, expressed his regret at not being in the number of those who were coming to embark in this town. This officer also stated in the same letter that Loris Melikoff would himself take this route, but the latter seems to have altered his itinerary, he being about to depart for Kars.

It would appear that the Russians have purchased the necessary grain from the Turkish Government at Erzeroum, and that daily distribution of wheat is issued to the destitute inhabitants of the town from the Government stores, which are abundantly provided, but that the Christians are not included in the number of those who are so relieved.

I have received this moment another letter from Erzeroum, stating that although the departure of the Russians is spoken of, facts do not seem to prove that they intend to depart soon.

They enrol Christian policemen, they are looking for convenient houses to convert them into hospitals, they repair the barracks, they have appointed a Civil Governor and Under-Governors not only in the town, but also in the surrounding villages.

A Russian Councillor has been adjoined to the municipality, who commands and directs important sanitary measures, such as cleansing the streets, burning with lime the numerous corpses which had not been properly buried in the cemeteries of the town, &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ALFRED BILIOTTI.

No. 125.

Consul Sandwith to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 5.)

(Telegraphic.) *Canea, Crete, April 5*, 1878.

THE General Assembly of Crete beg intervention of the Great Powers to stop hostilities.

No. 126.

Consul Sanderson to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 5.)

(Telegraphic.) *Galatz, April 5*, 1878.

TELEGRAM from the British Commissioner of the Danube to your Lordship:—

"On the 2nd April Russians commenced collecting about 600 cubic yards of stone on the river bank at Toultcha; this measure is said to be in preparation of forming a new dam in the event of another war."

No. 127.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 431. Secret.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 3*, 1878.

I HAVE received your telegram No. 343 of the 1st instant, stating that the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs had complained to you of the connivance of the Greek Government with the insurrectionary movements in Thessaly and Epirus, and had requested the intervention of Her Majesty's Government with a view to put a stop to these proceedings, which, if persisted in, would compel the Porte, though most reluctantly, to take decided measures with its fleet, and I have to state to your Excellency that I have urged upon the Greek Chargé d'Affaires in this country the great impolicy of assisting in enterprises which are acts of war on Turkey, and I have not failed to point out that a war between the two Powers might facilitate the extension of Slav dominion.

It is of great importance that you should induce the Porte, as far as possible, to prevent the outrages which are adduced to defend the alleged countenance given by the Greek Government to these movements.

I have to request that you will discourage to the utmost of your power any inclination on the part of the Porte to send its fleet to Athens, and in the event of such a step being contemplated, you will at once communicate with me by telegraph.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 128.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 240.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 5*, 1878.

COUNT BEUST, in a conversation which I have had with him to-day, referred to the papers laid before Parliament yesterday ("Turkey, No. 20"), containing the Roumanian telegrams communicated by your Excellency reporting the language used by Prince Gortchakow to General Ghika. He inquired whether Her Majesty's Government looked on the question of the retrocession to Russia of the Roumanian portion of Bessarabia, provided for in the XIXth Article of the Treaty of San Stefano, as a capital point in their Eastern policy.

I replied that Her Majesty's Government undoubtedly looked upon this question as an important point, especially considering the bearing which it must have upon the dominion of the Black Sea, but that it appeared to me that the effect of the retrocession would bear less urgently upon British than upon Austrian interests.

Count Beust agreed with me that this was a correct view of the subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 129.

Mr. Erskine to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 6.)

(No. 22.)
My Lord, *Stockholm, April 2*, 1878.

ALTHOUGH I have very recently had occasion to notice the totally unfounded reports circulated in England as to the pretended policy of this country in the event of an European war, I deem it my duty to forward to your Lordship the translation of a statement extracted from yesterday's official paper, giving a flat contradiction to a correspondence from Paris which has recently appeared in the "Daily Telegraph" on the same subject. It is declared in this article that in case of war these kingdoms will continue to observe the strictest neutrality.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. M. ERSKINE.

Inclosure in No. 129.

Extract from the "Post Tidningar" of April 1, 1878.

(Translation.)

* * * * * *

IN order that no person unacquainted with the real state of affairs may be rendered anxious by such rumours, we have sought to ascertain whether there was the slightest ground for them, and we are now in a position to declare that such is not the case, but that the statements in question are pure fabrications.

Such a Treaty as that referred to by the "Daily Telegraph" was never thought of, much-less concluded. Nor has any inquiry of the nature referred to been made by the Government of Germany or of any other country. From no foreign Power has any representation of any kind been made to His Majesty's Government, tending, in the most distant manner, to implicate the United Kingdoms in complications which may possibly arise, or, should such arise, to secure advantages or support of any kind from Sweden and Norway.

Anyone who has the slightest acquaintance with our circumstances, and with the views of our Government and our people, must see clearly that, should the apprehended war really break out, inclination, wisdom, and interest, would with like strength bid the United Kingdoms to avoid any step which might in any manner involve them in it, or which might be deemed inconsistent with a strict neutrality.

No. 130.

Colonel Maude to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 6.)

(No. 6. Political.)

Warsaw, April 2, 1878.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Lordship's information, that General Count Ignatieff's mission to Vienna is considered here, by persons who are competent to form a reliable opinion, as having resulted successfully for the Russian Government.

Count Ignatieff left this city yesterday, *en route* for St. Petersburgh.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS C. MAUDE.

No. 131.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 6.)

(No. 357.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, April 5, 1878.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 333, it would appear from the result of my inquiries that Emperor only gave a promise to Raouf Pasha that Bayazid might be restored to Turkey. Mouktar Pasha informs me that a military road could not be carried through territory between confines of Servia and province (?) left by the Treaty to Turkey, and that only practicable road runs through territory ceded to Montenegro.

It might be desirable to verify this on the spot.

No. 132.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 6.)

(No. 80.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburgh, April 5, 1878.

I READ to Prince Gortchakow this morning your Lordship's Circular of 1st instant, and left it copy of it in his hands. He made no observations, but said that he would submit it to the Emperor.

No. 133.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 6.)

(No. 81.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburgh, April 5, 1878.

A SEMI-OFFICAL article in this day's "Agence Russo" states in substance as follows:—

"Mission of General Ignatieff has succeeded in its object of an exchange of friendly communications and of learning views of Vienna Cabinet in regard to Treaty.

"The same is desirable with regard to England, for Lord Salisbury's Circular contains objections to Treaty but no proposals. This was object of Congress, for by exchange of views and verbal communication, combination might have been arrived at satisfactory to all. Cabinet of London should therefore make known its own proposals, and it could then be seen if they, with those of Vienna Cabinet, could lead to a common understanding."

I rather think Count Schouvaloff will receive instructions in foregoing sense.

No. 134.

The Marquis Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 6, 1878.

WITH reference to your despatch No. 423 of the 27th ultimo, inclosing report from Consul Blunt with statistics as to the distribution of the Slav and Greek populations in South Bulgaria, Her Majesty's Government wish to have information specially with regard to the Christians distinguished as belonging to the Slav or Greek races.

Try to obtain these details, and send home as soon as possible.

No. 135.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Acting Consul Freeman.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 6, 1878, 7 P.M.

IT is stated by a Turkish military authority that a military road could not be carried through the territory left by the Treaty to Turkey between confines of Servia and Montenegro, and that the only practicable road runs through territory ceded to Montenegro.

You should go yourself or send Vice-Consul Cowper to verify this statement.

No. 136.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Adams.

(No. 257.)

Foreign Office, April 6, 1878.

Sir,

I HAVE received your despatch No. 302, Secret, of the 31st ultimo, reporting an interview which you had had with M. Waddington on the previous day, upon the subject of a misunderstanding which appears to have arisen with the French Ambassador at Berlin, in regard to your report to Her Majesty's Government of the language held by M. Waddington to you, in conversation with reference to the attitude which France would observe in regard to the present phase of the Eastern question, and which M. de St. Vallier had informed his Government had been communicated to Lord Odo Russell, and been reported by his Excellency to the German Emperor and others.

I have now to state to you that a copy of your despatch will be forwarded to Lord Odo Russell by the first opportunity; and you are at liberty to inform M. Waddington of the communication to his Excellency of the explanations which have passed between yourself and M. Waddington on this subject.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 137.

Lord Tenterden to M. Millios.

Foreign Office, April 6, 1878.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to acknowledge the receipt of the letter which the Epirotic Committee at Athens addressed to the Earl of Derby on the 26th of last month.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 138.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Acting Consul Freeman.

(No. 3. Political.)

Foreign Office, April 6, 1878.

Sir,

IT has been represented to Her Majesty's Government that an eminent Turkish officer is of opinion that it would be impossible to carry a military road through the slip of territory left to Turkey by the Treaty, between the frontiers of Servia and Montenegro, and he adds that the only practicable road runs through territory ceded to Montenegro.

I have to instruct you either to proceed yourself to the spot, or to send Vice-Consul Cooper there, in order to verify this statement.

Copies of the Treaty of San Stefano, accompanied by maps of the proposed boundaries, were forwarded to you by post on the 30th ultimo, and I now transmit, for your information, further copies of the same.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 139.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 82.)
(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburgh, April 6, 1878.

I HAVE received following letter in cypher from Her Majesty's Acting Vice-Consul at Moscow, dated 4th instant:—

"Information obtained indirectly from high official of Governor-General's Office that General Tchernaieff, formerly Commander-in-chief of Servian army, has been sent to the tribes of the Indian frontier."

No. 140.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 83.)
(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburgh, April 6, 1878.

THE Roumanian Agent here fully confirms information reported in Sir H. Elliot's telegrams of the 4th instant. After interview with Prince Gortchakow, and at his desire, he telegraphed to his Government question as to protest and opposition to VIIIth Article of Treaty and the menace which accompanied it. He was informed, in reply, that his telegram crossed a note which he was instructed to present to Prince Gortchakow, and which will probably reach him in four days.

He believes this note to be the same protest which has been addressed to Vienna and the other Powers.

He has informed the Imperial Government, by the order of Prince Charles, that the protest will be made, and that his army would resist any attempt at disarmament.

No. 141.

Mr. Vivian to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 7.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, April 6, 1878, 6 P.M.

VICEROY informs me that the Porte has asked that on the return of the Egyptian troops they should leave their arms and cannon behind, Porte having urgent need of them. Viceroy much annoyed; has (answered) that he has equal need of the arms for his troops, whose return to Egypt is necessary, and that he has no means of rearming them.

No. 142.

Consul-General White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 7.)

(Telegraphic.)

Belgrade, April 6, 1878.

RUSSIAN Agents complain that the recent attitude of Her Majesty's Government has made the Austrian counsels more firm, and increased what they call the pretensions of that Power, thus rendering a direct (?) arrangement impossible.

No. 143.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 7.)

(Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Bucharest, April 6, 1878.

ALL the Russian contracts are being renewed. It is rumoured that a considerable camp is to be formed at Pitesti.

No. 144.

Mr. Wyndham to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 7.)

(Telegraphic.)

Athens, April 6, 1878.

ACCORDING to information received at Athens, Mr. Ogle's body has been found in a ravine, but headless. The remains are expected here for interment by French steamer from Volo.

No. 145.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 352. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, April 6, 1878.

GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS sent M. Onou to ask Porte why trenches were being constructed and troops massed in neighbourhood of Constantinople, and whether these measures were directed against Russia, as, if so, he should be compelled to raise fortifications and adopt other means for the defence of Russian positions at San Stefano. The Sultan has answered that, as Russian troops have occupied neighbourhood of the city in violation of armistice and are not withdrawn, he finds himself under the necessity of taking precautionary measures for defence of his capital in case of accidents.

The Russians are still pressing the Porte to insist upon the withdrawal of the British squadron.

No. 146.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 102.)
(Telegraphic.)
Vienna, April 7, 1878.

I AM informed on good authority that the Emperor of Austria, when he received General Ignatieff, declared in very firm language that he would not allow a repetition of the blunder fallen into at Berlin a year and a half ago of trying to settle the Eastern question without the concurrence of Great Britain.

No. 147.

Consul-General White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 7.)

(Telegraphic.)
Belgrade, April 7, 1878.

THE dispute of Roumania with Russia is becoming extremely bitter, and attracts much attention here. Hitherto the Cabinet of Vienna has appeared lukewarm in the cause of preserving Bessarabia to Roumania, while Russian partizans have been sneering at those who object to the exchange of that territory. Should, however, Roumania persevere in the honourable course she has adopted, and bring on an armed conflict with Russia, which might compel the Prince to retire under protest into Transylvania, Austria could not view with indifference a Russian occupation, and would then be compelled to assume some more decisive action.

No. 148.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 7.)

(Telegraphic.)
Bosna-Serai, April 7, 1878.

TELEGRAM of 6th received. I have as yet received no official communication of the new boundaries of Servia on which to base my investigations as to military road

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No. 149.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 357. Most Secret.)
(Telegraphic.)
Constantinople, April 7, 1877, 6·30 P.M.

COUNT ZICHY saw Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday, and made communication to following effect, in pursuance of instructions from his Government:—

"Austria wished to maintain Turkish Empire in Europe as it was essential to her interests. The Slav States, as proposed by Russia, were dangerous to her. She was prepared to use her best efforts to obtain for Turkey a reduction of part of territory given to Bulgaria, a rectification of the frontier assigned to Servia, and a considerable reduction of territory given to Montenegro. She expected some return for these services. Bosnia could no longer be of any advantage to Turkey; she could derive no revenue from the province for some years, she would be put to vast expense in resettling and compensating refugees. Austria therefore proposed to the Porte to cede to her Bosnia and Herzegovina."

Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs asked what part of the territory included in the proposed Bulgaria would be given back to Turkey, and whether Austria meant that she was prepared to make peaceful efforts or to go to war with Russia to obtain these advantages for Turkey. Count Zichy seemed unwilling or unable to answer these questions. He then asked that Adrianople should be immediately delivered up to Austria without the destruction of the fortifications, to be returned hereafter to Turkey, stating that General Ignatieff had agreed to this at Vienna. As yet Porte has given no reply to these demands. Pray do not let this information transpire at Vienna as coming from me.

No. 150.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 358. Most Secret.)
(Telegraphic.)
Constantinople, April 7, 1878.

SULTAN, whom I have just seen, has requested me to telegraph the following to your Lordship:—

"Treaty of Peace, imposing the hardest conditions on Turkey, was accepted, in order to preserve Constantinople from occupation by enemy. In violation of its stipulations, Russians continue to occupy their present positions for the reasons known to Her Majesty's Government. Should these reasons lead England to declare war against Russia, Russia would doubtlessly at once occupy Constantinople; as the duty of the Turkish Government is to fortify all the approaches to the city, and to plan means for its defence it has commenced the construction of fortifications. Grand Duke Nicholas has notified to the Turkish Government that if works parallel to the Russian headquarters are continued, Russian army, without recommencing hostilities, will occupy those works. In that case Turkish Government will naturally be compelled to sacrifice them. In consequence of this declaration works have been suspended, but the Grand Duke has been told to-day that he will be informed within a few days whether or not they will be completely abandoned. Constantinople is thus placed between two imminent dangers; either the Russians will resume war on pretext of the construction of these fortifications. If fortifications are abandoned, the Russians seize Constantinople by a *coup de main*, as soon as the military preparations of England take menacing proportions, or upon some other pretext. Russians have embarked three battalions at San Stefano on pretence of sending them to Russia, but have landed them at Bourgas. This proves that they have no intention of evacuating the country. If the works commenced are continued, Constantinople could possibly be defended for about twenty days with forces now here, and if any assistance came to Turkey within that time, all danger might be avoided. Under these circumstances Government of Sultan ask in a private and confidential manner, friendly advice of that of Her Majesty as to the course which it should pursue, either to continue fortifications or to abandon them. Sultan, considering the gravity of the danger in which he is placed, begs Her Majesty's Government to send him an answer within four or five days." Grand Duke has demanded to inspect personally with his Generals the Turkish works and positions of the Turkish troops.

No. 151.

Consul-General Eldridge to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 20. Political.)
My Lord,
Beyrout, March 16, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a despatch which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, reporting on the general state of affairs in Mount Lebanon, and especially on its financial position.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

Inclosure in No. 151.

Consul-General Eldridge to Mr. Layard.

Sir
Beyrout, March 16, 1878.

NOTWITHSTANDING the stupendous events which, during the past twelve months, have convulsed the rest of Turkey and reduced the Empire to the verge of ruin, the district of Mount Lebanon has been little affected by the crisis through which the country has passed. The Lebanon has neither had to furnish recruits for the army nor to pay the extraordinary impositions for the carrying on of the war, which have been levied in all the other provinces. The functionaries of the Government, however, surrendered about 10 per cent. of their salaries; the administration

contributed voluntarily about 13,000*l.* to aid the Government in carrying on the war, and the inhabitants subscribed in money and kind towards the fund in aid of the sick and wounded.

During this year of difficulty the tranquillity of the Lebanon has been maintained, and the intrigues which were carried on in the spring of last year, and reported by me, led to no injurious results for the general peace of the country.

The rumours which were spread respecting the probable return of Yussef Karam ceased, and that individual appears now to have subsided, for the present at least, into obscurity.

The arrest last autumn of a number of Maronite monks (reported in my despatch of the 1st October), which at first appeared likely to produce some excitement, was accepted as an accomplished fact, and the agitation soon ceased, which result was chiefly to be attributed to the prudent action of my French colleague, the Maronite Patriarch and the Papal Delegate, who were firm in supporting the action of the Governor-General in this matter; the only dissidents amongst the superior clergy were the Bishops of Jezzin and Beyrout, who have ever since been in a state of open and personal hostility to Rustem Pasha. They are well known as petty intriguers and leaders of an insignificant minority of malcontents, who are always to be found in every community; therefore their hostility to the Pasha and his administration is not likely to disturb seriously the public tranquillity.

Not only has peace been maintained in the Lebanon, but his Excellency the Governor-General has been able on two occasions to aid materially the authorities of the vilayet in preserving order in the districts contiguous to the Mountain (see my despatches of the 3rd September and of the 4th ultimo), a course of action, in my opinion, entirely justified by the circumstances.

In my despatch of the 4th July last, I had the honour to inform your Excellency that orders had been sent to the Custom-house of Beyrout to pay the usual annual subsidy in aid of the revenue to the Administration of Mount Lebanon, but owing to the difficult circumstances in which the Empire has since been placed, which rendered it imperative that every available para should go towards the support of the army, this payment has not been effected.

There are now due to the Lebanon the whole amount for the financial year ended the 13th instant, and about half for the year ended the 13th March, 1877, or altogether, in round numbers, about 18,000*l.*, and as the expenses of the administration have been calculated and incurred on the basis of the actual revenue plus the subvention, according to the annual Budget previously submitted to and approved by the Porte, the financial position of the Lebanon is considerably embarrassed through the non-payment of this large sum, which the administration was perfectly justified in anticipating, and consequently the present embarrassment is not the result of any mismanagement.

In the present situation of the Ottoman Empire, it is unfortunately to be presumed that the arrears now due will not be paid, and in all probability the subsidy will entirely cease for the future, from sheer inability to pay it on the part of the Government, which will have so many more pressing claims to satisfy out of a greatly reduced revenue, and it would be well if the Porte were to declare at once its intentions in this respect, so as to justify the Lebanon authorities in proceeding at once to reorganize the administration, in order to effect the economy which will be rendered necessary by the reduction of income. This can only be done by abolishing a number of posts, by reducing considerably the salaries (already barely sufficient) of those functionaries who remain, and by disbanding a portion of the native militia, which will undoubtedly, in a great degree, diminish the efficiency of the administration; but I see no other way in which the difficulty is to be met, always presuming that the subsidy will be withdrawn.

These necessary measures will cause discontent in the Mountain, not so much, perhaps, generally, since every reasonable person must see the necessity for them, as that each individual who is a sufferer by them will consider it hard that he in particular should be a victim of the economy, however he may be convinced of its absolute necessity.

Were the Lebanese imbued with anything like public spiritedness, this would cause little anxiety, but unfortunately this is not the case, as in general the inhabitants of the Mountain consider their own individual interests before the public good, though I hope the majority of the inhabitants are now so persuaded of the exceptional advantages they enjoy under the "Règlement" that they will be ready to make any sacrifices to preserve them.

There will, however, remain many discontented persons, who will probably join those who, from various causes, are already dissatisfied, and increase the element of intrigue, from which, however, no great danger need be apprehended so long as the Mountain is governed by a man of the capacity, firmness, and honesty which distinguished the present Governor-General Rustem Pasha, whom I believe to be fully capable of dealing with any purely local intrigue, especially as his Excellency enjoys personally the confidence and cordial support of the Consuls-General of the two Powers who have hitherto taken the greatest interest in, and exercised the greatest influence over, the affairs of Mount Lebanon.

I allude to my French colleague and myself, as our relations are those of the most cordial nature, and I can only express a hope that M. Guys may be confirmed in his present post, provided M. Tricou does not return. Although not bearing on the present subject, I may, perhaps, be allowed to add that, with one exception, my relations with the six French colleagues who have been in Syria during fifteen years have been invariably most satisfactory.

The danger to be feared from carrying into effect the reductions and economies in the Lebanon rendered necessary by the (presumed) withdrawal of the subsidy are, the replacing of Rustem Pasha by some person of inferior capacity, or that some foreign Power, desirous for its own ends of exciting troubles and disorders in Syria, may take advantage of the circumstances by acting upon the discontented with fair words and promises to produce a state of anarchy that would soon spread to the rest of Syria, where the general state of disorganization will not be improved by the thousands of refugees from European Turkey who are being poured into the country at almost every port. The general effect of this immigration will, however, demand attention at a future period, when the new comers are settled in their various locations.

In conclusion, I have the satisfaction to assure your Excellency that, up to the present time, the state of Mount Lebanon is generally satisfactory, notwithstanding the convulsions which have disturbed every other portion of the Ottoman Empire.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

No. 152.

Colonel Mansfield to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 39. Political. Very Confidential.)

My Lord, *Bucharest, March 27, 1878.*

I BEG to inform your Lordship that M. Cogalniceano has requested me to submit to Her Majesty's Government the desire of the Government of Prince Charles to maintain a Diplomatic Agent in London, upon the same footing as the Roumanian Agents in Vienna, Paris, and in other European capitals.

For reasons which I shall have the honour to lay before your Lordship, I am of opinion that no immediate answer should be returned to the above request.

Were the demand of the Roumanian Government to be entertained by Her Majesty's Government, the incident might fairly be put down as an intrigue to set off English against Russian influence; no advantage would accrue to British influence or interests, and Russia might be egged on to precipitate action in respect of Bessarabia.

In the protest lately addressed by the Roumanian Cabinet to the Great Powers concerning the Bessarabian question, and indeed in all their outward deeds and words, the policy of the Government would appear to be influenced by the most straightforward motives, and time alone can show whether a double game is not being played.

M. Cogalniceano, and probably the Cabinet in general, would be glad to come to terms with Russia; and no doubt remains upon my mind that their present policy is pursued solely in deference to the voice of the Legislature, and of public opinion in general.

Now, it has occurred to me, that it is quite within the range of possibility that the demand of M. Cogalniceano for the reception of a Roumanian Agent in London is merely a manœuvre to obtain a refusal at the hands of Her Majesty's Government, and then go to his colleagues and to the Chamber, or at any rate intrigue with his opponents, setting forth that England will not hold out a hand to them, and that a compromise with Russia is the soundest policy for Roumania at the present junction.

I sincerely hope that the policy of this Government is as straightforward as is warranted by their words, and your Lordship may be assured that I shall watch their

proceedings with the utmost vigilance, and, should circumstances justify my doing so, set forth the reasons for, and perhaps even recommend, a favourable consideration of the request of the Government of Prince Charles.

The anti-Russian feeling in these principalities is now at a climax, and it will become my duty at a future date to report whether any advantage would accrue to English influence by encouragement on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 153.

Colonel Mansfield to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 8.)

(*No.* 42. Political. Confidential.)
Bucharest, April 2, 1878.

My Lord,

A SOMEWHAT singular incident occurred in the Roumanian Senate on the 27th ultimo. In answer to an insignificant question, M. Cogalniceano launched forth upon a violent diatribe against Russia; he declared that, as regards Roumania, the pact of San Stefano ought to be considered as null and void; that the Treaty, without consulting this country, accorded the right of passage, and various other matters to Russia, and implied an occupation of Roumania by Russian troops for at least two years, and much more in a similar sense.

M. Jonesco, the late Minister of Foreign Affairs, deprecated the language held by M. Cogalniceano, which he considered unbecoming in the mouth of a Minister, and wished to know whether diplomatic relations with Russia had been suspended, as M. Cogalniceano's violence amply justified such an inference.

In reply to M. Jonesco, M. Bratiano, while toning down the attitude assumed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, fully endorsed the general line of argument as regards the Treaty of San Stefano.

As far as M. Cogalniceano is concerned, but little importance need be attached to his attack upon the Treaty of San Stefano. Both in the Legislature and out of doors he has long been accused of Russian proclivities, and the tone he has assumed is designed merely to rehabilitate himself in public opinion.

On Thursday, the 28th, M. Bratiano started for Vienna, avowedly with the object of submitting to Count Andrassy the state of feeling in these principalities respecting the Bessarabian question; but I have every reason to believe that the aim of the journey of the Minister President was to see General Ignatieff; for whatever may be the ostensible policy of this Cabinet, it is believed that they are not the least cured of their Russian leanings, and are as prepared as ever to give in to Russian intrigues, or even an alliance.

On Sunday, Prince John Ghika and M. Sturdza returned from their respective missions abroad, and the same day was held a united session of the Chamber and Senate. After hearing the reports of the above gentlemen, it was proposed that the Government should forward a formal protest against the Treaty of San Stefano to the Great Powers; a proposition for the consideration of which M. Cogalniceano demanded time, alleging the absence of M. Bratiano, &c.

It is believed, however, that the Senate and Chamber will formulate a protest, and endeavour to force its adoption by the Government, but it is doubtful whether personal intrigues, among those who would wish to coerce the Government, may not frustrate the project.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 154.

Mr. Vivian to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 8.)

(No. 86. Political. Very Confidential.)
Cairo, March 28, 1878.

My Lord,

THE Khedive has again referred in conversation with me to the suspicions of his Russian proclivities and of the existence of some secret understanding between him and Russia.

He ascribes these rumours, which he stigmatizes as utterly false and calumnious, to the intrigues of his enemies at Constantinople and in Europe; among the latter he numbers Nubar Pasha, who, he says, was a candidate under Russian encouragement for the chieftaincy of the new Bulgarian Principality.

He says it is hard, after incurring the bitter enmity of Russia by the loyal support he has lent to the Sultan all through the war, to be suspected of intriguing with Russia; had he had any such inclinations or views it would have been very easy for him to refuse to send any assistance to Turkey on the plea of his financial difficulties and engagements, and no Power but Turkey could have found fault with this excuse.

But he never hesitated about his obligations and duties as a loyal vassal and a Mussulman Prince; he braved the threats of the Russian and the warnings of the French Agent; he even gave far more than was required of him, and he ascribes the insignificant part played in the war by the Egyptian contingent to the jealously of Mehemet Ali Pasha, who would never give Prince Hassan a proper command.

He still fears that Russia may wreak her vengeance upon Egypt in some form or shape; General Ignatieff, he says, is fully aware from old experience of his determined opposition to the Russian party at Constantinople, and how much he contributed to the fall of Mahmoud Pasha, whom he describes as nothing but a tool of Russia; and His Highness described to me a conversation that he had had with the late Sultan Abdul Aziz, when he had earnestly implored His Majesty to shake off his Russian advisers and to return to the traditional alliance with England, the whole of which was overheard and reported to General Ignatieff by spies who were concealed behind the curtains.

The Khedive appealed to me whether I thought it probable or even possible that he should be guilty of such suicidal folly as to intrigue with Russia against England. He had often been accused of being an Anglo-phile, but that was not the case. He was above all an Egyptian, and his leaning to England was founded upon a deliberate and sincere conviction that it was in the true interests of Egypt, and he had never swerved, and never should swerve, from that policy; I believe His Highness to be sincere.

I shall leave your Lordship to send copies of this and my other confidential despatches to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, if you think it worth while, as I dare not trust them to the post, which is my only means of communication with his Excellency.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. VIVIAN.

No. 155.

Mr. Vivian to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 8.)

(No. 90. Political. Confidential.)
Cairo, March 29, 1878.

My Lord,

WITH reference to Mr. Layard's telegram to your Lordship No. 307 of the 15th instant, respecting the movements of Prince Hassan and the Egyptian contingent, the Khedive has admitted to me that he is very uneasy at the continued detention of the Egyptian contingent at Varna, boxed up, as he said, "like prisoners," and he informs me that Prince Hassan has been quietly and gradually sending away all his military material and stores, with a view probably of preventing their being impounded; the Khedive highly approves Prince Hassan's tact in agreeing to the proposal of the Porte to send the troops to Salonica; his desire being to get them at all events on this side of the Dardanelles, where they will be out of danger of being interned.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. VIVIAN.

No. 156.

Mr. Vivian to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 96. Political. Confidential.)

Cairo, March 30, 1878.

My Lord,

THE telegraphic reports of the critical position of the relations between England and Russia induce me to call the serious attention of Her Majesty's Government to my telegram of yesterday, reporting the Khedive's misgivings about the detention of the Egyptian contingent in Turkey, and to the defenceless state of Egypt in the absence of these troops.

The Khedive expresses great anxiety to get them back.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. VIVIAN.

No. 157.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 18. Political.)

Bosna-Serai, March 28, 1878.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that, according to instructions from Constantinople, the police force in this province is to be reduced by one-third. This seems an extraordinary measure at the present moment, when the country is overrun by deserters and others who, accustomed to an idle and adventurous life during the past three years, have now taken to brigandage as a means of existence. Amongst these I may mention a certain dervish, named Hadji Lojo, who has frequently been the subject of reports from this Consulate. About two years ago he was supposed to have been exiled from the province, but it is doubtful whether he ever quitted it, and latterly, in company with his brother and a few associates, he has committed several robberies and excesses in different parts of the country. For the last three months the police have been endeavouring to capture him, but, notwithstanding that a reward has been offered for his apprehension, the natives, some from fear, others from fanaticism, have so far succeeded in concealing him and protecting him from pursuit.

Brigandage is likely to be rife in this province for some years to come, and nothing but an efficient and sufficient police force can restore to it its former state of security.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 158.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 19. Political.)

Bosna-Serai, March 29, 1878.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the third class of the Bosnian Redif is now being called out. This measure has given rise here to much conjecture, but his Excellency Mazlar Pasha assures me that it has no warlike signification, and that the order for its execution was received six months ago from Constantinople, but for want of the necessary uniforms, &c., could not be carried out until now. His Excellency says that as soon as this force is enrolled he hopes to disband the Mustahfiz, the 3,000 or 4,000 "Mouvinich" or Bashi-Bazouks, and the Spahis, still under arms.

The European papers are now constantly referring to a concentration of troops in Bosnia. As yet no such concentration has taken place. Towards the end of last year the garrison of this province was largely drawn upon to reinforce the Turkish army in Bulgaria, and no fresh troops have arrived up to the present moment; as they must of necessity pass this way, I could not fail to be aware of it were such the case.

Five weak battalions have, I believe, been stationed at Krupa on the Mostar-Metkovich road, which is here taken as an indication of the Porte's intention to oppose

by force any occupation of the country by Austria, and M. Dozou informs me that some works have been lately constructed at the entrance to Mostar which can apparently have no other object. The Governor-General, however, it is said, not long since applied to Constantinople for instructions in view of this much talked of occupation, and was told that there was no reason to anticipate any such event, and that he should endeavour to allay the fears of the people. The actual military force in Bosnia, without such ardent help from the native Mussulmans as can hardly be reckoned on, could offer but a feeble resistance to the advance of any Austrian army.

M. Dozou informs me that in the Herzegovina the troops no longer receive rations of meat, the contractors being released from the performance of their agreement by the non-payment by the Government for the last three months of the stipulated sums. He also states that orders have been received both by the Mutesarif and at the Custom-house not to expend a para of any future receipts, but it is difficult to understand how such an instruction can be carried out.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 159.

Vice-Consul Marshall to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 37. Political.)

Belgrade, April 3, 1878.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a letter addressed to this Consulate-General by M. Ristich, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the alleged Turkish excesses on prisoners during the late war.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LIONEL MARSHALL.

Inclosure in No. 159.

M. Ristitch to Consul-General White.

Belgrade, le 27 Mars, 1878.

M. l'Agent,

IL est probablement à votre connaissance que lorsque les troupes Serbes occupèrent pour la seconde fois Koursboumlié, elles trouvèrent devant la ville les cadavres mutilés de vingt-six soldats Serbes et leurs têtes fixées sur des pieux.

Les victimes de cet acte de barbarie, au nombre desquelles se trouvèrent deux officiers, étaient ceux de nos soldats restés aux mains des Turcs dans le mouvement de retraite des 25 et 26 Décembre.

Quelle que fut l'horreur dont nous fûmes saisis, le Gouvernement Princier ne crut pas devoir alors en faire l'objet d'une démarche spéciale auprès des Puissances, espérant que la publicité donnée à ces tristes faits suffirait pour en prévenir le renouvellement.

Malheureusement il n'en a pas été ainsi, et il nous était réservé d'assister à de nouvelles horreurs commises par les troupes Turques.

Le 17 Janvier un détachement de la Brigade de Yagodina s'étant égaré dans le brouillard tomba aux mains des Turcs. Après la conclusion de l'armistice, le Commandant de la redoute Turque de Samokov devant Koursboumlié, Colonel Mehemed Bey, assura à notre parlementaire qu'il se trouvait en effet à Prichtina trente-trois prisonniers Serbes. Une proposition fut alors faite de la part du Commandant Serbe, Colonel Leschianine, au Commandant Turc, le Général de Division, Hafiz Pacha, pour l'échange de ces prisonniers contre un nombre égal de prisonniers Turcs se trouvant en Serbie. J'ai entre mes mains la lettre d'Hafiz Pacha, en date du $\frac{27 \text{ Janvier}}{8 \text{ Février}}$, par laquelle il avise le Colonel Leschianine, qu'étant sans instructions sur l'échange des prisonniers, il doit auparavant en référer au Ministre de la Guerre à Constantinople, reconnaissant ainsi implicitement qu'il y avait des prisonniers Serbes dans le camp Turc.

Plus tard, le 17 Février, lorsque nos troupes se mirent en devoir d'occuper les points qui leur étaient assignés par la ligne de démarcation et d'où les Turcs se retiraient, elles trouvèrent à Prépolatz trente-trois têtes coupées, parmi lesquelles on

reconnut entre autres celle de l'officier de milice de la brigade de Yagodina qui commandait le détachement fait prisonnier le 17 Janvier. Les médecins constatèrent que le massacre remontait au plus à trois jours, c'est-à-dire, au 14 Février. C'est donc en plein armistice et sur des prisonniers désarmés, qu'ils avaient en leur pouvoir depuis près d'un mois, que les Turcs se sont livrés à ces cruautés inouïes.

Tel est, M. l'Agent, le sort que les troupes Turques réservaient aux prisonniers de guerre Serbes, tandis que plusieurs milliers de prisonniers Turcs internés en Serbie sont traités avec la plus grande humanité et que des centaines de blessés ennemis reçoivent sans distinction aucune les mêmes soins que les nôtres.

Les expressions me manquent pour qualifier et flétrir comme il le mérite un pareil mépris des usages de la guerre de la part des troupes Turques, et je n'ai pu m'empêcher d'en faire l'objet d'une démarche spéciale afin que votre haute Gouvernement, auquel je vous prie de communiquer le contenu de la présente note, puisse apprécier cette violation flagrante des lois de l'humanité et en particulier des prescriptions de la Convention de Genève.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) J. RISTITCH.

No. 160.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 238. Most Confidential.)

Rome, March 28, 1878.

My Lord,

I CALLED upon Count Corti this morning by appointment for the purpose of carrying out the instructions conveyed to me in your Lordship's despatch No. 144 of the 13th instant, which direct me, as soon as the new Italian Cabinet is formed, to sound the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in strict confidence, whether the Italian Government would be willing to enter into an understanding to the effect of the Memorandum, the terms of which are given in your Lordship's despatch, having for object the maintenance of the communications of the two countries between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, and of the security of their commercial and political interests in the Black Sea and Straits in view of the changes which the recent war, and the arrangements consequent on its termination, may bring about in the balance of power in those waters.

Before making Count Corti acquainted with the communication with which I was charged, I said I should wish to lay down certain general principles, amounting, in my opinion, to axioms, and to inquire if he assented to them, because if he did not, there would not be much use in my proceeding further. These principles were that, generally speaking, Italy might be considered to have the same interests in the East as England; that is to say, that both countries were interested in the maintenance of the freedom of their communications between the Mediterranean and the Black Seas through the Straits and Bosphorus, and that consequently any arrangements which might now be made which were of a nature to place these communications in danger of interruption, were a matter of common concern to both countries.

Count Corti replied that he fully adopted this view.

Such being the case, I said I would ask him whether he did not think that the practical carrying out of the stipulations of the Treaty of San Stefano, by which Russia would, to all intents and purposes, be established in what used to be European Turkey, with ports in the Black and Ægean Seas, and in a position to seize Constantinople and the Dardanelles at any moment, did not create the very danger to which I had alluded in my first question?

Count Corti did not deny that it would.

Under these circumstances I said I would now read to him the instructions which I had received from your Lordship, and I proceeded to do so.

When I had finished, I said I was quite prepared for his being unable at once, and before consulting his colleagues, to give me an answer whether the Italian Government would be willing or not to enter into such an understanding as that proposed by Her Majesty's Government, and that consequently if his Excellency wished it I was willing to leave with him for submission to the Cabinet a copy of the Memorandum on which the proposal was embodied, and which I begged him to observe was marked Most Confidential; and Count Corti having expressed his desire to possess it, I placed it in his Excellency's hands.

A copy of it is herewith inclosed.

Count Corti then said that he would lose no time in laying the matter before his colleagues, but that he could tell me at once that the Italian Government was most anxious not only to cultivate the most intimate understanding with England, but to act with Her Majesty's Government as far as possible in support of their mutual interests. His Excellency repeated that he entirely agreed that the interests of the two countries were the same upon the questions now under consideration. The Italian Government would always, therefore, be ready for the most frank and unreserved exchange of ideas upon any emergency which might arise, and by which those interests might be affected. "Let the English Government," his Excellency said, "make us proposals from time to time, and we will see if we can support them; but," he continued, "the Italian Government is anxious to avoid, if possible, being mixed up in complications. Public feeling in England is now running very high, and I do not think the Italian Government would be willing to bind themselves by any engagement which might perhaps lead them into war."

I replied that this need not necessarily be the consequence of the proposed understanding; that if the Italian Government agreed to it, Her Majesty's Government intended to invite the Governments of France, Austria, and Greece to join also; and that much was to be hoped from the moral effect of such an union.

Count Corti replied that he was convinced that Austria would be gained over by General Ignatiew, and his Excellency made allusion to the share with which it is now reported that Power is to be tempted to waive her objection to the Treaty of San Stefano, viz., Bosnia, Herzegovina, and part of Albania, down to Salonica.

This, I said, was an additional reason for Italy joining with England.

But putting any possible extension of Austrian territory aside, how, I inquired, would it suit Italy to have Russia established in the Adriatic, which she would be by the stipulated cession of the two ports of Antivari and Dulcigno to Montenegro?

Italy, I said, was now a great Power, and she was bound to undertake the duties and responsibilities of that position, and to be ready, as other Powers were, to speak out in defence of her interests. By agreeing to the understanding now proposed by Her Majesty's Government, she would be able to do this with some chance of success; but if she did not, she would find herself isolated, and her voice of no avail.

I need not trouble your Lordship with further details of this interview, which then took an informal and unofficial character.

Before my leaving, Count Corti said it would suit him if I would call on him to-morrow, he would give me the answer to the Memorandum, and promised that he would not mention my present communication to any other Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 160.

Memorandum.

(Most Confidential.)

IN view of the changes which the recent war and the arrangements consequent on its termination may bring about in the balance of power hitherto maintained as to the communications between the Mediterranean and Black Seas, the Governments of the countries more immediately concerned in those waters agree to consider the maintenance in that respect of their commercial and political interests in the Mediterranean and the Straits, and also any act tending to a violation of those interests, as questions of general concern, and they will from time to time, so far as practicable, come to an understanding as to the measures which may be necessary for the maintenance of those interests.

No. 161.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 240. Most Confidential.)

Rome, March 29, 1878.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 238, Most Confidential, of yesterday's date, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that on my calling on Count Corti this

morning, his Excellency told me that having brought before his colleagues the communication I had made to him relative to an understanding between England and Italy as to their interests in the Black Sea and Mediterranean, he could only confirm the answer which he gave me yesterday, to the effect that, while the Italian Government was desirous of maintaining the most cordial understanding with Her Majesty's Government, and would be always ready to give an attentive consideration to any proposals which might from time to time be made to them by Her Majesty's Government in reference to the common interests of the two countries, the Italian Government was not prepared to bind themselves by any engagement by which they might possibly be involved in a policy of action.

In the course of the conversation which followed, Count Corti stated that for Italy to take part in any war would be her absolute ruin, and that so long as he was at the head of the Foreign Department he should be firm in the maintenance of a policy of neutrality. If the Congress had taken place, his Excellency added, the Italian Government would have been ready to join Her Majesty's Government in endeavouring to obtain modifications in the Treaty of San Stefano.

On my asking Count Corti if it was true, as some newspaper had stated, that the Russian Government had made a proposal to the Italian Government to join the Russian cause, his Excellency replied that there had been no communication whatever from the Russian Government on this subject, nor did he think it was likely there would be one.

At all events, his Excellency added, it was quite certain that there was not one person in Italy who would give even a thought to such a proposal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 162.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April 8.*)

(No. 247.)
My Lord, *Rome, April 2, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that on the 23rd ultimo, the day before delivering up the seals of the Foreign Department, Signor Depretis signed with the Diplomatic Agent of Roumania in Rome, a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation.

I understand from the head of the Commercial Department in the Foreign Department that this Treaty is much in the same terms as that concluded with the Principality by Austria-Hungary and Germany, with this exception, however, that whereas the Italian Government could not admit any exceptional treatment to the prejudice of Italian subjects of the Israelitish persuasion established in Roumania, it was determined to omit any clauses having reference to the rights and privileges of the subjects of the one country within the territories of the other.

It would seem that the signature of this Treaty has created a great sensation in the Roumanian Parliament, and the Roumanian Agent here has communicated to the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and published in the newspapers, the despatch of which the inclosed, taken from the "Italie," is a copy.

The protest of the Roumanian Government against the retrocession of Bessarabia meets with a great deal of sympathy in Italy, and the clause of the Treaty of San Stefano having reference to that subject is perhaps that which excites the greatest amount of indignation amongst the Italian press and public.

I am informed that the Roumanian Agent is unremitting in his endeavours to induce the Italian Government at once to recognize formally the independence of the Principality.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 162.

Extract from "L'Italie" of March 31, 1878.

Rome, 30 Mars.

DEPECHE adressée par le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Roumanie à l'Agence Diplomatique de Roumanie à Rome:—

"*Bucarest, 29.*

"M. l'Agent,

"La Chambre, dans sa séance du 26 courant, a décidé à l'unanimité d'inviter le Gouvernement à exprimer les sentiments de gratitude de la nation Roumaine envers Sa Majesté le Roi d'Italie et envers le Cabinet Depretis, à l'occasion de la signature du Traité de Commerce.

"En conséquence, je vous prie de communiquer ce vote à son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

(Signé) "COGALNICEANO."

No. 163.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April 8.*)

(No. 249.)
My Lord, *Rome, April 2, 1878.*

I HAVE on different occasions observed upon the extreme difficulty of making accurate reports of the debates in the Italian Parliament until the official text of them is published, which frequently does not happen for several days afterwards, in the official "Gazette."

The reason for this is, that it is almost impossible to hear a word of what passes in the diplomatic tribune of the Chamber of Deputies, and accounts of the speeches given by the newspapers are in most cases not to be relied upon.

An instance of this has just occurred.

In my despatch No. 232 of the 26th ultimo, I said, in reference to that part of the speech of the President of the Council setting forth the programme of the Government which referred to foreign affairs, that I understood him to say that "the object of Italy would be to endeavour to contribute to the maintenance of peace, to observe an attentive neutrality," &c.

In the report, however, of the speech, given by the "Italie," of which I inclosed a copy to your Lordship in my despatch No. 236 of the 27th ultimo, the word "neutrality" was not mentioned; but your Lordship will see by the extract from the official "Gazette" which I inclose, together with a translation, that the word "neutrality" really did occur; and I allude to it because stress has been laid on it by part of the Italian press, and commendation has been bestowed upon the Government for at once openly proclaiming their intention to observe a policy of neutrality.

I may take this opportunity of mentioning that Count Corti has received six notices of interpellation on foreign affairs for Monday next, the 8th instant, one of them coming from the Marquis Visconti Venosta.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 163.

Extract from M. Cairoli's Speech.

(Translation.)

WITH regard to foreign policy, that most delicate subject which dominates all minds and involves the unknown which preoccupies the world, I will not make superfluous declarations. The moment is grave, the morrow uncertain; Italy, in amicable relations with all the Powers, will know, by keeping a neutrality free from all danger, how to make herself respected. (Applause.) Aspiring to the settled benefit of a secure peace, we were however unable to neglect those precautions which were taken to complete the equipment of our brave army, thoroughly organized by the wisdom of former Ministers. Neither would you wish that the provident works should be interrupted from which our navy will rise to the height of its glorious traditions.

No. 164.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 251. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Rome, April 3, 1878.*

COUNT CORTI informed me, in an interview I had with him this morning, that Count Robillant had telegraphed to him that General Ignatieff, having failed to come to an understanding with the Austrian Government relative to the Treaty of San Stefano, he believed that it was Count Andrassy's intention to make a further effort to secure the meeting of the Congress.

Count Corti then read me a telegram from General Menabrea, giving the substance of a Circular which, he states, had been addressed by your Lordship to Her Majesty's Embassies abroad, relative to the consequences which the practical carrying out of the Treaty of San Stefano would have upon both English and European interests, and setting forth the reasons why Her Majesty's Government have declined to take part in a Congress in which the discussions respecting the Treaty were to be limited by the reserves of the Russian Government.

Count Corti expressed his concurrence in your Lordship's views as to the effect of the Treaty of San Stefano, and in the arguments by which the refusal of Her Majesty's Government to take part in the Congress on the terms laid down by the Russian Government was justified.

I asked his Excellency whether, under these circumstances, he would not make known his opinion at St. Petersburgh.

He replied that it was the policy of the Italian Government to endeavour to smooth the way to an understanding; to do nothing which might lessen the chances of peace; and, consequently, not themselves to raise obstacles. They were ready to go into Congress on any terms which might be agreed to by Her Majesty's Government, and he therefore did not like to raise objections by putting himself forward officially. Nevertheless, although he must own he had little or no confidence in any further attempts which might now be made to bring about the Congress, he certainly would, he said, instruct Chevalier Nigra to inform Prince Gortchakow confidentially that, in the opinion of the Italian Government, the whole of the Treaty of San Stefano ought to be submitted for discussion, in the event of the Congress meeting, as the only means by which the bearing of its various clauses upon the Treaties of 1856 and 1871 could be ascertained by the Signatory Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 165.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 253.)
My Lord, *Rome, April 4, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 1st instant, relative to the course which Her Majesty's Government have thought it their duty to pursue in reference to the Preliminaries of Peace concluded between the Ottoman and Russian Governments, and to the European Congress which it has been proposed to hold for the examination of that Treaty.

I lost no time in calling on the Minister for Foreign Affairs in order, in compliance with your Lordship's instructions, to read this despatch to him and to give him a copy of it.

Count Corti was out, and I waited for him for nearly an hour; but being then informed that his Excellency had been sent for to the Chamber, and that it was uncertain when he would return, I wrote him a few lines, inclosing a copy of the despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 166.

Lord Odo Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 248.)
My Lord, *Berlin, April 3, 1878.*

ON receiving this morning by post your Lordship's printed Circular No. 190 of the 1st instant, without signature, I called on the Minister for Foreign Affairs to read, and leave a copy of it with his Excellency.

Herr von Bülow, in reply, requested me to thank your Lordship for the communication of this important document, and to assure your Lordship that he would lose no time in submitting it to the Emperor and to the Chancellor, Prince Bismarck.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 167.

Lord Odo Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 249.)
My Lord, *Berlin, April 6, 1878.*

IN reading over the last Confidential Print just received of Sunday and Monday, 31st March, and 1st instant, I notice a telegram from Mr. Adams to Lord Derby, marked No. 12, Secret, of the 31st March, according to which the French Minister for Foreign Affairs was much disturbed at hearing from the French Ambassador at Berlin, that I had communicated to the German Emperor, Prince Bismarck, and others, a telegram from Her Majesty's Minister at Paris, respecting French sympathies for English policy.

Mr. Adams did well to assure His Excellency that there must be some mistake. It was evidently impossible for me to communicate a telegram to the German Government which I had never received, and which, if I had received, I should have thought it my duty to keep strictly secret.

Mr. Adams further refers to his despatch No. 263. That despatch I have now looked for and found in the Confidential Print just received, but as I had never seen it before, it was not in my power to commit any indiscretion in regard to its contents, since I did not know them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 168.

Lord Odo Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 251. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Berlin, April 6, 1878.*

YOUR Lordship's Circular of the 1st instant has been generally very well received and favourably reviewed by the German press; but the German Government have hitherto adhered to their attitude of reserve and have carefully avoided committing themselves to any opinion upon it.

There can be no doubt that Prince Bismarck is exerting his influence to bring about an agreement between Austria and Russia in regard to the Treaty of San Stefano, and that Count Andrassy is bent upon rendering the meeting of a Conference possible, which he considers to be indispensable for the settlement of the Eastern difficulty.

I hope to see Prince Bismarck in the course of the coming week, when I shall be able to give your Lordship more precise information than I can by to-day's messenger to England.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 169.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 271.)

Vienna, April 1, 1878.

My Lord,

M. BRATIANO, the Roumanian Prime Minister, arrived here two days ago, and called upon me this afternoon in company with M. Balatchano, the Roumanian Agent.

M. Bratiano had come, he said, to see if it was possible to obtain from the Powers such intervention as might save the Principality from being despoiled of its Bessarabian province.

I told him Her Majesty's Government would see with concern the Principality deprived of the district added to it by the successes of the Allies in 1856.

The question would have to be examined like the other proposals which affect existing arrangements, but I could promise him nothing more than the sympathy of Great Britain for the Roumanian people.

No one knew better than M. Bratiano that the recovery of Bessarabia by Russia would result from a successful war, and he did his best to assist in putting her in a position to claim it, but the strong feeling evinced by his countrymen on the subject has obliged him to make at least a show of going with them.

Count Andrassy does not seem to have any intention of seriously resisting the Russian demands, but he will gladly endeavour to reconcile the Principality to its loss by trying to obtain for it an increase of the compensation.

It is essential for Austrian interests that the mouths of the Danube should not be included in the new Bulgarian State, and a persistence by Roumania in the announced determination not to accept the Dobrutscha would be a cause of embarrassment. This, however, is not likely. M. Bratiano will probably obtain an addition to the territory proposed to be given as compensation; the cession of Bessarabia before an overwhelming force will be assented to, and his comedy will be played out.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 170.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 274.)

Vienna, April 2, 1878.

My Lord,

WHILE at Constantinople the Russians endeavour to persuade the Porte that they are proceeding on a perfect understanding with Austria; at Vienna they represent that England agrees with them upon matters injuriously affecting Austrian interests.

When General Ignatieff represented the Marquis of Salisbury to Count Andrassy as having entirely agreed with him in the extent proposed to be given to the Bulgarian vilayets by the Constantinople Conference, he intimated that there was no divergence between his Lordship's views and his own.

I have stated that this was altogether incorrect.

In the hope of averting the threatened rupture between Russia and Turkey, the Marquis of Salisbury had consented to go as far as possible with General Ignatieff upon the proposals to be pressed upon the Porte.

It did not follow that he regarded them all as in themselves desirable, though he considered that it would be better for the Porte to accept them than to run the risk of a war likely to be ruinous to the Empire.

War had not been averted and Her Majesty's Government must be held entirely uncommitted by any concessions they might have been willing to make in the hope of avoiding that calamity.

As regards the extent to be given to Bulgaria, to which especially General Ignatieff intended his remarks about the Marquis of Salisbury to apply, I observed that I had already been instructed to state that Her Majesty's Government did not acquiesce in the Russian proposal respecting it, and that there could be no doubt of his Lordship fully sharing the views of the Cabinet on that point.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 171.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 276. Confidential.)

Vienna, April 2, 1878.

My Lord,

WHEN Count Andrassy spoke yesterday of an Austrian annexation of Bosnia, in consequence of the position in which Turkey would be placed under the conditions of the Treaty of Peace with Russia, I said that I must for the moment abstain from expressing an opinion upon the way in which Her Majesty's Government would appreciate a suggestion of such serious import, but that I would immediately communicate what he had said to your Lordship.

I would therefore only observe that, if we were to aim at averting or diminishing the evils likely to result from the Treaty, it should be rather by obtaining a modification of its conditions than by depriving Turkey of some of her remaining territory.

I still give Count Andrassy credit for having no desire to obtain this addition to the Austrian Empire, and it must in fairness to him be admitted that there is much strength in the arguments brought forward to demonstrate its necessity, especially from an Austrian point of view.

More than two years ago I expressed my own conviction that if the authority of the Porte were put an end to in Bosnia, it was only by placing it under Austria that the tranquillity of the province could be secured.

That anything like harmony could be maintained between the different populations except by the control of a strong superior authority, is not to be supposed, and the material prosperity of all classes of the inhabitants would unquestionably be better secured by their being subjected to Austria than in any other manner.

This is not, however, the consideration that chiefly influences the Austrian Government.

They look to the tranquillity and security of their own Slav provinces. They say that if Bosnia and the Herzegovina were now to be left in the nominal possession of the Porte, with its authority and power weakened as they are, a repetition of the troubles must be a matter of certainty, and the Austrian provinces of Dalmatia and Croatia would be kept in a state of constant agitation.

The ambition of the Slavs has been whetted by the progress they have made, and by the weakening of the power of Turkey which had kept them in check; and the opportunity would be watched for bringing about the union of Servia, Montenegro, and Bosnia, into a State which would compromise beyond remedy the narrow Austrian possessions on the Adriatic.

It is argued that by the incorporation into the Austrian Empire of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, including the territory between Servia and Montenegro, this danger would be averted, Montenegro would be permanently separated from Servia, and the ambitious dream of creating a Slav kingdom extending both to the Adriatic and to the Ægean being for ever dissipated, an end would be put to the Slav intrigues in that quarter.

It is further represented that Bosnia and the Herzegovina have hitherto contributed little, and will henceforward contribute nothing, to the strength of Turkey.

The revenues of the province will for years not suffice for its administration; and the recruits drawn from the Mahommedan populations, though forming admirable soldiers, would not be sufficient in number to represent the force which it will be necessary to retain for the tranquillity of the province.

On the other hand, the objections to Austria putting forward the demand are very strong.

Making such a claim for herself, could she be expected to support a resistance to the pretensions of Russia, for which she will be held to have obtained an equivalent, and will not the example of despoiling Turkey of a province be taken as a precedent that others may wish to avail themselves of?

The manner also in which the measure would be viewed by other Governments cannot be left out of consideration.

Italy has shown much sensitiveness about any extension of Austria to the south, and though it is not easy to perceive how her acquisition of Bosnia could injuriously affect Italian interests, the mode in which it may be appreciated by the party now in power at Rome cannot be left out of account.

Prince Bismarck has long wished Austria to provide for her own interests by

taking possession of Bosnia, but this was, I imagine, to be coupled with some understanding with Russia, and your Lordship will be better able than I am to judge whether, without an acquiescence in the Russian pretensions, it could be carried out without giving a pretext for counter-balancing demands by Germany in other quarters.

Your Lordship will gather from what I have above stated that, as far as the interests of Turkey and of the inhabitants of the province are concerned, and with a view to the future tranquillity of the districts in question, there is not, in my opinion, anything to object to in the acquisition of Bosnia by Austria, but that other considerations require to be very carefully weighed before it could be safely recommended or acquiesced in.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 172.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 282.)
My Lord, *Vienna, April 3, 1878.*

M. PETROVICH, the Montenegrin Senator sent here by Prince Nikita, has told the Austrian Government that it need not be expected that his countrymen will remain quiet if the Principality receives no further extension than is proposed by the Treaty of San Stefano.

The frontier proposed by the Treaty would not quite treble, but would much more than double the size of the Principality.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 173.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 284.)
My Lord, *Vienna, April 4, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a copy of the telegram communicated to me yesterday evening by the Roumanian Agent, of which I forwarded the substance to your Lordship by telegraph, reporting a conversation between Prince Gortchakow and the Roumanian Agent at St. Petersburgh.

The arrogance of the tone in which the Roumanian Government is ordered, under a threat of a Russian occupation of the Principality and of the disarming of the Prince's army, not even to protest against the Article of the Treaty of San Stefano which for two years would make the Principality a high road for the Russian troops, amounting to little less than a practical occupation, surpasses even that which was used in reference to the question of Bessarabia.

As I perceive from some observations made in the House of Commons upon my report to Her Majesty's Government upon the latter question that there are persons who prefer throwing doubt upon the accuracy of the information given by Her Majesty's Diplomatic Agents to believing it possible that the Russian Government may be unreasonable in its pretentions, it may be proper for me to add that the telegram which I now forward was not given to me by the Roumanian Agent accompanied by a request that it should be regarded as confidential; and as it must probably be very shortly communicated to the Chambers of Bucharest, I see no objection to it being made known from whom I received it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 173.

Telegram communicated by M. Balatchina to Sir H. Elliot, April 3, 1878.

GÉNÉRAL GHIKA vient de m'envoyer deux dépêches dont contenu suit :—

"Le Chancelier m'a prié de passer chez lui ce matin. Dès que je suis entré, il m'a dit : Est-il vrai que votre Gouvernement compte protester contre Article VIII du Traité qui réserve à l'armée de Bulgarie une communication avec la Russie par la Roumanie? L'Empereur, déjà mal disposé à votre égard, à cause de votre attitude dans la question de la Bessarabie, apprenant qu'une pareille déclaration a été faite, perdrait toute patience. Il me charge de vous dire, pour le faire savoir à votre Gouvernement, que si vous avez l'intention de protester ou de vous opposer à l'Article mentionné, il fera occuper la Roumanie et désarmer l'armée Roumaine. En face d'une déclaration aussi franche, dont les conséquences peuvent être si fatales pour notre pays, j'ai cru devoir atténuer un peu votre réponse à la Chambre, et j'ai répondu dans ce sens : J'ai reçu à ce sujet un télégramme des plus brefs. Le pays et le Gouvernement trouvent que l'Article VIII lèse nos droits et blesse notre dignité. Ce n'est pas avec la Turquie, qui ne peut rien stipuler pour nous, mais avec la Roumanie que la Russie aurait dû s'entendre en ce qui regarde la communication de son armée à travers notre territoire. Cette stipulation même prouve que le Cabinet Impérial envisage la durée de la Convention en ce qui regarde le droit de passage des troupes comme expirée. Au lieu d'ouvrir des négociations avec notre Gouvernement et de conclure un nouvel arrangement ou une prolongation, le Cabinet Impérial passe par dessus nos droits, nous inflige un nouvel affront et traite à ce sujet avec un tiers qui n'a pas qualité. Mon Gouvernement s'est élevé à la Chambre non seulement contre cet Article mais contre tous ceux qui lèsent nos droits et intérêts et il a déclaré qu'il en appellera aux Puissances réunies ou non en Congrès. C'est tout ce que je sais.

"Le Chancelier m'a répondu : Nous n'avons plus voulu avoir affaire à vous, je le répète, à cause de votre conduite à notre égard. Du reste, il est inutile d'insister. Il est important que vous sachiez que nous tenons à avoir notre libre passage par votre pays et que vous fassiez connaître à votre Gouvernement la déclaration de l'Empereur. Il faut qu'il renonce à tout déguisement et qu'il s'explique catégoriquement à ce sujet. Votre manière de présenter la question porte sur la forme et non sur le fond. Est-ce aussi l'opinion de votre Gouvernement? Qu'il s'explique. Compte-t-il oui ou non protester, et s'opposer au droit que nous nous sommes réservé par cet Article?

"Là-dessus, sur mes instances, il me répéta les paroles de l'Empereur."

No. 174.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 285.)
My Lord, *Vienna, April 4, 1878.*

THE Austrian press is unanimous in expressing satisfaction with your Lordship's Circular despatch of the 1st instant.

I have the honour to inclose a French *résumé* of the views in regard to it of the principal newspapers.

The "Fremden Blatt," a paper which is supposed to possess the confidence of Count Andrassy, says that the despatch is an annihilating ("vernichtende") criticism of the Treaty of San Stefano.

As regards the common interests of England and Austria, the "Fremden Blatt" considers that, if not actually identical, they are equally attacked by the Russian-Turkish Treaty, and therefore need to be protected by an understanding between the two countries for a common defence.

Austria-Hungary can no more than England permit the erection of a powerful Slav State between the Black Sea and the Ægean under the supremacy of Russia. Together with England this country desires that the Slav element should be counterpoised by the Greek.

Austria-Hungary cannot, any more than Great Britain, consent to the absorption of Roumania into the Russian Empire.

The "Fremden Blatt" declares that public opinion, both in Hungary and in Austria, demands an intimate *rapprochement* with England; but, adds the newspaper, co-operation between the two countries means nothing unless they pursue together a grand policy ("eine Politik im grossen Style.")

The "Tages Presse" also insists upon the community of interests between the two countries, especially in respect to the proposed creation of a great Slav State under Russian control, and the claims of the Greeks that their rights and aspirations should be taken into consideration.

The "Presse" calls for a parallel diplomatic action on the part of England and Austria, and says that the Circular despatch is an appeal to Europe which cannot fail

of producing a most powerful impression, and one which will have the effect of warning Russia that she must retire from her position whilst there is yet time.

The "Neue Freie Presse" says that the Circular despatch is a complete confession of the faults and errors of the policy pursued by England up to the present time, and of the necessity of repairing the unhappy consequences of those mistakes.

The "Deutsche Zeitung" does not hesitate to declare that since the beginning of the Eastern complications no diplomatic document has issued from any Cabinet so important, so dignified, and so energetic as Lord Salisbury's Circular despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 174.

Résumé of the Views of Principal Vienna Newspapers as to Lord Salisbury's Circular.

No. 175.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 288.)
My Lord, *Vienna, April 4, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of the Austro-Hungarian Red Book on Eastern affairs, which has lately been distributed among the members of the Delegations.

It contains 1,083 despatches, whereof the first hundred refer to events anterior to the insurrection in the Herzegovina, and especially to those connected with the disorders in Banjaluka and Turkish Gradisca, the religious disputes in Durazzo, and the massacres of Podgoritza.

The remainder of the Red Book furnishes a retrospect of events from the commencement of the rising in Bosnia and Herzegovina down to the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war. The following are among the most interesting of the documents composing this part of the collection:—

No. 214. The account by Count Beust of the line of argument used by him to persuade Her Majesty's Government to accept the Andrassy Note.

No. 291. The views of Count Andrassy respecting the extent to which the demands of the insurgents in Bosnia and Herzegovina would be admissible.

Nos. 299 and 313 are reports to the Government relating to the murder of the Consuls at Salonica.

Nos. 336, 344, and 350 are communications in reference to the Berlin Memorandum.

In Nos. 487 and 497 are expressed the objections of Count Andrassy to the idea of self-government being conferred upon Bosnia and Herzegovina.

No. 314 incloses the report of the Austrian Consul at Adrianople of the rising in Bulgaria in May 1876, and Nos. 352, 364, and 365 are despatches relating to the barbarous repression of that insurrection.

No. 660 is an *aide-mémoire*, given by Count Andrassy to M. de Novikoff, of a conversation between them respecting the line of conduct that should be followed in order to bring about a *modus vivendi* between Turkey, on the one side, and Servia, Montenegro, and the insurgent provinces, on the other, and is dated the 6th September, 1876. In this Memorandum his Excellency insists that "the most absolute sincerity" is necessary in order to arrive at the object indicated by the Emperor Alexander, when he had lately remarked to the Austrian Ambassador at St. Petersburgh: "We must now, more than ever, keep together." His Excellency states his reasons for considering the idea of a Conference inopportune, and proposes a counter-plan for bringing about a pacification.

In No. 824 Count Andrassy expresses to Count Beust his repugnance to the idea of a Conference, which he is convinced can lead to no useful result.

In No. 836, his Excellency accepts the British proposal for a Conference, but repeats his disbelief in a peaceful solution being thereby attained.

No. 1,036 is a telegram instructing the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople to co-operate with his British colleague in urging upon the Porte the acceptance of the London Protocol; and No. 1,043 is a despatch in a similar sense.

The despatches from No. 1,078 to the conclusion of the collection concern the question of the interruption by the war of the navigation of the Danube.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 176.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 289.)
My Lord, *Vienna, April 5, 1878.*

AFTER the demonstration in the Hungarian Chambers last week in favour of co-operation with Great Britain in resistance to the establishment of Russian preponderance in the East, M. Tisza, the Hungarian Prime Minister, immediately left Pesth, in order to confer personally with the Emperor and Count Andrassy on the position of affairs.

He is understood to have declared that if any backwardness is shown in standing by England in resisting pretensions which affect British interests less directly than those of Austria-Hungary, it would be impossible for him or any one else to carry on the Government of Hungary, where the feeling has been roused to a state of exasperation against Russia.

According to a telegram from Pesth, published in the Vienna papers of this morning, another exhibition of the enthusiasm of the Hungarian House of Representatives was made in their yesterday's sitting. A former Minister, Count Julius Szassary, had attacked the various fractions of the Opposition for uniting in raising what he considered to be factious and personal obstacles to the financial policy of the Government. To this Count Albert Apponyi (who leads the extreme Right) replied that the Opposition were quite justified in uniting to make common cause against the Government when the latter pursued a policy in contradiction to public opinion. The majority had sanctioned the foreign policy of the Government simply from personal sympathy, without having any idea of its tendency. That a more favourable condition of things at this moment existed was the merit, not of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, but of that Power which had taken upon itself the defence of the interests of Europe. This observation elicited murmurs from the supporters of the Government, but was received by the Opposition with enthusiastic shouts of "Eljen Anglia!" (Long live England!). The orator continued that it was still doubtful whether the Government would succeed in utilizing the present conjuncture.

The Premier followed in a speech in which he declared that he did not contest the right of the fractions of the Opposition to coalesce if they chose; the more so as he himself had been raised to power in 1875 by a coalition. He would not, however, admit that anything favourable in the present conjuncture was the achievement of a foreign Power. It was the great merit of the Minister for Foreign Affairs that he had not yielded to pressure in favour of active intervention at a moment when the Monarchy would have remained isolated, and the blood and treasure of the country would perhaps have been sacrificed uselessly. If the previous speaker could only justify the fusion of the Opposition on the ground of a common foreign policy, he, M. Tisza, could point out that such a coalition would contain no elements for the construction of a Government capable of carrying on the internal administration of the country, while on the question of foreign policy all parties in the House could easily find a common standpoint.

This answer, which was received with great cheering, contains, as your Lordship will perceive, the explicit admission that the Government party is at one with the rest of the House in favour of concert with England.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 177.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 201. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Vienna, April 5, 1878.*

I SPOKE to-day with Count Andrassy of the declaration of the Senator Petrovich, that Montenegro would not be satisfied without a larger acquisition of territory than was assigned to it under the Treaty of San Stefano.

He said it was perfectly true that Petrovich had declared to him the resolution of his countrymen to obtain possession of Albania, and that they would resort to arms if it was not given to them.

His Excellency then let drop a remark upon the ingratitude of these mountaineers, who had only by the permission of Austria obtained the arms by which they had carried on their war with Turkey.

Count Andrassy added, in explanation of this strange admission, that, as it was only through Austria that the arms could reach the Montenegrins, it had not been thought fair to stop them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 178.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 202.)

My Lord, *Vienna, April 5, 1878.*

ALTHOUGH before his departure General Ignatieff stated to several persons his intention of shortly revisiting Vienna, the Austrian Government have no information as to his return, and do not consider it at all probable.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 179.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 203.)

My Lord, *Vienna, April 5, 1878.*

GENERAL IGNATIEFF, while here, appears to have said that his Government did not fear a rupture with England, as by means of numerous American privateers they could easily cripple the whole commerce of Great Britain.

As parties to the declaration of Paris, the Russian Government can perhaps hardly be suspected of being likely to resort to such a step; but there is, I believe, no doubt of General Ignatieff having spoken as above reported.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 180.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 204.)

My Lord, *Vienna, April 5, 1878.*

IN the course of my conversation with Count Andrassy this afternoon, I mentioned my apprehension that General Ignatieff, having been informed by him of his objections to the western frontier of the proposed Bulgaria, and to some other points connected with its organization and occupation, would endeavour to represent the Austrian Government as acquiescing in the other provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano.

Count Andrassy answered that there was no danger of this.

He had explained to General Ignatieff that he spoke to him only of questions

affecting purely Austrian, as distinguished from European interests, that would be discussed by the Congress, which he still hoped might meet.

He had distinctly stated that it was as Austro-Hungarian Minister that he had declared that he could not accept an arrangement of frontier by which the communications between Austria-Hungary and Salonica would be interfered with.

The extent of Bulgaria to the east was, on the contrary, a question of European interest, and must be dealt with as such.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 181.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 205.)

My Lord, *Vienna, April 5, 1878.*

I THIS morning put into Count Andrassy's hands a copy of your Lordship's Circular despatch of the 1st instant.

His Excellency was already acquainted with its contents from the newspapers, and said that, taken as a criticism of the Peace of San Stefano, there was not a word in it to which he could take exception.

The objection that he might be disposed to make was, that while your Lordship had conclusively shown what was objectionable in the Treaty, you had not sufficiently indicated either the mode by which its defects should be remedied or the measures to be substituted for what was objectionable.

I observed, in reply, that your Lordship's object had principally been to set in a clear light the course that had been followed by Her Majesty's Government in reference to the Congress, and to show the extent to which the Treaty of San Stefano affected previous European arrangements, and required to be submitted as a whole to examination and discussion.

His Excellency, who, as I have before informed your Lordship, clings with the fondest hope to a Congress, as giving the only chance of leading to an understanding, appeared to fear that Russia might have little inclination to go into one when she became aware that it was not single or isolated Articles that would be objected to, but the Treaty in its spirit and details.

On previous occasions Count Andrassy had always maintained that Her Majesty's Government were raising difficulties on a matter of form; to-day, however, he was more inclined to admit the strength of the ground upon which Her Majesty's Government had taken their stand; and he could not deny the difference of the language of Prince Gortchakow to the Austrian Ambassador at St. Petersburgh, as reported by him, and that of Count Schouvaloff to Her Majesty's Government.

He had always hitherto maintained that Her Majesty's Government wished to deprive the Russians of a liberty of action in the Congress which they claimed for themselves, and it was not till to-day that I was able to make him recognize the difference between allowing every Power a freedom to refuse to be bound by a majority of a Congress, and a claim by one party to decline discussion upon any part of the Treaty which has to be examined.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 182.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 206. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Vienna, April 5, 1878.*

I HAVE asked Count Andrassy what I should say to your Lordship in answer to the telegram which I had communicated to him some days ago expressing the hope of Her Majesty's Government that they might receive his cordial support in their efforts to erect the territory to the south of the Balkans, now comprised in new Bulgaria, into a separate province under the Porte, the populations being protected by arrangements analogous to those proposed at the Conference at Constantinople.

His Excellency, in reply, rather gave utterance to the thoughts which had passed through his mind on the subject than to any well-considered opinion.

He appeared to think that if there were an independent or tributary Bulgaria to the north of the Balkans, while the Bulgarians to the south of the mountains were left under the Porte, there would be the probability of renewed efforts to get the latter united with the new State, and that continued intrigues between them would be going on.

I represented that this danger might exist if the division between the more and less favoured provinces was an arbitrary instead of a natural one; that as a matter of fact the Bulgarians inhabiting the country to the south of the eastern range of the Balkans had, and must always have, very little communication with their countrymen to the north of that great mountain barrier.

The natural outlets for the produce of the north were by Rustchuk and Varna, while those of the south were with Bourgas, Constantinople, and the Ægean.

Count Andrassy then, speaking of the suggestion that the populations of the province to the south of the Balkans should be protected by arrangements analogous to those proposed at the Conference of Constantinople, said that his impression was that where the authority of the Porte was to be restored it should be restored completely, to enable it better to provide for its own security than would be the case if its influence was reduced.

I answered that after all that had occurred it would be quite impossible to place the districts in question absolutely under the authority of the Porte as formerly, and without guarantee for a better administration and security against the recurrence of crying abuses.

Count Andrassy, while on this subject, adverted to the mention of the Greeks in your Lordship's Circular despatch of the 1st instant, in connection with the question of the formation of a Bulgarian State.

He did not, he said, altogether gather your Lordship's views with regard to them, and to the mode of making them a barrier against the Slavs.

He again hinted that this might be best done by the annexation of Thessaly and Epirus to the Hellenic Kingdom.

I said I did not understand your Lordship to contemplate any such measure. What I imagined your Lordship to intend was that the Greek populations should be endowed with the same guarantees as should be granted to the districts where the Slavs predominated, which was what they called for at the time of the Constantinople Conference.

I was not, I said, acquainted with the views of Her Majesty's Government further than I had been able to gather them from the telegram I had communicated to him, and I could not state the extent of the Province which it was proposed to form south of the Balkans under the authority of the Porte; but although I could not speak with confidence I thought I was not mistaken in supposing that the provinces inhabited chiefly by Greeks were meant to share in the benefits to be extended to the other Christian districts.

I would again repeat that Count Andrassy expressed thoughts rather than observations, and that he will instruct Count Beust to convey his views to your Lordship as soon as they are more matured.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 183.

Mr. Monson to Sir H. Elliot.—(Received at the Foreign Office, April 8.)

(No. 13.)

Sir, *Buda-Pesth, March 26, 1878.*

PRINCE GHIKA and M. Stourdza called upon me this morning, and said that they intended starting for Bucharest, *viâ* the Danube, to-night. They have seen the Hungarian Ministers, and most of the leading Deputies, and have arrived at the conviction that in the event of war between England and Russia, it would be impossible for Count Andrassy to resist the determination of his countrymen to take an active part in hostilities against the latter.

I asked Prince Ghika whether he had elicited from M. Tisza any distinct enunciation on which he could base this expectation. He replied that he could not say that

he had; that M. Tisza was very taciturn, and unwilling to pronounce himself upon the Roumanian question, but that the other Ministers, especially those of Commerce and Finance, had been more outspoken. The Members of the Diet whom he had seen had also expressed themselves in strong terms as to the impossibility of an acquiescence in the conditions of the Treaty of San Stefano; and several deputations had sought interviews with him, and with M. Stourdza, and had employed similar language. On the whole, he was quite satisfied with the result of his mission to Hungary.

M. Stourdza begged me to draw your Excellency's special attention to the news he had received this morning from an official source at Bucharest, to the effect that Russia intended proceeding to the immediate introduction of her own civil officials into Moldavian Bessarabia. In answer to my inquiry as to what the existing local authorities would do in such a case, he said that Prince Charles's Government had instructed them to allow themselves to be expelled under protest.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 184.

Mr. Monson to Sir H. Elliot.—(Received at the Foreign, April 8.)

(No. 14. Confidential.)

Sir, *Buda-Pesth, March 26, 1878.*

WITH reference to my preceding despatch No. 13 of this date respecting the opinion formed by the Roumanian Agents as to the disposition of the Hungarians to take an active part in a war against Russia, I think it as well to state that, while I have the best reasons for believing that that disposition is very strong among the middle and lower classes of the Magyars throughout the country, I am by no means persuaded that it is shared by M. Tisza and his immediate supporters.

Three years of power have apparently in no way wearied or disgusted the Prime Minister with its exercise, and from having been formerly the opponent of Count Andrassy, he has become his Excellency's intimate confidant and friend. M. Tisza seems to think that an acquiescence in Count Andrassy's foreign policy will maintain himself at the head of the Government, and to be convinced that he still retains ascendancy over a sufficient number of the Deputies to give him a majority in the Chamber against any combination of the various fractions of the opposition. I imagine that the Premier's personal influence over the Deputies continues to be very great, and that a very large number of them have allowed themselves to be persuaded, against their own convictions, that they have nothing better to do than to remain steady supporters of their old chief.

It must not be forgotten that Hungary is sparsely populated, that means of communication in the rural districts are scanty and ill-conducted, that the few large towns which exist are widely scattered, and that physical and ethnic obstacles stand in the way of political cohesion. On these accounts the Deputies of the Lower House of the Diet are far less amenable to the influence of their constituencies than is the case in most other countries enjoying a constitutional representative system, and the result is that the Members of the Hungarian Parliament are rather the controllers than the representatives of public opinion in their electoral districts, especially in those which are purely rural. Feeling less responsibility towards their constituents, the Deputies are the more subject to Government influence, and no trouble has been spared by the Ministry to keep its supporters in a docile and tractable mood. The Hungarian temperament, so susceptible to the persuasive arguments of ambition, has been flattered by visions of a largely increased Empire, in which tributary provinces shall be subject to Magyar domination. Members of old and titled, but now impoverished, families, have been dazzled by the prospect of lucrative employment in the districts to be annexed or protected; while speculating schemes for developing the resources which have been neglected under Ottoman rule, hold out irresistible temptations to needy politicians, whose appetites, whetted by the temporary prosperity of the period between 1868 and 1873, have remained unsatisfied since the financial catastrophes of the latter year.

Such and such like are the reasons which make me doubtful of the success of the real sentiment of the Magyars in asserting itself, and in determining the policy of the Government. Those who have at heart a vigorous and energetic action in opposition

to Russia are unanimous in the belief that the only chance in its favour is the impression which may be produced by the decisions of Her Majesty's Government, and they hope that when it is once clearly understood that the advisers of the Queen are resolved to maintain at all hazards the principles of international right on which they have taken their stand, the patriotic instincts of the majority of the Magyar Deputies will lead them to see the interests of their country in the true light, and to put such a pressure upon the Government as will force Count Andrassy to adopt without reserve the English alliance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 185.

Mr. Monson to Sir H. Elliot.—(Received at the Foreign Office, April 8.)

(No. 15.)
Sir, *Buda-Pesth, March 30, 1878.*

THE Duc de Chartres, accompanied by the Marquis de Beauvoir (late Chef du Cabinet to the Due Decazes), the Vicomte de Bondy, and M. de Bocher, arrived here three days ago from Belgrade, and will proceed to-morrow to Vienna.

Unlike the recent journies of princely and other illustrious personages, that of His Royal Highness is purely one of pleasure, and has no political significance whatever.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 186.

Mr. Monson to Sir H. Elliot.—(Received at the Foreign Office, April 8.)

(No. 17.)
Sir, *Buda-Pesth, March 31, 1878.*

A PETITION was presented yesterday to the Lower House of the Diet by the representatives of the county of Zipfer, urging the defence of the interests of the Monarchy, by arms if necessary, and was made the occasion of a short, but lively and instructive debate on the foreign policy of the Government.

Several members of the Left and Left Centre having spoken in favour of an anti-Russian policy and an understanding with England, M. Csernátónyi, the Editor of the "Ellénor," and an intimate friend of M. Tisza, said that at this critical moment in the Eastern Question, the Government must justify its policy. England, the country which sets such store by peace, is arming for war. It is known, on the other hand, that Ignatieff is at Vienna, endeavouring to separate the two countries which have the greatest interest, that the Eastern Question shall not be settled in a Russian sense. This is not the time to come to an understanding with Russia; it is the moment to come to an understanding with England. (Loud cheering.) If Hungary does not make common cause with England against Russia, the end of the Monarchy is at hand. (Cheers.)

The Premier having declared that he thought it inopportune to give explanations, members both of the Right and Left disclaimed any wish to press the Government unfairly, Count Albert Apponyi (Right) adding that the Government should clearly understand that any policy of "compensation" or division of the spoil, would be condemned both by the Parliament and the nation.

The Petition was then unanimously accepted to be communicated to the Premier, M. Tisza, who started for Vienna by the evening train to confer with Count Andrassy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 187.

Mr. Monson to Sir H. Elliot.—(Received at the Foreign Office, April 8.)

(No. 18. Confidential.)
Sir, *Buda-Pesth, April 2, 1878.*

IN my despatch No. 14 of the 26th ultimo, I gave your Excellency my reasons for fearing that the sentiments of the Magyars respecting the solution of the Eastern Question proposed by Russia in the Treaty of San Stefano would not find their true expression in the action of the Government or of the Diet. The telegrams which I sent to Her Majesty's Government and to your Excellency on the 30th ultimo will have shown that I was to a certain extent mistaken; and that as far, at any rate, as Parliamentary utterances can go, no more frank or explicit declarations could have been made than those in which the representatives of every political party urged the Government to rally to the side of England, and reject all offers of association with Russia in a policy of "compensation" or division of booty.

Although the Hungarian press, both German and vernacular, has for some time held similar language, I confess that I did not feel at all sure that the spirited articles it continually printed were not written to order, for the purpose, I mean, of satisfying popular excitement, and of opening a safety-valve for the escape of popular fervour. The "Pester Lloyd" is edited by Dr. Falk, a member of the Diet, and Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the Hungarian Delegation. It is well known that this gentleman receives a subvention of 30,000 florins annually from the Imperial Secret Service Fund, administered by Count Andrassy. Now, no Pesth newspaper has been more urgent than the "Pester Lloyd" in advocating an alliance with England; it being perfectly well known here that for the last three months Count Andrassy has been unable to make up his mind as to the direction of his policy. The Hungarian Delegation went recently to Vienna, burning with impatience, to tax the Count with a weak and wavering policy. I need not remind your Excellency that as far as is known of the secret sittings of the Delegation Committee, Count Andrassy's arguments in self-justification were readily accepted.

With these considerations before me, and a tolerable acquaintance with Hungarian character, I could not but doubt whether anything would come of the effervescence which is seething throughout the country. That there was such an effervescence not only in Pesth, but in the large towns, and in the villages also, I had satisfied myself by inquiry at the most competent sources of information. It might, however, evaporate, and I was fully prepared for such a consummation. But two factors have come suddenly into play, and have intensified the ebullition, the visit of General Ignatieff to Vienna and the decision of Her Majesty's Government to summon the Reserves. The first of these aroused the direst apprehensions that Austria-Hungary would be committed to a direct transaction with Russia, and to the rivetting of the chains of the Triple Alliance. The second provoked an outburst of enthusiasm natural in a generous and high-spirited people, under the conviction that the country which they regard as the leader in the march of civilization had determined not to recede from her position as the champion of international good faith, and was ready to make any sacrifice in the assertion of that position.

How far the recent manifestation in the Parliament at Buda-Pesth may have produced an effect at Vienna, your Excellency has means of knowing which I do not possess. But I cannot doubt that Count Andrassy will have the full support of Hungary in the adoption of an alliance with England, if he can bring himself to such a decision. Nor do I believe, from all that I have seen of the Southern Slavs, that he need have any great apprehensions that the non-Magyar populations of the Trans-Leithan provinces will trouble him with serious action in favour of Russia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 188.

Major Gonne to Sir H. Elliot.—(Received at the Foreign Office, April 8.)

Sir, *Vienna, April 4, 1878.*

THE personal unpopularity of General Ignatieff in Austrian military circles, with a consequent predisposition on the part of leading officers to resent his interference

in political questions as the author of the Treaty of San Stefano, impressed itself forcibly on my mind before leaving Vienna for Berlin.

Heads of departments at the War Office, as a rule, most guarded in their comments on the situation, or who echoed the Archduke's sentiments, to my surprise spoke out in favour of the determined attitude of England. They even ventured on an apology for the caution exercised by the Austrian Emperor, and acknowledged that at the moment English and Austrian interests were equally threatened by Russian pretensions. The argument against joint action was as follows:—

To oblige Russia to retire within her frontier is an easy task, and to inflict on her a heavy loss during her retreat is in the power of Austria without risk; but, they add, to strike at her heart, and occupy her capital, so as to dictate terms of peace, is impossible. Therefore action on the part of Austria will only tend to transform Russia into an unrelenting foe, destined one day to seek, and possibly obtain, the means of revenge. Austria has reason to fear the day when Russia is able to range all Slavdom in battle order against her, at a moment when she may be without an ally.

Geographical accident places St. Petersburgh and Moscow in as secure a position as London; but, on the other hand, Pesth and Vienna can boast of no such natural advantages.

In point of fact, the Austrians fear that terms of peace, which might reasonably content England, would by no means protect the Austrian Empire.

I have visited the War Office since my return from Berlin, and find that the Circular issued by Lord Salisbury has had a reassuring effect—not, however, sufficient to remove all objections to united action.

Soldiers think that Count Andrassy's policy will be to make good the words he used before the Delegations, viz.: "If the 60,000,000 gulden are voted, I answer with my head there will be no war" (or an expression to that effect). They think that the Count will watch a struggle between England and Russia, and finally mobilize with the same effect as after the Crimean campaign. Two troubles he will have to look in the face:—

1. The impulsive character of the Magyar.

2. The obstinacy of Russia in demanding from Roumania the Bessarabian shore of the Danube.

Soldiers think that the Roumanian question may oblige Austria to take active measures at an early date. And as regards the state of feeling in Hungary, I can report that the head of the "Evidence Bureau" has been sent to Pesth to arrange matters with the Prime Minister, which in England would require an Act of Parliament.

The "Evidence Bureau" is the directing machinery of political police-duty; and the points in question are connected with the change from a state of peace to a state of war.

The mission of the officer in question is calculated to satisfy the Hungarians, because it is one step towards placing the army on a war-footing; but, after all, it is merely the completion of the machinery for mobilizing, and my informant used the expression, "it is to quiet the Magyars."

There is no movement of troops at the present moment, but the possibility of the Roumanian army claiming a shelter on Austrian territory is exercising the War Ministry.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOS. GONNE, *Major*, *17th Lancers*.

No. 189.

Mr. Scott to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 8.)

(No. 22.)
My Lord, *Darmstadt, April* 7, 1878.

YOUR Lordship's Circular despatch to Her Majesty's Embassies, explaining the course pursued by Her Majesty's Government in reference to the Russo-Turkish Preliminaries of Peace and the proposed Congress, has been translated and published *in extenso* by most of the local papers here, and has produced an impression generally favourable to Her Majesty's Government, in the press and society of this part of Germany.

The official "Darmstadter Zeitung" confines itself to reproducing the favourable comments of the "Kölnischer Zeitung" and of the Vienna press on the Circular, while other papers and individuals, less reserved in their utterances, frankly acknowledge their sympathy with the legal position assumed by Her Majesty's Government, and hail it as an indication that England's influence will be exerted in the defence of the established principles of international morality, which they consider offer the best guarantee for a durable peace, and the surest protection for the development of liberal institutions.

The Frankfort "Neue Presse," which has hitherto adopted a tone anything but friendly to Her Majesty's Government, remarks that your Lordship has every reason to be gratified at the reception which your despatch has received in all parts of the Continent, and limits its comments on it to re-echoing the remarks of the Russian press, that the criticism of the Treaty of San Stefano is simply negative, and suggests nothing in the place of the objectionable clauses of that Treaty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES S. SCOTT.

No. 190.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(*Received April* 8.)

(Secret.)
My Lord, *Admiralty, April* 8, 1878.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the annexed copy of a telegram from Vice-Admiral Hornby.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure in No. 190.

Vice-Admiral Hornby to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Ismid, April* 8, 1878, 6·35 P.M.

REAR-ADMIRAL reports day before from Gallipoli, that a Russian spy left there this evening for Besika Bay and Tenedos Island.

No. 191.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 8.)

(Telegraphic.) *Bucharest, April* 8, 1878.

THE major part of the 11th Corps d'Armée has crossed the Danube and is stationed in vicinity of Giurgevo; it is reported that 35th Division will be placed at Pitesti.

No. 192.

Mr. Wyndham to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 8.)

(Telegraphic.) *Athens, April* 8, 1878.

THE President of the Council of Ministers has to-day stated to me that if the Turks will cease all hostilities against the insurgents, the Greek Government will prevent volunteers leaving Greece for neighbouring provinces and for Crete, for the purpose of encouraging insurrections, and that Greece will await the decision of Europe.

No. 193.

Mr. Wyndham to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 8.)

(Telegraphic.) *Athens, April 8, 1878.*

THE Turkish Minister complained to-day to the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs of the conduct of the Greek Consul at Salonica with regard to insurgents, and asked for his recall. The Minister for Foreign Affairs states that he has replied that if the Porte has such proofs and will submit them to the Greek Government there will be no difficulty in recalling him, but if the Porte does not do so and withdraws his exequatur, the Greek Government will withdraw the exequatur of a Turkish Consul in Greece.

No. 194.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 8, 1878.*

WITH reference to your Most Secret telegram No. 358 of the 7th April, no advantage could be gained by continuing fortifications at present, for Russians have power to seize works when they choose, and England is too far to interfere in time to prevent them. Sultan's best policy is to gain time, and to avoid a breach with Russians at present, but to keep them out of positions commanding either Bosphorus or Dardanelles as long as he possibly can.

No. 195.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 84. Secret.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April 8, 1878, 6·30 P.M.*

I LEARN from a reliable source that, on the 4th instant, 600 sailors of Imperial Navy, with six officers, left Cronstadt for Baltic port; were shipped on board two German steamers of the North German Lloyds previously freighted at Hamburgh by Russian Government, and proceeded to New York. On arrival there they are to be immediately placed on board three cruizers, which have been purchased by the Russian Government, and are fully armed and equipped. No arms were taken by the crews, and the orders given were so sudden that the officers had only time to take change of clothing. The officers to command the three cruizers are Commanders Avelan, Alexplenyef, and Grippenberg.

I rather suspect it was San Francisco, and not New York, where cruizers are awaiting their arrival for instant operations in Pacific in event of war.

No. 196.

Lord Lyons to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 13.)

(Telegraphic.) *Paris, April 8, 1878.*

M. WADDINGTON tells me that Lord Beaconsfield mentioned to the French Ambassador in London that England might perhaps be under the necessity of occupying Mitylene, or some other point near to the Dardanelles.

M. Waddington says that considering satisfaction felt here at the joint action of England and France respecting Egyptian finance, he thinks such occupation would be taken quietly in this country.

He did not make any allusion to the possibility of an occupation by England of any point not in the immediate neighbourhood of the Dardanelles.

No. 197.

Sir C. Wyke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 9.)

(No. 21.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, April 5, 1878.*

THE publication of your Lordship's despatch of the 1st instant to Her Majesty's Ambassadors has produced a very good effect here upon public opinion, as represented by the press, the tone of which, as I have so often reported, has been hitherto very unfavourable to England.

Great satisfaction is expressed in the articles of the leading journals that Her Majesty's Government now insist upon the validity of the Treaty of 1856 and the London Protocol of 1871, as hitherto they have been accused of neglecting European compacts for the sake of merely looking after purely British interests, whereby public law for protecting the rights of the minor Powers in the family of nations was frequently violated for the benefit of the great military Powers, as was the case in the year 1864, an event which the Danes assert destroyed the balance of power in Europe, and was the principal cause of all the bloodshed which has taken place in the great wars which have occurred since that date.

By the firm and decided attitude now assumed by England in the Eastern question it is believed here, on the whole, that peace may be preserved, as this policy is considered much less dangerous than one of doubt and vacillation, such as that hitherto attributed to Her Majesty's Government by the Danish press.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES LENNOX WYKE.

No. 198.

Lord Lyons to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 9.)

(No. 333. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Paris, April 8, 1878.*

YOUR Lordship has been informed that at the beginning of this month Prince Gortchakow made to M. Ghika, the Roumanian Agent at St. Petersburgh, a very threatening declaration on the subject of the objection made by the Roumanian Government to the Article of the Treaty of San Stefano, which provides for the communications between Russia and the Russian army of occupation in Bulgaria being kept up through Roumania.

M. Callimaki Catargi, the Roumanian Agent at Paris, came to me yesterday and recited to me the substance of a telegram on the subject which he had received from his Government.

The telegram stated that endeavours had been made to dispute the accuracy of M. Ghika's report of the language used by Prince Gortchakow, and that a subsequent communication had been made by Baron Jomini in milder terms, but that M. Ghika maintained that he had not in the least exaggerated the severity of Prince Gortchakow's declaration.

The telegram proceeded to state that the Roumanian Government had on their part categorically declared that they would resist to the utmost of their means the execution of the Russian threats, and it added that Prince Charles himself had made with his own mouth a still stronger personal declaration to the Russian Agent at Bucharest.

Having communicated to me the substance of the telegram M. Callimaki Catargi went on to say that the Roumanian nation was determined to hold out to the last extremity. He added that the Government were endeavouring to place the army in such positions as would be best adapted for resisting the disarmament with which it was threatened by Russia. With this view bodies of troops were, he said, on the point of being withdrawn to the foot of the Carpathian Mountains.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 199.

Lord Lyons to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 9.)

(No. 334.)

Paris, April 8, 1878.

My Lord,

M. CALLIMAKI CATARGI, the Agent of the Roumanian Government at Paris, brought me yesterday the inclosed copy of a despatch addressed to him on the $\frac{18}{30}$th of last month by the Roumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and requested me to communicate it to Her Majesty's Government.

Your Lordship will see that the object of the despatch is to renew and enforce the claim of Roumania to be represented in any Congress held for the settlement of the Eastern question.

It states that Roumania does not ask to be admitted to a Congress on the same footing as the Powers parties to the Treaty of Paris, or to take part in the discussion of general questions. Her sole ambition is, it says, to appear before the tribunal of Europe, in order to present to it herself a faithful statement of her rights and interests.

It complains that those rights and interests are injuriously affected by the Treaty of San Stefano.

M. Callimaki Catargi said that it had been at first intended that he should go to London, in order to put the copy of the despatch into your Lordship's hands, but that recent instructions from his Government having rendered it necessary for him to remain at Paris, he should be much obliged if I would forward it to your Lordship.

A similar despatch has been communicated by M. Callimaki Catargi to the French Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 199.

M. Cogalnicéano to M. Callimaki Catargi.

Bucarest, le $\frac{14}{26}$ Mars, 1878.

M. l'Agent,

DES informations parvenues à mon Département des diverses Agences Diplomatiques Roumaines à l'étranger, il résulte que les Puissances en général et le Cabinet de Londres en particulier, sont animés des intentions les plus bienveillantes à l'égard de notre pays. Mais en même temps, à propos de l'admission de la Roumanie à un Congrès éventuel, des réserves ont été posées sur cette base que notre indépendance n'a pas encore été formellement reconnue par l'Europe et que dès lors notre accès au Congrès constituerait une dérogation aux usages en vigueur.

Le Gouvernement Roumain, heureux des sympathiques assurances qu'il a recueillies, s'empresse d'exprimer par votre intermédiaire au Cabinet de Londres ses sentiments de vive gratitude.

Toutefois, en présence de la paix signée à San Stefano, il se croit plus que jamais en devoir d'insister sur ses précédentes sollicitations, et d'invoquer son droit d'être personnellement consulté et écouté dans des Conférences où vont se débattre ses plus précieux intérêts.

Il va de soi que nous n'aspirons pas à figurer dans le Congrès au même rang que les Puissances Signataires du Traité de Paris, et que nous ne prétendons nullement discuter les questions générales sur lesquelles porteraient leurs délibérations. Notre seule ambition se monte à paraître devant l'Aréopage Européenne pour tracer nous-même le tableau fidèle de nos droits et de nos intérêts.

Notre demande se justifie en théorie et en pratique: en théorie parce que notre indépendance, oblitérée par des combinaisons artificielles et des équivoques funestes, n'a jamais été aliénée et n'a jamais cessé d'exister; en pratique, parce que plusieurs des questions soulevées par le Traité de San Stefano se rapportent directement à nous, et ne sauraient être réglées sans que nous soyons mis en mesure de soutenir notre cause.

Les instruments Européens qui concernent notre pays ont tous sanctionné les anciennes Capitulations des Principautés avec la Sublime Porte. Or, ces Capitulations assurent aux Principautés une souveraineté trop souvent méconnue en fait, leur reconnaissent explicitement le droit de paix et de guerre, et leur garantissent la faculté de

conclure par elles-mêmes des Traités, *à fortiori* de participer à la conclusion de Traités internationaux.

Il suffit d'un rapide coup d'œil sur le passé de la Moldavie et de la Valachie pour constater l'existence de semblables Traités.

Les Conventions qui sont récemment intervenues entre diverses Puissances et le Gouvernement Princier, ou qui sont en voie de négociation, attestent que l'Europe a désormais abandonné envers la Roumanie une légalité arbitraire pour rentrer dans le droit absolu.

D'ailleurs la Roumanie, par son attitude au cours des derniers événements, n'a point eu la pensée d'organiser des modifications radicales à son profit. Elle a simplement rompu entre elle et l'Empire Ottoman les faibles liens maintenus par une tradition qui avait été faussée dans son principe et qui, dans son application, engendrait de regrettables difficultés.

L'admission de la Roumanie serait donc non pas une innovation plus ou moins étayée sur des nécessités contingentes, mais un retour à la légitimité fondée sur la sincérité historique et sur l'essence même du droit.

Ainsi l'objection tirée de la non-reconnaissance de l'indépendance de la Roumanie cède à un examen impartial.

A ces raisons morales, déjà si probantes, s'ajoutent des raisons politiques d'une incontestable valeur.

La Roumanie a pris à la guerre de 1877-78 une part des plus actives et des plus honorables; elle a rendu des services signalés à l'œuvre militaire poursuivie en commun. Pendant toute la période belligérante, elle a eu nûment et officiellement le rôle d'un Etat allié, et ce rôle elle n'a rien épargné pour le remplir avec loyauté.

Néanmoins, dès que la période diplomatique s'est ouverte, elle a été systématiquement laissée à l'écart. Son Délégué a été écarté des Conférences sur l'armistice; ses demandes ne sont pas entrées en ligne de compte à la conclusion de la paix. Aussi le Délégué Roumain à Andrinople avait-il été autorisé à déclarer dès l'abord que son pays ne se regarderait pas comme lié par un règlement arrêté sans sa collaboration.

Aujourd'hui sous l'impulsion des mêmes sentiments de conservation et de dignité le Gouvernement Roumain est obligé de déclarer également que la paix de San Stefano, dont plusieurs stipulations lèsent les droits et les intérêts de la Roumanie, ne saurait l'engager valablement. Si donc son indépendance eût été à créer, la nation Roumaine serait redevable de cette création non pas à la paix de San Stefano, à laquelle elle est demeurée étrangère, mais à l'individualité et à l'énergie de sa conduite pendant la guerre. Quant à la reconnaissance de cette indépendance, elle désirerait en être redevable aux consécrations d'un Congrès où elle figurerait, et qui ne voudrait certainement pas patronner et ériger en principe de droit international l'éviction des belligérants des séances où la paix, but suprême de leurs efforts, serait définitivement établie.

Certains Articles convenus à San Stefano ont trait à des questions où nous sommes partie directement et éminemment intéressée: elles sont la question de la Bessarabie, la fixation seulement éventuelle de l'indemnité de guerre due par la Sublime Porte à la Roumanie, la clause sur le passage des troupes Impériales Russes par le territoire Roumain.

Sur ces divers points il est rigoureusement juste que nous soyons entendus dès les premiers travaux du Congrès, car ils affectent soit l'intégrité matérielle de notre territoire, soit l'intégrité morale de notre souveraineté intérieure, soit notre état économique.

En effet, faut-il mentionner que depuis Nicopoli jusqu'à Widdin, les forteresses Ottomanes, dont nous avions dès le 22 Juin, 1877, demandé la démolition, ont été occupées par nos troupes sur l'invitation expresse du Grand Quartier Général Russe, à titre de gage réel qui nous permettrait, en temps utile, de débattre avec la Sublime Porte l'indemnité de guerre due à la Roumanie?

L'attribution par la paix de San Stefano de ces forteresses à la Bulgarie supprime la réalité du gage et par là nous destitue de tout moyen de revendication effective.

Faut-il relever que la gêne de la situation financière de l'Empire Ottoman a été publiquement constatée à l'Article XX du Traité de San Stefano, et que, dès lors, la faculté ménagée en termes si vagues à la Roumanie par l'Article V "de faire valoir ses droits à une indemnité qui sera débattue entre les deux parties," est *à priori* frappée de stérilité, puisqu'elle manque de sanction?

Faut-il insister sur ce qu'il y a de singulier à voir qu'un accord préalable pour réglementer le retour des armées Russes à deux ans d'échéance devienne superflu avec la Roumanie, et que ce soit avec l'Empire Ottoman que se négocie ce retour, tandis

que c'est avec la Roumanie qu'une Convention en forme solennelle avait été jugée nécessaire pour réglementer le passage momentané de ces mêmes armées? Faut-il montrer que la Roumanie n'a jamais reçu plus cruelle atteinte à sa souveraineté intérieure que cette servitude imposée par le Traité même où il est parlé de son indépendance?

Enfin, la question de la Bessarabie n'est pas exclusivement locale et par conséquent susceptible d'arrangements simplement bilatéraux. Elle ressort manifestement à la compétence de l'Europe, car elle implique une modification essentielle à l'œuvre Européenne de 1856 par un déplacement de domination dans une région où l'Europe entière a des intérêts constants. Ce déplacement aurait pour résultat capital d'étendre jusqu'à l'espace compris entre Réni et Ismaïl l'importance attachée jusqu'ici seulement aux bouches même du Danube.

En outre, la paix de San Stéfano altère les prévisions de 1856 sur la Commission Permanente du Danube; le régime fixé par l'Article XVII du Traité de Paris est bouleversé.

D'une part la fondation d'une Principauté autonome de Bulgarie élimine la Sublime Porte du sein de la Commission; d'autre part, l'acquisition de la Bessarabie par la Russie, devenue riveraine du fleuve, introduirait dans cette Commission un nouveau facteur. L'équilibre dans les décisions serait compromis sinon détruit, car les voix se distribueraient dorénavant comme il suit: une pour l'Allemagne (représentant la Bavière et le Wurtemberg), une pour l'Autriche-Hongrie, une pour la Roumanie, une pour la Russie, une pour la Serbie, une pour la Bulgarie. La prépondérance sur le Bas-Danube appartiendrait donc inévitablement à un groupe d'Etats qui pourraient être induits par les circonstances à consulter leurs affinités de race et le soin particulier de leurs alliances politiques, de préférence aux avantages commerciaux de l'Europe et aux exigences économiques d'un caractère universel.

Il y a donc là encore un argument qui milite puissamment en faveur du concours de tous les intéressés aux discussions et aux résolutions du futur Congrès.

L'équité même plaide pour nous, car il serait arbitraire que notre cause fût appelée, débattue et jugée sans que nous fussions cités; car s'il arrivait que l'Europe nous fermât l'entrée du Congrès, délibérât et décidât à notre sujet, sans nous, elle consommerait à notre égard l'exclusion dont nous sommes déjà victimes par le fait du Traité de San Stefano et contre laquelle le Gouvernement a cru devoir protester.

Telles sont, M. l'Agent, complémentairement à mes communications antérieures, les considérations de nature diverse mais d'égale solidité, sur lesquelles s'appuie notre demande de prendre une modeste place au Congrès dès le début des Conférences.

En conséquence, vous voudrez bien attirer tout spécialement la haute attention du Cabinet de Londres sur les points ci-développés, et vous employer à obtenir de ses bienveillantes dispositions envers nous l'admission, si légitime à tous égards, de la Roumanie au sein du futur Congrès.

Je vous autorise à donner lecture et à laisser copie de la présente à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté la Reine d'Angleterre.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) COGALNICEANO.

No. 200.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received April 9.)

Admiralty, April 8, 1878.

My Lord,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the perusal of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a copy of a letter from the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "Cockatrice," reporting on the state of affairs at Sulina.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 200.

Commander Musgrave to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir, *"Cockatrice," at Sulina, March 21, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to report that the remainder of the Turkish Danube flotilla left this place for Constantinople on the 16th instant, with the exception of the "Kisber," a single turret vessel, mounting two 40-pounder Krupp guns, which remains here in charge of a lighter with ammunition waiting for an escort.

2. The Russian steam lighter "Pristnoz," arrived from Toultcha on the 18th, and the American yacht "Despatch," attached to their Embassy at Constantinople on the 17th, with General Chambers and Lieutenant Greene of the Engineers on board, to report upon the Sulina piers and works, with reference to those at the entrance of the Mississipi erected on the same principle.

3. The river, as far as the barrage and commission are concerned is clear, but will not be reported so until the Russian authorities at Bucharest declare that it is free of torpedoes from Braila to the entrance.

4. A list of the names of the Turkish flotilla, and copy of a telegram sent this day, are herewith inclosed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARCHER J. W. MUSGRAVE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 200.

List of Turkish men-of-war which have arrived from the Upper Danube, and which have left for Constantinople, with the exception of the "Kisber:"—

"Fethi Islam," "Samandria," small monitors; "Kisber," single turret, two 40-pounder Krupps, sister ship to "Seife," which was sunk by torpedoes; "Kelishah," "Havuttew," "Nushkalija," "Arcadia," "Lom," "Sejnr," "Nish," "Istahat," "Sref Kelnuma," "Akkia;" "Melissa," a small screw steamer left at Sulina, being the property of a merchant here.

(Signed) ARCHER J. W. MUSGRAVE, *Commander.*
"Cockatrice," at Sulina, March 21, 1878.

No. 201.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 9, 1·45 P.M.)

(No. 21. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, April 9, 1878, 12·10 P.M.*

IN consequence of a telegram from General Menabrea, saying that your Lordship had stated that your circular of the 1st instant was not to be understood in a hostile sense, and that Her Majesty's Government would willingly listen to any fresh overtures which might be initiated by Austria or Germany for a pacific solution, Count Corti has telegraphed General Menabrea's information to M. Nigra, and desired him to urge Prince Gortchakow to receive any new proposal in a conciliatory spirit and to consent to unreserved discussion of the whole Treaty.

No. 202.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 9.)

(No. 360. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 9, 1878.*

RUSSIANS are actively engaged in making a military road from San Stefano towards Pirinjlikeui. Turks have discontinued works of defence for the moment. Turkish Minister of War told me last night that he could put 450,000 men under arms at once, of whom about 200,000 were excellent soldiers, and ready for active service. Money and officers are only wanting.

No. 203.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April 9.*)

(No. 104. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April 9, 1878.*

ONE of my colleagues, whom I can implicitly trust, has told me, in strict confidence, that the Emperor told him, a few days ago, of your Lordship's Circular despatch, saying that it had two especial points in his eyes. The first was, that it gives a clear declaration of opinion of Her Majesty's Government upon the Treaty of San Stefano; and the second, that it laid stress upon European, rather than on exclusively British, interests.

His Majesty seems, however, to have added that he did not very clearly understand what are the ultimate objects of Her Majesty's Government, and to have implied that he considered them to attach too much importance to questions of detail.

No. 204.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April 9.*)

(No. 103.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April 9, 1878.*

I AM told that the Roumanian Agent here has been informed, from Berlin, that Prince Bismarck spoke very severely to M. Bratiano about the difficulties raised by his Government with regard to the cession of Bessarabia to Russia.

No. 205.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Wyndham.

(Most Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 9, 1878.*

YOU may state that Her Majesty's Government will make the utmost efforts to prevent any Greek population being absorbed by a Slav State. But you should represent that continued disturbance in the Greek provinces is the surest mode of producing such a calamity. Civil war, resulting in atrocities, will give the Russian army an excuse for extending the area of its occupation.

Both England and Russia are so deeply pledged that a definitive settlement is impossible which does not provide for the good government of the Greek provinces of Turkey, and England is interested in protecting them from absorption by Slavs. Absolute quiescence, therefore, pending the decision of Europe, is the true policy of the Greeks.

No. 206.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April 9.*)

(No. 362.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 9, 1878.*

COUNT ZICHY is pressing for answer as to cession of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria, and has asked for audience of Sultan to represent matters to Her Majesty's Government. Prime Minister tells me that he and his colleagues are opposed to it, principally on the ground that it will be a sanction on the part of Turkey to a partition of her territory which may justify further demands for territorial cession, and that it will lead to European complications, as Italy and other Powers will require compensation. I have given no advice, and it appears to me that it would be dangerous on the part of Her Majesty's Government to counsel compliance with Austrian demand. French Ambassador tells me that he has written to his Government against cession, and I would venture to suggest that it would be desirable for your Lordship to communicate with French Government on the subject. Count Zichy endeavours to keep matter secret, and has not spoken to me on the subject.

No. 207.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April 9.*)

(No. 85. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April 9, 1878.*

I AM informed that answer to your Lordship's circular was sent off yesterday. It is in the form of a *pro memoria* with a despatch instructing the Russian Representative to communicate it to the Powers. Copy was given to-day to "Times" correspondent on condition that he would telegraph it *in extenso*. It discusses each separate clause of your Lordship's circular, with apparent object to meeting of Congress. Pressure is being exercised here from Berlin in the same sense.

No. 208.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir A. Paget.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 9, 1878, 6·30 P.M.*

WITH reference to General Menabrea's conversation, mentioned in your telegram No. 21, you should explain to Count Corti that my willingness to receive fresh overtures from any Power with reference to the negotiations for a Congress only applies to such as are free from the objections to Prince Gortchakow's limitations, stated in my Circular of the 1st April.

No. 209.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

(No. 200.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, April 9, 1878.*

I HAVE to state to your Excellency that I had no doubt that I should receive from you the contradiction, contained in your despatch No. 249 of the 6th instant, of the rumours which had reached the Paris Foreign Office, as reported by Mr. Adams, respecting communications on the subject of the sympathy of France with the policy of this country said to have been made by you to the Emperor of Germany, Prince Bismarck, and other people at Berlin.

It had not been thought necessary to call your Excellency's attention to the report, or ask for an explanation, as it was manifestly impossible that you could have used the language attributed to you.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 210.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 459.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 9, 1878.*

WITH reference to Mr. Freeman's despatch No. 15 of the 15th ultimo addressed to your Excellency, reporting various acts of oppression perpetrated upon Christians in Bosnia, I have to request your Excellency to call the serious attention of the Porte to the state of things reported by Mr. Freeman.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 211.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 203.)

Foreign Office, April 9, 1878.

My Lord,

HER Majesty's Government entirely approve your having stated to Prince Gortchakow, as reported in your despatch No. 365 of the 27th ultimo, that in the communications which had passed respecting the Congress, Her Majesty's Government had entertained no desire of humiliating Russia, but had earnestly endeavoured to come to an amicable understanding with the Government of the Emperor in regard to the Congress, whose meeting would have been useless without entire freedom of discussion.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 212.

M. Delyanni to M. Gennadius.—(*Communicated to the Marquis of Salisbury by M. Gennadius, April* 10.)

Athènes le $\frac{7}{19}$ *Mars*, 1878.

Monsieur,

VOILA le résumé des nouvelles que je reçois cette semaine de la Canée.

L'intervention des Consuls Européens, dans le but d'obtenir un armistice entre les Chrétiens insurgés et les troupes Ottomanes, a heureusement abouti. L'armistice a été accepté et accordé par les différents Chefs des insurgés, qui toujours sur la défensive, même avant l'armistice, n'avaient aucune raison pour ne pas abonder dans le sens philanthropique des Consuls. Aussi l'armistice a été conclu à la satisfaction générale du Corps Consulaire, et tacitement reconnu, quelques jours après, par le Gouverneur-Général de l'Ile, lequel dans sa proclamation du 22 Février invitait les habitants du pays à reprendre leurs travaux, et assurait que les communications étaient parfaitement sures.

Ainsi aucun engagement n'a eu lieu cette semaine. Malheureusement et malgré l'armistice conclu, les coups de main des Ottomans n'ont pas manqué. On a trouvé aux alentours du village de Galata le cadavre d'un Chrétien tué, trois sépultures de Chrétiens dans ce même village ont été violées; les troupes Ottomanes, avant d'évacuer Vamos, ont incendié quelques maisons de Chrétiens, envahi et profané l'église du village. Tous ces actes de barbarie ont été portés à la connaissance des Consuls Européens à la Canée par une protestation de Gennaraki, Commandant-en-chief des insurgés des Cydonies. Le chef Chrétien y expose en détail les violations flagrantes de l'armistice de la part des Ottomans, et déclare péremptoirement qu'il se verrait dans la nécessité d'user de représailles, dans le cas où l'administration Ottomane ne ferait respecter l'armistice à ses troupes et à la population fanatique Ottomane.

A part ces atrocités, qui ne sont peut-être pas regardées par les Turcs comme constituant une violation de ce qui avait été convenu, la population Ottomane de l'île a paru en général très satisfaite de la conclusion de l'armistice; et cela était naturel. Les Ottomans ne pouvaient se faire illusion sur leur faiblesse respective, vis-à-vis de la population Chrétienne, qui est tout entière sous les armes, ni sur l'iniquité des moyens de défense, dont l'autorité locale pourrait disposer dans les circonstances actuelles. Une simple comparaison de ce que le Gouvernement Ottoman a pu faire en 1866-67 avec ce qu'il a fait aujourd'hui, le souvenir des ressources que la Porte avait déployées en cette époque et le triste spectacle de son dénûment actuel, se sont assurément autant de données suffisantes pour éditier la population Musulmane de la Canée sur les périls, qu'une conflagration générale ne manquerait point de lui préparer.

L'autorité locale s'est empressée de son côté de tirer profit de l'armistice convenu. Sous le prétexte apparent d'une meilleure distribution des troupes peu nombreuses dont elle pouvait disposer, elle a évacué Vamos, le chef-lieu de Spakia, qu'elle avait pourtant fortifié même avec des barriendes. Elle a évacué aussi Frangocastello de Sphakia, Palavorhora de Selino, de Lasithi, et toutes les autres places fortes de l'île, les fortins non exceptés, dont la construction avait coûté 20,000,000 fr. au Gouvernement Ottoman, pour faire interner ses soldats à Xerapétra, Spinalonga, Rethimno, Hzeddin, la Canée et quelques autres forteresses maritimes, dont elle croit pouvoir confier la défence aux navires de guerre plutôt qu'à une armée de terre. Elle a aussi procédé à la revocation de tous les Sous-Préfets et autres employés civils et militaires de l'île, à peu d'exception près, de sorte que toute l'administration de Crète se trouve

aujourd'hui transférée dans les camps des insurgés. Le motif essentiel et principal de ces mesures est trop patent pour être mis en doute. C'est le petit nombre des forces dont l'autorité locale puisse disposer; c'est la difficulté, pour ne pas dire l'impossibilité, de ravitailler les forts abandonnés en cas de siége; c'est la pénurie complète de l'administration centrale, qui la force à mettre à l'arrière depuis quinze mois le traitement de ses employés.

Le 27 Février un bâtiment de guerre a transporté de Constantinople à Souda trois bataillons d'infanterie. La Gouvernement Général de l'Ile attendait aussi de l'argent; mais on ne lui a expédié que des hommes, dont l'entretien leur sera certes très difficile dans les circonstances actuelles.

Vient l'armistice à expirer, nul doute que l'insurrection, pour quelque temps réprimée, ne devienne en peu de temps maîtresse de toute l'Ile de la Canée.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) THEODORE P. DELYANNI.

Inclosure 1 in No. 212.

The Vice-Consul of Rethymno to M. Delyanni.

(Traduction.)

Rethymno, le $\frac{17 \text{ Février}}{1 \text{ Mars}}$, 1878.

J'AI l'honneur de porter à votre connaissance que la population Ottomane a recommencé, avec nouvelle audace et sous les yeux même des autorités, ses actes de cruauté contre les Chrétiens.

Le 14 courant cinq Ottomans, embusqués à Glynéra, près du village de Varsamonero, ont déchargé leurs fusils contre les nommés C. Frangoudaki et M. Loukaqui, qui se rendaient à leur village; ils ont tué le premier et blessé le second.

Hier, une autre bande s'était embusquée à Héropotamo, près de Platania, où quelques paysans du district d'Amari devraient passer accompagnés même de "souvaris" (gendarmes). Comme les paysans vinrent à passer, les Ottomans embusqués sortirent de leur cachette, menacèrent les "souvaris," et dévalisèrent complètement les passants, ensuite ils dépouillèrent aussi dix-huit habitants de Scouloufia, près du village Adélé, et en blessèrent quelques-uns gravement. Un des blessés, le nommé Const. Maridaqui, expira quelques moments après.

Le même jour les MM. N. Frangiadaqui et Francisco, ainsi que vingt autres paysans de Métochia, accompagnés d'un zaptié, ont été entraînés par le gardien officiel de leur sécurité à une embuscade d'Ottomans et dévalisés sous ses yeux.

Dans la ville même on a dépouillé les habitants du village de Métochia, Schinas, Boyadji, et Nikolaqui, en présence même des sentinelles. Des paysans du district de Agios Vassilioj ont eu le même sort.

Inclosure 2 in No. 212.

Statement of the Crimes committed by the Turks against the Christians in the District of Heraclion.

30 *Janvier*, 1878.—Mélétius, ex-supérieur du Couvent d'Anopolio, attaqué et dévalisé un peu au-dessus de l'endroit dit Kartero. On lui a pris des hardes et d'autres effets valant plus de 1,200 piastres, qu'il transportait à Héraclion.

30 *Janvier.*—Gregoire Kalogéraki, attaqué à l'endroit dit Roussés. On l'a dépouillé de tout ce qu'il portait sur lui, y compris ses bottes, et dont la valeur était de plus de 300 piastres. Il a été battu impitoyablement; il en est tombé malade et garde encore le lit.

31 *Janvier.*—Jean Kalathakio, du village d'Orkanés, attaqué près de l'endroit dit Marathidis; on lui a pris 250 piastres qu'il portait sur lui, après l'avoir rossé.

1 *Février.*—Deux dépendances, sises à Xyropotamo, du couvent dit des Fodeliani, démolies par les Turcs, qui ont enlevé jusqu'aux lattes des toits.

6 *Février.*—George Talitis et Silio Apostolo, muletiers de Cherronia, attaqués à l'endroit dit Kaki Rahi. On leur a pris leurs bêtes; elles ont été retrouvées cinq jours plus tard errant à l'abandon.

9 *Février.*—Une maison de campagne appartenant à Emi. Péridés, a été démolie par les Turcs, qui ont enlevé toute la boiserie du toit.

12 *Février.*—Un Turc, voulant enlever les lattes et les soliveaux du toit d'une dépendance du Couvent d'Angarathos, s'était mis en devoir de les arracher au fur et à mesure. Des gendarmes Chrétiens survenus l'ont arrêté et le conduisaient vers la ville. Quatre Turcs armés et un gendarme Musulman les rencontrèrent en chemin et leur enlevèrent de force leur prisonnier, qu'ils mirent en liberté. La police d'Héraclion en fut informée, mais elle ne rechercha point les coupables et surtout le gendarme Musulman.

16 *Février.*—George Maknoudáki et Athanase Noï, et Artyraki, attaqués près d'Ayako; on leur pris tout ce qu'ils portaient sur eux et jusqu'à leurs capotes.

20 *Février.*—Drammati Dermetzaki, Eni. Voriolaki, Georges Vassalaki, et Emman. Bai, attaqués près d'Ayako. On leur prit tout ce qu'ils portaient sur eux et un ane qu'ils conduisaient, on battit quelques-uns d'entre eux et l'on cassa la tête à Voridaki. Ces hommes ont connus trois des malfaiteurs et les ont dénoncés, mais jusqu'à ce jour la police n'a pas arrêté un seul.

20 *Février.*—Le domestique de Spyridion Sakalaki, du village de Vénérato, a été attaqué près de l'endroit de Kakoyannena. On l'a entièrement dévalisé, on lui a pris même la mule. La police informée de cet acte de brigandage, n'a rien fait jusqu'à ce jour.

22 *Février.*—Constantin Polychroniédi et Grégoire Michalodumdraki, de Viano, ont été attaqués près du village d'Alidjani. On leur a pris leurs bêtes et dix ocques d'huile qu'ils transportaient. Ces hommes ont porté plainte devant le Tribunal, nouvellement formé pour connaître des actes de cette nature; l'arrestation des malfaiteurs a été dument ordonné, mais pas un d'entre eux n'a été arrêté jusqu'à présent.

22 *Février.*—Jean Dialino et Nicholas Revithi, de Vrakassi (district de Mirabello), ont été attaqués. On leur a pris deux mulets qu'ils conduisaient, 160 ocques d'huile qu'ils transportaient, 102 piastres, leurs fez et leurs capotes. Dialinos a été même outrageusement battu et il en est encore malade.

Inclosure 3 in No. 212.

The Christian Inhabitants of Rethymnos to M. Setychaki.

(Traduction.)

Honoré Monsieur, *Rethymne, le 19 Février*, 1878.

VOUS n'ignorez pas que depuis quelque temps, l'ordre et la tranquillité ont cessé peu à peu de régner dans notre district, et que l'anarchie s'y substitue, qui favorise et facilite la perpétration de tous les crimes.

Les Musulmans de ce district, qui sont les plus violents et les plus fanatiques de tous ceux qui habitent la Crète, se sont hâtés de mettre à l'abri de tout péril, derrière les remparts de la forteresse de Rethymne, leurs familles et leurs fortunes mobilières; ils ont feint que c'était parce qu'ils craignaient des soulèvements de la part des Chrétiens, mais ce qu'ils avaient réellement en vue c'était de marauder impunément dans nos campagnes et de dresser des embûches aux paysans inoffensifs qui vont et viennent.

Les Musulmans ont d'abord enlevé les volets et les battants des fenêtres et des portes des maisons Chrétiennes dans les villages, ainsi que tous les autres objets mobiliers qui se trouvaient à leur portée. Ensuite ils se sont mis à profaner et à piller les églises et ils commencent enfin à s'embusquer par bandes pour se jetter sur les passants, les dévaliser et parfois même les tuer.

Les Musulmans de notre district ont un plan arrêté d'avance, des chefs, une organisation militaire. Ils ont donc pu se substituer à l'autorité locale, qui est impuissante, à cause de l'absence de troupes régulières; en conséquence ils disent hautement que ce n'est plus le Padichach mais le peuple qui gouverne, ce qui signifie le bon plaisir et la volonté tyrannique des miliciens Turcs.

Vous êtes vous-même, Monsieur, témoin des crimes odieux qui se commettent journellement. Nous pouvons donc nous dispenser d'entrer ici dans les détails. Hier encore, ces miliciens dévalisèrent trente paysans (dont ils tuèrent un et blessaient deux) qui passaient sur la voie publique escortés de gendarmes.

Connaissant de longue date la brutalité et la férocité des Musulmans de notre district nous n'avons pas manqué d'adresser, à temps, une requête à Samih Pacha, l'ancien Gouverneur-Général de l'Ile, et à l'ancien Moutessarif, Djavet Pacha, les priant d'arrêter le mal à sa naissance. Malheureusement ces fonctionnaires nous ont amusés de vaines promesses, et non-seulement ils n'ont rien fait, mais ils ont même relâché

les ressorts de l'autorité. Enfin, il nous fallut recourir à Adossidi Pacha; celui-ci envoya aussitôt ici Salini Bey, Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte, avec une frégate et quelque troupes régulières, pour réprimer ces désordres. L'arrivée du Commissaire et les sages mesures prises par lui ont amené pendant quelques jours une certaine diminution des actes de violence.

Lors du départ du Salim Bey, nous lui remîmes une requête, tout en en adressant une autre au Gouvernement Général actuel, dans lesquelles nous faisons ressortir cette vérité, que pour mettre un terme à ce fâcheux état de choses il fallait châtier et réduire à l'obéissance les fauteurs et les principaux auteurs des crimes. En même nous remettions des copies de nos requêtes aux Agents Consulaires des Puissances Européennes.

Le Gouvernement Général s'empressa, il est vrai, de révoquer le Moutessarif, comme complice des auteurs des crimes susmentionnés, mais il ne rechercha ni ne punit ces derniers, soit faute de se sentir assez puissant, soit pour ne point accroître l'irritation des Musulmans, ce dont il craignait peut-être les conséquences. Mais l'impunité eut, en dernier lieu, pour effet la recrudescence des crimes qui nous prévoyions.

Notre Sous-Gouverneur provisoire, Essat Bey, paraît bien-intentionné, mais il ne dispose pas d'assez de forces militaires pour pouvoir faire ce que son devoir lui commande. Il fut décidé que les paysans qui vont et viennent sur leurs routes seraient escortés de gendarmes; mais ceux-ci, soit fanatisme ou connivence, font tomber dans les embûches—au lieu de les en préserver—les villageois confiés à leur garde, et les livrent en quelque sorte aux malfaiteurs qui guettent leur passage.

Or, donc, du moment que le Gouverneur-Général et notre Sous-Gouverneur, quoique désireux de garantir notre sécurité, ne peuvent cependant y parvenir, faute de disposer des moyens nécessaires pour nous protéger efficacement contre la férocité des Musulmans indigènes, il est certainement à craindre que quand les paysans cesseront tout à fait de circuler sur les routes, les pillards et les assassins ne tournent leur fureur contre nous autres citadins.

Les horreurs commises dernièrement à Byzia, aux portes même de Constantinople, par des Circassiens et des Bachi-Bazouks, rendent nos appréhensions d'autant plus vives, que les Musulmans d'ici ne cèdent en rien à ceux-là pour la cruauté et la soif du sang.

Le Gouvernement de Constantinople est en ce moment dans la plus grande détresse et ne peut rien pour protéger les populations Chrétiennes contre le fanatisme Turc. Il ne nous reste donc qu'à implorer l'humanité et la compassion des Puissances Européennes. Nous osons espérer qu'elles tendront une main secourable, non-seulement à leurs nationaux se trouvant en Turquie, mais les Chrétiens sujets de la Porte, lesquels sont exposés aux plus grands périls. Or, nous aussi, nous voyons notre vie, notre honneur, notre fortune menacés de la manière la plus grave et la plus terrible, et nous avons un besoin très pressant de la protection que nous implorons, et nous avons le ferme espoir qu'elle ne nous fera pas défaut.

Si, témoin oculaire de ce qui se passe dans notre district, vous compatissez à notre détresse et trouvez nos craintes légitimes, nous vous prions, Monsieur, de vouloir bien transmettre notre présente à votre Gouvernement, et d'obtenir pour nous de son humanité qu'il daigne nous protéger et nous venir en aide.

Veuillez, &c.

Les habitants Chrétiens de Rethymne,

(Suivent 144 signatures.)

Pour légalisation des signatures ci-contre :

L'Evêque de Rethymne,

(Signé) F. HILARION.

No. 213.

Lord Lyons to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 10.)

(No. 337. Secret.)
My Lord, *Paris, April 8, 1878.*

M. WADDINGTON mentioned to me this afternoon a confidential conversation which had, he said, taken place between the Earl of Beaconsfield and the Marquis d'Harcourt, the French Ambassador in London. In the course of this conversation Lord Beaconsfield had, M. Waddington told me, spoken in a very friendly and confidential manner to M. d'Harcourt, of the possibility that England might find herself under the necessity of occupying Mitylene or some other point in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles.

M. Waddington proceeded to observe that he did not think that under present circumstances it would be incumbent on the French Government to make any objection to an occupation of this kind. He conceived, indeed, that the impression made upon public opinion here by the course taken by Her Majesty's Government in acting in union with France on the Egyptian Financial question, had been so favourable that the occupation by England for strategical purposes of a point near the Dardanelles would be taken quietly in this country. He concluded by saying that he should write without delay to M. d'Harcourt on the subject.

Your Lordship will not fail to observe that M. Waddington made no allusion to the possibility of an occupation by England of any point not in the immediate neighbourhood of the Dardanelles; and that he was careful to connect the acquiescence of the French Government in an English occupation of a point near those Straits with the maintenance by England of joint action with France on the Egyptian question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 214.

Lord Lyons to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 10.)

(No. 338.)
My Lord, *Paris, April 9, 1878.*

IN his Confidential despatch No. 366 of the 18th ultimo, Mr. Layard mentions having forwarded to your Lordship a letter addressed to you by Archbishop Narsis, the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, and gives your Lordship an account of the claims put forward by that Patriarch on behalf of his countrymen in Armenia.

Archbishop Narsis appears to have sent his predecessor in the Patriarchate, Archbishop Kirimian, to Europe to plead the cause of the Armenians with the Great Powers, with a view to obtaining an amelioration of their condition in any settlement which may be made of the Eastern Question.

M. Waddington told me yesterday that he had just received a visit from Archbishop Kirimian. He had, he said, treated the Archbishop with kindness and respect, and had assured him, in general terms, of the sympathy of the French Government with the Armenians, and of its desire to be of service to them. He had, however, pointed out to him that Armenia was rather beyond the reach of the Western Powers, and had suggested to him that it would be necessary for him to bring forward some definite and practical plan for the better government of his country.

Later in the day Archbishop Kirimian called upon me, bringing with him Nubar Pasha (the ex-Minister of the Khedive of Egypt), and an interpreter. He spoke to me in general terms, very much in the same sense as that in which the Patriarch Narsis appears to have spoken to Mr. Layard, but did not enter into many details, hoping, he said, to have an opportunity of pleading the cause of his country in person before Her Majesty's Government. In fact, he announced to me his intention of setting out for London the next day, that is to say, on this day.

His name and titles appear to be: Mesrouplitz Kirimian, Archbishop of Daron, and ex- (Gregorian) Patriarch of the Armenians in Turkey.

The seat of this Patriarchate is Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 215.

Lord Lyons to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 10.)

(No. 340. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Paris, April 9, 1878.*

DURING my recent visit to London Rear-Admiral Spratt, of the Royal Navy, whose distinguished services as a Surveying Officer are universally recognized, was so good as to point out to me some special advantages which would, in his opinion, be derived by Russia from extending her frontier to the Kilia branch of the Danube.

In fact, Admiral Spratt is of opinion—first, that the Bay of Zibriani, which would thus be within the Russian territory, will at no distant date be converted into a very capacious and safe anchorage, at all seasons and for all classes of ships, by the gradual but sure advance of the Ochate of the mouth of the Kilia; and, secondly, that there is a sure and certain advance of the southern mouths and shallows of the Kilia, which will finally reach the Sulina, so as to absorb it in the same delta, and finally to smother it, and thus make works of improvement in it impracticable.

The conclusions drawn by Admiral Spratt appear to be that, on the one hand, the Kilia branch will eventually be the principal if not the only navigable entrance of the Danube, while, on the other hand, Zibriani Bay will become the most secure, the most capacious, and perhaps the most important anchorage in the western part of the Black Sea, and will afford facilities for the formation by Russia of a more important naval arsenal than that now existing at Nicolaieff.

Admiral Spratt was so good as to give me detailed written statements relative to these matters, but I do not think it necessary to submit them to your Lordship at this time, because Her Majesty's Government have it in their power to obtain complete information from Admiral Spratt himself.

I deem it, however, to be my duty to call your Lordship's attention to the substance of the communications he was so good as to make to me, and to place it upon record, with reference to the XIXth Article of the Treaty of San Stefano, which contemplates the extension of the Russian frontier to the *thalweg* of the Kilia channel and the Staroe Stamboul mouth of the Danube.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 216.

Lord Lyons to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 10.)

(No. 341.)
My Lord, *Paris, April 9, 1878.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 334 of yesterday, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that M. Callimaki Catargi informed me that he has just received instructions from his Government to go to England at once, and that he intends to set out for London the day after to-morrow.

He has asked me to give him a letter of introduction to your Lordship, and I have promised to do so.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 217.

Prince Gortchakow to Count Schouvaloff.—(Communicated to the Marquis of Salisbury by Count Schouvaloff, April 10.)

(Télégraphique.) *St. Pétersbourg, le* $\frac{29 \text{ Mars}}{10 \text{ Avril}}$ 1878.

LE texte complet du Traité Préliminaire ayant été communiqué aux Grandes Puissances avec pleine liberté d'appréciation, l'assertion transmise par Sir H. Elliot, que j'aurais déclaré à l'Agent Roumain que nous nous opposerions à ce que l'Article sur Bessarabie soit abordé au Congrès, s'il avait lieu, doit reposer sur un malentendu; semblable déclaration serait d'ailleurs illogique, puisqu'aucun membre ne saurait être empêché de soulever des questions se rattachant au Traité.

No. 218.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 10.)

(No. 86. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April 10, 1878.*

SINCE addressing telegram of yesterday, I have learnt that the Russian officers and men will be forwarded from Hamburgh or Bremen, by ordinary transatlantic steamer to New York. Her Majesty's Consuls there should be instructed to be on the look-out.

No. 219.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 10.)

(No. 87.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April 10, 1878.*

I CANNOT ascertain names of vessels freighted from Baltic port, but Consul at Hamburgh reports that steamer "Cimbria," and another large steamer of the Hamburgh American Company, have been chartered for unknown purposes. Our Consuls at American ports should report at once all sales of American steamers to foreign agents for unknown purposes, and advices of same be sent to our Admiral on the station.

No. 220.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 10.)

(No. 365.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 10, 1878.*

ACTING on advice that I have given, in accordance with your telegram of the 8th instant, Turks have discontinued all works of defence around Constantinople. Grand Duke insisted upon visiting positions held by the Turkish troops between Makri-keui and the Sweet Waters, and satisfying himself that the works had been suspended.

No. 221.

Lord Odo Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 10.)

(No. 22. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, April 10, 1878.*

M. BRATIANO, the Roumanian Minister, has met with no encouragement at Berlin. Emperor refused to receive him, and Prince Bismarck only received him this afternoon. He was told that Germany could do nothing for Roumania, and that the Roumanian Government would do wisely not to quarrel with Russia.

No. 222.

Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 10.)

(Telegraphic.) *Bucharest, April 10, 1878.*

COMMUNICATIONS in same sense as those made by the Roumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs to their agent at Vienna appear to have been made to the Senate and Chamber in Secret Session.

No. 223.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 400. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 10, 1878, 3·5 P.M.*

THE Greek Chargé d'Affaires proposed on the 8th instant that bloodshed in Thessaly should be stopped by something like an armistice between the Porte and the insurgents for two or three months, pending decision of Europe. He undertook that in that case all movement of men or arms across the frontier should be absolutely stopped.

I consulted Musurus Pasha yesterday. He objected to form of armistice as giving belligerent position to insurgents, but said that if proposed Greek engagement was observed, and the brigand chiefs could be sent to their homes, Porte would give amnesty, withdraw its troops, and give some money to leaders to enable them to go home. But he entirely refused to convey any message himself, fearing it would be used by corrupt persons in pay of Russia to ruin himself and Prime Minister.

See what you can do in this direction. Her Majesty's Government attach great importance to stoppage of this conflict, which at this moment may give Russia a dangerous opportunity.

No. 224.

*The Marquis of Salisbury to Consul Ward (Bremen).**

(Telegraphic.)
(Secret.) *Foreign Office, April 10, 1878, 8 P.M.*

IT is reported that 600 sailors of the Russian navy, with 6 officers, are about to leave Bremen or Hamburgh in the Transatlantic steamer for New York. Three of the officers are said to be named Avelan, Alexjelenyef, and Griffenburg. Try and ascertain whether there is any truth in this report.

The above is telegraphed also to Hamburgh Consulate.

No. 225.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 271.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, April 10, 1878.*

THE Russian Ambassador communicated to me this afternoon the substance of a telegram, dated to-day, which he had received from Prince Gortchakow, to the following effect:—

"That the complete text of the Preliminary Treaty having been communicated to the Great Powers, with full liberty of appreciation, the statement forwarded by Sir H. Elliot, that his Highness had declared to the Roumanian Agent that the Russian Government would offer opposition to the Article upon Bessarabia being broached ('abordé') at the Congress, if it took place, must be founded upon a misunderstanding; such a declaration would, moreover, be illogical, as no member of the Congress could be prevented from bringing forward questions connected with the Treaty."

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 226.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 248.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 10, 1878.*

COUNT BEUST referred to-day, in conversation, to the inclosure in a Circular despatch said to have been issued by Prince Gortchakow, a version of which has been published in the English newspapers.

* A similar telegram was sent to Her Majesty's Consul at Hamburgh.

I declined to commit myself to any criticism upon a document which, in the form in which it had been given to the public, appeared to be imperfect; but I expressed the general view that, while the tone of it with respect to the Asiatic part of the question was peremptory, the European part was touched upon in language which did not exclude the chance of an accommodation, and which might possibly indicate an intention on the part of the Russian Government to make concessions.

Count Beust repeated the opinion which he expressed in our interview of the 3rd instant, to which my despatch No. 236 of that date referred, that the time was approaching when it would be desirable formally to place on record the common interests of Great Britain and Austria, and I again informed his Excellency that I concurred in this view.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 227.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

(No. 205 A.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, April* 10, 1878.

COUNT MUNSTER asked for an interview with me to-day in order to communicate a confidential telegram which he had received from Prince Bismarck. He did not leave with me the whole of it, but it appeared from what he read to me, and from his subsequent observations, that his Highness wished to confer with Her Majesty's Government as to the state of things at present existing in the Sea of Marmora and on its shores. It had occurred to him that possibly Her Majesty's Government might be inclined to avail themselves of the friendly mediation of Germany to bring about an understanding between England and Russia, in regard to measures by means of which the forces of the two Powers in the neighbourhood of Constantinople might, by common agreement, be removed to a greater distance from each other. His Highness was deeply impressed with the danger arising from the close proximity of the British fleet and the Russian army, which might, owing to some accidental occurrence, at any moment lead unexpectedly to a conflict between the forces of the two nations, and he was willing to use his good offices to bring about a cessation of this perilous condition of affairs. With this object in view, he had forwarded, for the consideration of the two Governments, suggestions for an agreement to be made between them; and he stated that if the general idea found favour with Her Majesty's Government, the German Government would gladly receive, and forward to the Government of Russia, any detailed proposals or suggestions for carrying it into effect. His proposal was expressed in the following terms:—

"La flotte Anglaise quitte les eaux de Constantinople et repasse les Dardanelles. En échange, la Russie retire ses forces du Bosphore à une distance équivalente au temps que mettrait la flotte Anglaise à reprendre ses positions actuelles."

Similar proposals have simultaneously been made to the Government of Russia.

I said that on the part of Her Majesty's Government, I fully recognized and appreciated the friendly intention of the Emperor of Germany; that the idea which Count Münster had been instructed to communicate appeared, in general, to be a reasonable one; but that I must defer discussing its details, which must involve some little difficulty, until I should be assured of a general concurrence in the idea on the part of Russia.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 228.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

(No. 208.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, April* 10, 1878.

COUNT MUNSTER called on me yesterday to inform me that the Russian Government had accepted generally the suggestion made by Prince Bismarck, according to which the British fleet and the Russian army were simultaneously to withdraw to a distance equivalent in point of time from the neighbourhood of Constantinople.

I expressed the acknowledgments of Her Majesty's Government for the friendly exertions of the German Government, but I pointed out to his Excellency that the object in view would be only partially attained unless the squadron at Gallipoli was withdrawn at the same time as that which was now anchored in the Bay of Ismid. For this purpose a corresponding retreat of the Russian army from the neighbourhood of the lines of Bulair would, of course, be necessary. I stated that Her Majesty's Government had carefully considered the best mode of attaining these two objects on the principles laid down by Prince Bismarck. There was some difficulty in ascertaining the proportionate speed to be assigned for this purpose to an army and to a fleet. Where an army, as in the present case, had the command of a railway, it could move much more rapidly than the fleet: though, in the absence of a railway, the advantage would, of course, be on the other side. Under these circumstances, I might be justified in maintaining that the fairest arrangement would be, that the army and the fleet should retire to equal distances from Constantinople. I should, however, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, be content if the Russian army retired as far as Adrianople, extending its line along the railway to Dedeagatch, on the Ægean, on the one side, and to the Euxine, north of Midia, on the other. This would enable them, by the use of the railway, to return to San Stefano in a shorter time than that in which the British fleet could steam back from Besika Bay. It was, of course, true that the railway might be interrupted by a hostile force; but it was equally true that torpedoes and land batteries might, in unfriendly hands, make the return of the British fleet through the Dardanelles even slower than the march of an army.

Count Münster called on me again to-day, to say that Prince Bismarck had communicated my suggestions to the Russian Government, and he hoped that on Monday he should be in a position to communicate the reply.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 229.

Consul-General Eldridge to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 23. Political.)
My Lord, *Beyrout, March* 25, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 2 of the 26th ultimo instructing me to convey to Mr. Gabriel Abela the acknowledgments of Her Majesty's Government for his exertions on behalf of the unfortunate Bulgarian prisoners.

I had much pleasure in complying with your Lordship's instructions, and I have received from Mr. Abela assurances of his high appreciation of the honour done him, which, in my opinion, his humane conduct renders him fully worthy of.

I had previously been instructed by Her Majesty's Ambassador to convey to Mr. Abela his Excellency's thanks for what he had done to assure kind treatment to these unfortunate men.

A few days ago I was informed by M. Brunning, my German colleague, that he had received from the German Embassy a telegram announcing that all the Bulgarians have been amnestied and are to be sent back to their homes, so that I do not consider it necessary for me to take any further interest in their fate, as they will now be looked after by M. Brunning.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

No. 230.

Consul-General Eldridge to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 24. Political. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Beyrout, March* 26, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that my attention has been drawn to certain rumours and reports in European newspapers of opposition to the Government in Syria by the population, of disturbances having occurred with a view to resist

action of the authorities, of a great agitation going on, and demonstrations having been made in favour of annexation to Egypt, and other similar rumours.

So far as any overt acts of opposition to the Government or open demonstrations are concerned I can assure your Lordship that none have been reported to me, with the exception that the Governor-General was mobbed during last week at Damascus by a crowd of clamorous women, who followed his Excellency with curses on account of the high price of bread. Although I do not attach much importance to this circumstance, yet I am well aware that bread riots have not unfrequently been the forerunners of important political movements.

There undoubtedly, however, exists a widely-spread feeling of discontent and disaffection towards the Government amongst all classes of the population of Syria, and especially amongst the Moslems who have been called upon to make such large sacrifices in men and money towards carrying on the war, in which they consider they had little direct interests, as in their opinion it was waged to support the power of the Osmanlés, which has never been popular with the Arab population of Syria, who have always been treated as a conquered race, and excluded from all important offices in the public service, which has not unnaturally been looked upon by them as a grievance.

The only bond of union between the governing race and the native Mussulman population has been that of religion, and this of late has been considerably weakened owing in some degree to the lax morals of the Osmanlés, which has been looked upon with disfavour by the more devout and sincerely religious Syrian Moslems.

There are no common political interests or ties of race and blood to unite the two peoples, and once the bond of religion is weakened or destroyed there can be no cohesion between them.

The feeling of disaffection towards the ruling power is not one of recent growth, but of old standing, and the events of late years have served to increase its intensity to such a point that I think it possible, if the discontented could organize a rising with any prospect of success, and particularly if the hopes of foreign assistance were held out to them, they would not hesitate to oppose openly the Government, and I believe they would gladly receive a foreign army of occupation as liberators, should any Power be disposed to take advantage of the present growing feeling of discontent.

For some years past, but especially from about 1868, there has existed in Syria a tendency, encouraged, I believe, by secret agents of the Egyptian Government, towards annexation to Egypt, which was considerably increased by the purchase, by Her Majesty's Government towards the end of 1875, of the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal Company, which led the people of Syria to expect that England would, in consequence, exercise greater influence over the affairs of that country, if she did not eventually occupy it.

What has happened since has served to confirm the conviction that Her Majesty's Government will be obliged sooner or later to exercise a protectorate of some kind over the States of the Khedive, if not to take possession of them, in order to secure the road to India, and this conviction greatly augments the desire for annexation. No demonstrations have, however, taken place that I am aware of, notwithstanding the newspaper reports, which I think must have their origin in Egypt, and probably the authors of them are well acquainted with the state of public feeling in Syria, where these questions are being very freely and openly discussed amongst all classes of society, and especially amongst the Mussulmans, though these discussions only take place at meetings of friends, which have in no sense the character of public meetings as understood in Europe.

It is my personal conviction that the desire for annexation to Egypt arises more from the hope that England must eventually possess that country than from any real attachment to the Government of His Highness the Khedive on the part of the inhabitants of Syria, and a very small amount of encouragement would lead to an open movement in that direction.

The knowledge of the beneficent effects of British rule over a large Mahomedan population in India has predisposed the Mussulman inhabitants of Syria in favour of English rule, and it is the hopes of being able to partake of the same benefits which are enjoyed by their co-religionists in India that in some degree causes the present disaffection.

The inhabitants of Mount Lebanon, in general, have not the same desires and aspirations as the people of the other parts of Syria, since the Lebanese naturally fear that any change in the existing state of things in Syria might involve the loss of the

privileges they enjoy under the present "Règlement," and that they would be assimilated to the rest of the country, where these privileges are viewed with great jealousy by the population of the adjoining districts of the vilayet, who envy their neighbours the advantages obtained for them by foreign intervention.

I trust, I need not assure your Lordship, that I have in no way encouraged the existing feeling, nor have I identified myself with, or taken part in, any movement. What I now report is simply what comes to my knowledge as to the general state of public opinion, with the conclusions I have myself come to on the subject, which I consider it my duty to submit confidentially to your Lordship's appreciation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

No. 231.

Vice-Consul Jago to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 5. Political.)
My Lord,
Damascus, March 27, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that recent events having prepared the people for what is considered by them as tantamount to the collapse of Ottoman power, the news of the signing of peace between Russia and Turkey has been received here with comparative indifference.

To the small Christian and Jewish communities which have come unscathed out of the ordeal just passed through, save in occasional panics and in the heavy pecuniary losses incidental to commercial stagnation and governmental indebtedness, the news has afforded relief from the fears generated by the war; besides hopes, too vague to be put into shape, of some amelioration of their present position.

Among the better and more affluent classes of the Moslems, few as they now are, whose means have enabled them to escape conscription if not the payment of heavy war taxation, the little sympathy which before existed with the ruling Power, springing solely out of identity of religion, has been totally extinguished by the bitter recollection of sacrifices unstintingly wrung from the country, and which now, owing, as they assert, to Turkish corruption and incapacity, have proved wholly in vain.

To the poorest classes of the Moslem population of the settled districts which, whether urban or rural, have borne the entire brunt of the large levies made in Syria (estimated at 135,000 men from the Vilayets of Syria and Aleppo), and have been besides reduced to semi-starvation by the forcible abstraction of bread-winners, by war and other taxes ruthlessly levied, and by the rapacity of an army of unpaid officials, no relief is apparent. They have given their all in men and money; and their ignorance and distress preclude them from entertaining hopes for the future even were such more apparent than they are.

A strong disaffection against Ottoman rule pervades all classes of the Moslems, but is only manifested in words.

Leaders, they have none. The energies of the lower classes are absorbed in eking out a bare subsistence as best they can; while the better classes, bent upon preserving the little they still possess, are sunk in despondency at the prospect before them, and are fain to seek consolation in the feelings of resignation peculiar to their faith.

Those few who, by reason of their wealth, or by their position in the religious hierarchy, are still deemed the leaders, or, more properly, the heads of the people, are united only by the bond of common dislike to a Government to the corruption and general departure from the strict tenets of Islam of which they seek to ascribe all the evils which have overtaken the country. Resistance, however passive or otherwise, to the behests of the Government, even in matters of civil authority, where their joint action is demanded in order to regularize Governmental exigencies or local exactions, is defeated by the petty rivalries and jealousies which at all times and under all circumstances exist among them to a degree to render them useless as protectors of the common interests of the people, and impotent when considered as a possible element of danger to the ruling Power.

This general feeling of discontent and disaffection against everything Ottoman, proceeding out of recent events, showed itself forcibly on the 16th and following days, when, owing to a rise in the already high price of bread, a mob of women, chiefly the families of departed Redifs, stormed the Serail of Damascus, the official residence of Djevdet Pasha, the newly-appointed Governor-General of Syria.

Bitter curses upon the Sultan and his Government for the evils which have lately fallen upon the land were liberally showered upon the Pasha, as well as allusions to the corruption of the administration in general and of Governors-General in particular.

Reproaches for the losses of their male relatives were interspersed with hopes from the more desperate that the Russians would take Syria, and thus relieve them from the curse upon them.

These sentiments are the echo of public opinion in Damascus, expressing itself in a manner peculiar to the people.

Displays of fanatical temper towards Christians during Turkish successes, slight as they were owing to the vigilance of the Commander-in-chief in compelling the action of the police, ceased with the news of the reverses; and past and present sufferings, combined with the uncertainty of future relief, seem to have eradicated, for the present at least, any tendency to assume a superiority, formerly believed in by the bigoted and ignorant, and often worked upon by interested parties, but now under the pressure of actual circumstances tacitly abandoned.

The Christians and Jews of Syria have escaped in a high degree the evils which have so disastrously pressed upon their less-favoured Moslem brethren. Moral pressure alone has been used in respect of the never-ending so-called voluntary war taxes, so ruthlessly levied upon the Moslems; and the quota they have subscribed has been out of all proportion to what they have been asked for. In fact, what they have given has simply been to save appearances.

The civil administration of the vilayet since the beginning of the war has existed only in name. Corruption and administrative anarchy have been glaring, even for Syria, and seem to have increased in inverse proportion to the reverses of the Turkish arms. And although the virtual stoppage of pay of employés has no doubt much to answer for, it can hardly be held as a sufficient excuse for the unblushing manner in which the necessities of the people, arising out of war burdens and Imperial interests, have been traded upon for personal profit by the officials of this province, high and low, to the serious detriment of the Government in its hour of need, and to the grinding and impoverishment of all those whose lack of position or means failed to protect them.

Orders have been received from Constantinople to disband the Mustaphiz now under arms. Execution has, however, been suspended pending the return of regular troops to Syria. The force of regular troops kept here during the war has been two battalions of infantry, one at Damascus, and the other dispersed throughout the province to serve as the backbone for raw and aged local levies. Besides these are the mounted zaptiehs, or rural police, numbering nominally 1,800 men, but really, owing to non-payment of wages, about 900 effectives. This small force has sufficed to preserve order, and to crush, without serious collision, incipient attempts at resistance against Governmental exigencies in men or taxes of some of the more unruly of the inhabitants; and it shows forcibly both the great prestige which the Ottoman Power still obtains as a repressive agency, in spite of its present situation and the want of cohesion among the heterogeneous elements composing the population of Syria.

Consular influence in this great Mahommedan centre was naturally much restricted during the war by political events. The corps was, however, brought up to its full strength by the appointments of an Italian and of a Spanish Consul, as well as of a German Vice-Consul; and although the little influence possessed by this British Vice-Consulate was perhaps not more conspicuous than that of the Agents of other Powers, the far greater number of persons under its protection, and the importance of their suspended claims, amounting in the aggregate to about 280,000*l.*, caused the inaction of the administration to be more severely felt by British than by other nationalities.

Since the arrival the other day of Djevdet Pasha, the new Governor-General, the machinery of the Civil Government has once more been set in motion, and a marked change for the better, in respect of administrative routine at least, is apparent.

Save the article of bread, the necessaries of life are very cheap. The coming harvests promise to be unusually abundant. They will not, however, be available for two months.

Damascus, the surrounding country, including the Hauran, continue to enjoy perfect tranquillity, despite the general discontent and distress; and I have not been able to discover any foundation for the disquieting though vague rumours which have recently appeared in the European press regarding Syria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOS. S. JAGO.

No. 232.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 28. Political.)
My Lord, *Canea, Crete, April 1, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, a translation of a letter addressed to me, in common with my colleagues, by the General Assembly of Cretan Christians gathered at Fré in Apokorona, by which they inform me that they have decreed to appoint a provisional Government, consisting of seven members, for the purpose of maintaining public order in the country. They have proceeded, they say, to take this step, because the Turkish authorities have been withdrawn from the country districts, which are thus left without a Government. They declare that they continue to adhere to the policy laid down in the Memorial, of which a translation was annexed to my despatch No. 22 of the 20th February, viz., to avoid all conflict with the Turkish army, while prepared to repulse any attack until the Great Powers decide on their future lot.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

Inclosure in No. 232.

Letter addressed by the Cretan General Assembly to the Consuls, stating that they have appointed a Provisional Government.

(Traduction.)
M. le Consul, *Fré d'Apocorona, le $\frac{1}{13}$ Mars*, 1878.

VOUS trouverez ci-inclus le Décret de l'Assemblée Générale, en vertu duquel elle a constitué une Administration provisoire. L'Assemblée Générale, en procédant à cette mesure, exécute une nécessité absolue qui était considérée depuis longtemps comme inévitable. Vous connaissez, M. le Consul, qu'ayant retiré ses autorités et ses troupes de toutes les provinces de l'île, et les ayant limité dans les forteresses et dans ses environs, le Gouvernement Turc a laissé notre pays sans Gouvernement, et depuis cette époque l'Assemblée Générale, qui a été légitimement élue par toutes les provinces de l'île et reconnue officiellement par le Gouvernement Ottoman, a eu encore la tâche, conformément à son mémoire du $\frac{1}{13}$ Février, de maintenir l'ordre et la tranquillité dans le pays.

Ainsi que vous le connaissez, M. le Consul, ce devoir a été rempli par l'Assemblée Générale, qui a usé de tous les moyens moraux et matériels pour maintenir l'ordre mieux que par le passé, ordre pour lequel elle se croyait responsable envers le pays et envers l'Europe. Mais ses différents travaux ne lui permettant pas de concentrer toute son attention sur la partie administrative, l'ont obligé de former sous sa surveillance directe, du sein même de l'Assemblée, un corps qui avait quatre Commissions plus spéciales et des Tribunaux dans les quatres parties de l'île, lequel entreprendra à l'avenir l'administration de l'île jusqu'à son rétablissement définitif.

Nous ne croyons pas inutile de vous rappeler, M. le Consul, que l'Assemblée Générale persistera, fermement à son Décret de $\frac{1}{13}$ Février, ainsi qu'à son mémoire du même date, en attendant la décision des Grandes Puissances, et en évitant tout motif de conflit contre l'armée Turque, comme elle l'a fait jusqu'à présent, à l'exception de ce qui est arrivé le $\frac{1}{13}$ Février par suite des abus des Turcs; mais elle se défendra d'ailleurs, les armes à la main, si toutefois elle venait à être provoquée. Convaincue, M. le Consul, que vous défendrez nos droits auprès du Gouvernement que vous représentez dignement dans ce pays, l'Assemblée Générale vous prie de transmettre à qui de droit la présente, avec le Décret ci-inclus, et d'agréer, &c.

Le Président,
(Signé) C. DEVOGO.
Le Vice-Président,
S. N. DANDOLO.
Le Secrétaire-Général,
S. E. STAVROUDI.

Decree.

(Traduction.)

L'Assemblée Générale des Crétois,

Considérant l'état anormal du pays, et désirant contribuer à l'amélioration de cet état de choses,

Décrète à l'unanimité—

1. Une Administration provisoire formée de sept membres à l'effet de maintenir la sûreté et l'ordre public.

2. Cette Administration provisoire agira au nom du peuple Crétois et conformément du Décret de l'Assemblée Générale en date du $\frac{5}{17}$ Février dernier.

3. La susdite Administration sera responsable de ses actes devant l'Assemblée Générale.

Fait à Fré d'Apocorona, le $\frac{1}{13}$ Mars, 1878.

Le Président,
(Signé) C. DEVOGO.
Les Vice-Présidents,
S. N. DANDOLO.
N. ATHANASSIADES.
Le Secrétaire Général,
S. E. STAVROUDI.

No. 233.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 39. Political.)

My Lord, *Canea, Crete, April 1, 1878.*

IN my despatch No. 36 of the 26th ultimo, I had the honour to state that three battalions of troops had been marched into the district of Alikianu. I have since learned that they were halted on its borders, and had pitched their tents round a blockhouse overlooking the road leading into the district in question. Finding this position was commanded by a hill about 1,000 feet higher, where a party of insurgents had established themselves, it was determined to dislodge them, as at any moment they might cause the troops considerable annoyance. Accordingly this was done on the morning of the 27th ultimo; but the little skirmish consequent on the movement cost the Turks nine killed and twenty wounded, and of the latter four have since died; while the Christians lost but five killed and nine wounded. The day after the encounter I rode to the spot, and learnt that the insurgents were gathered in great force on the opposite side of the broad river-bed which here separates the combatants. Large quantities of ammunition were being forwarded to the Turkish camp, and the Snider rifles, with which a part of the troops were armed, were being exchanged for the Peabody-Martini.

By this attack the Turks are guilty of breaking the truce which had been agreed upon by the desire of the authorities themselves scarcely a month before. The pretext by which they excuse their action is the invitation which they allege the inhabitants of the district of Alikianu to have given them to occupy their villages.

In my despatch No. 36 I expressed my belief that this invitation was a sincere one; but so many who know the district assert that the signatures attached to it were those of persons of no consideration, that I cannot but doubt if it fairly represented the wishes of the inhabitants. However this may be, it is certain that when the inhabitants in question learnt from the lips of the fugitives from Stalos the desolation wrought in that village by the hands of the Bashi-Bazouks, and which was narrated in my despatch No. 35, they would quickly repent having asked the protection of troops who looked on without concern at these doings, and would join their own chiefs in resisting their advance.

On the occasion of the engagement related at the beginning of this despatch, Osman Nouri Pasha, at the request of the Vali, refused the services of the Bashi-Bazouks, except a mere handful, but when towards 10 o'clock, tidings reached Canea that the troops had received a check, the public crier went round the town calling on the volunteers to hasten to the scene of the conflict, and I saw them towards noon hurrying thither. It now appears that the Vali had never authorized their being summoned to the fight, and was in ignorance of their having gone, which shows how his authority is set at nought. His Excellency has lately become the object of extreme dislike on the part of the Mahometan population, because he is doing what he can to restrain their fanaticism, and they begin to bestow on him the opprobrious epithet of "Ghiaour." His character of Christian, indeed, is the weak element in his position, as his moderation and conciliatory disposition are freely attributed to the desire to favour his own religious community at the expense of the Moslems. There is the more reason, therefore, that his Excellency should be well seconded by the military commander, and it is abundantly evident that such is not the case. Indeed, had it not been for the obstinacy of Osman Pasha, the state of truce would not have been interrupted, as the Vali has all along been in favour of temporizing with the insurgents, but was overborne by the General, backed by the weight of the local Moslems. Osman Pasha, moreover, is addicted to drink, being intoxicated nearly every evening, and while in that condition is liable to be hurried into rash resolves.

It was hoped that further collisions between the two sides might be avoided, but on the 31st ultimo, after despatching my telegram to your Lordship, firing was again heard on the hills opposite this town, as well as towards Alikianu. That evening four wounded Bashi-Bazouks, one of whom has since died, were brought into town from the scene of the former conflict, and a soldier was killed and another wounded in the latter fray. One or both of these skirmishes seem to have arisen from some petty quarrel about sheep which had strayed in the enemy's lines, but apart from the immediate causes of dispute, these frequent collisions inflame the passions and render future reconciliation more difficult.

Referring to these encounters, I had the honour this morning to send your Lordship a second telegram in these words:—

"Fighting occurred again on Saturday, and is liable to recur again at any moment."

The roads which had been open during the truce, thus allowing the Christians to resort to Canea to buy food, are now deserted, and great are the privations endured by the suffering peasantry from want of proper nourishment.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

No. 234.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 40. Political.)

My Lord, *Canea, Crete, April 1, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship the arrival in Suda Bay, on the 24th ultimo, of the Turkish steam transport "Babel," which brought 600 soldiers destined to fill up battalions already here, 200 artillerymen, and 6 mountain guns.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

No. 235.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 41. Political.)

My Lord, *Canea, Crete, April 2, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation of a Petition addressed by the General Assembly of the Cretans to the several Consuls residing at Canea, in which they entreat the Great Powers to intervene in the present struggle in order to stop the further effusion of blood. They declare that they have successfully resisted the advance of the Turks, and that it is their firm intention in the future to resist every endeavour to encroach on the territory they now hold, as they have before their eyes the ruin and desolation which befel their country in similar circumstances in 1866, and more recently the countries of Bulgaria, Bosnia, Epirus, and Thessaly.

The Provisional Government, the Petition continues, is in consternation at the misfortunes which seem about to fall upon the inhabitants, both Christian and Turkish, and which they are powerless to prevent now that the Porte seems resolved to push matters to extremities.

In transmitting this Petition for your Lordship's consideration, I venture to observe that the Cretans have been precipitated into the present struggle against the will of the majority, who are fairly represented by the General Assembly, and which, in its memorial transmitted in my despatch No. 22 of the 20th February, called on the Great Powers to decide on the fate of their country in the Congress, which was then expected shortly to meet. The thoughtless action of certain chiefs come over from Greece plunged the Christians into hostilities which the means at their disposal did not admit of their carrying to a successful issue, and these very chiefs are themselves convinced of the error they committed now that they witness the result of their action in the famine-stricken people around them.

The present situation is, indeed, a hopeless one, for the Turks are not in sufficient force to occupy the interior, and the insurgents can only hope to prolong the struggle at the cost of infinite suffering to the weak and helpless.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

P.S. April 3.—I send by this mail, which is two days behind its time, a cyphered telegram through Syra, acquainting your Lordship with the request made by the Provisional Government for the intervention of the Great Powers.

Further fighting took place yesterday in the direction of Alikianu.

T. B. S.

Inclosure in No. 235.

Petition addressed by the Provisional Government of Cretans to Consuls.

Au nom du Peuple Crétois.—Administration Provisoire de Crète.

M. le Consul,

DEPUIS le jour où l'Assemblée Générale des Crétois a cessé toute négociation avec la Sublime Porte et a remis à la philanthropie et à la justice des Grandes Puissances la solution de la question Crétoise, son premier devoir a été de penser à sauvegarder la vie et les biens des habitants paisibles de l'île d'une irruption des forces Turques.

Cette mesure, qui lui était dictée par les circonstances, ne pouvait être réalisée que par le rassemblement des corps armés des Chrétiens dans des positions où, à cause de la concentration des forces Turques, le danger paraissait plus imminent. Il est vrai que cette mesure était elle-même une source de dangers de conflits, comme il arrive souvent lorsque des forces ennemies campent si près les unes des autres. Ce qui devait arriver arriva en effet le $\frac{12}{24}$ du mois dernier d'autant plus facilement que les nôtres avaient été excités par des abus et des mauvais traitements suivis quelque fois des meurtres dont les Turcs s'étaient rendus coupables à Rethymo et ailleurs; mais l'Assemblée Générale, ayant considéré le conflit comme moins funeste des malheurs auxquels les Chrétiens auraient été exposés par suite de l'invasion de l'armée Turque, n'a pas hésité à prendre la mesure dont il s'agit. Et la preuve que le conflit a été provoqué par les raisons ci-dessus indiquées et nullement pour attaquer les Turcs se trouve en ce que ces derniers n'ont pas été attaqués lors de l'évacuation de Vamos, Frangocastello et Paléochoro.

L'Assemblée Générale avait espéré que le conflit du $\frac{12}{24}$ Février n'avait exercé aucune influence sur la ligne de conduite qu'elle s'était tracée en rendant son décret accompagné d'un *Memorandum* dans l'attente de la décision des Grandes Puissances. La Proclamation de Costaki Pacha du 22 Février (v.s.), dont ci-joint copie, a augmenté nos espérances.

Mais vous voyez que cet espoir a été déçu par l'attitude prise dernièrement par le représentant de la Porte. L'attaque inattendue des forces Turques dans le but de chasser les nôtres de différents points, et surtout de la position importante du village d'Alikianou, ne laisse aucun doute que les mouvements militaires des Turcs sont faits dans l'intention d'envahir toutes les provinces.

En présence de la nouvelle tournure que semblent prendre aujourd'hui nos affaires, l'administration provisoire se voit forcée d'employer tous les moyens dont elle dispose afin de protéger le pays contre les mesures violentes du représentant de la Porte.

Nos corps armés, qui n'ont pas permis l'occupation d'Alikianou par les forces

Turques, les ayant vivement repoussées le $\frac{11}{23}$ de ce mois, se conduiront de même partout ailleurs.

Le peuple Crétois n'entend point céder aux Turcs des positions sûres, qui lui permettent d'envahir sa patrie, de la ruiner et de l'ensanglanter, ainsi qu'ils l'ont fait ici même en 1866, et tout récemment en Bulgarie, en Bosnie, en Epire, en Thessalie et dans différents autres points de l'Empire Ottomane. Il n'y a que 10 jours que 300 Turcs ont envahi les villages Castello, Vallamonero, et Ayo Andre de Rethymo, où ils ont commis beaucoup de méfaits jusqu'à ce que les nôtres se sont rassemblés pour les en chasser.

L'Administration Provisoire des Crétois est consternée pour les malheurs qui vont tomber à l'avenir sur les habitants Chrétiens et Turcs de l'île par suite de cette nouvelle situation, mais elle ne peut, par elle-même, prévenir ces malheurs, du moment que le représentant de la Sublime Porte agit de manière à pousser les choses aux extrêmes. Il n'y a donc que l'intervention immédiate des Grandes Puissances qui puisse sauver notre malheureuse patrie de nouveaux désastres et d'une nouvelle effusion de sang.

En conséquence de ce qui précède nous nous empressons d'implorer la haute intervention de votre respectable Gouvernement, ainsi que celle des autres Grandes Puissances, en faveur d'une mesure noble et humanitaire.

Dans l'espoir, M. le Consul, que vous voudrez bien transmettre cette humble requête au Gouvernement que vous représentez dignement dans ce pays, accompagnée de vos bienveillantes appréciations, nous avons l'honneur, &c.

Fré d'Apocorona, le $\frac{19}{31}$ *Mars*, 1878.

Les Membres,

(Signé) A. BITSAKI.
CARILAOS ASKOUTSI.
A. MIKALOUDAKI.
STELIANO HADJOKI.

Proclamation.

Nous sommes informés qu'à la suite des derniers et tristes événements, plusieurs des habitants des districts de l'intérieur croyant qu'il n'y a pas de sécurité dans les routes, n'osent pas rentrer dans les villes et vaquer à leurs affaires. Or, comme le Gouvernement Général a surtout à cœur de garantir à tous les habitants, sans exception, la liberté de s'occuper de leurs affaires ainsi que d'apporter remède à leurs maux, il considère comme un devoir d'avertir tous ceux qui veulent rentrer dans les villes soit pour y vendre des produits, ou pour y acheter des provisions, ou autres choses nécessaires à la vie, soit pour toute autre affaire, qu'ils peuvent venir sans crainte ni entraves. Il croit en même temps un devoir d'assurer tous les habitants que pour que les choses reviennent au point où elles se trouvaient avant les derniers événements, il a pris toutes les mesures nécessaires pour la sécurité des routes et la sauvegarde des voyageurs.

Ainsi donc, non seulement ceux qui veulent venir dans les villes jouiront d'une grande sécurité, mais encore les familles qui seront réfugiées dans l'intérieur de l'île peuvent retourner sans crainte à leurs villages et occuper leurs maisons.

En publiant ce qui précède afin que les habitants en prennent connaissance, le Gouvernement Général les conseille d'une manière paternelle de reprendre leurs occupations et de fréquenter les villes sans crainte d'être inquiétés, car les autorités surveillent et protégeront la liberté individuelle et la sûreté de quiconque ne s'occupe que de ses affaires.

La Canée, le $\frac{21}{9}$ *Mars*, 1878.

Le Gouverneur-Général,

(Signé) C. ADOSSIDES.

No. 236.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 42. Political.)

My Lord, *Canea, Crete, April 4*, 1878.

A DESPATCH from Mr. Trifilli, Consular Agent at Rethymo, which I have this moment received, informs me that a band of 300 Mussulmans sallied forth from that town on the evening of the 2nd instant, headed by a notorious Chief named Yeni-Zararki, and made for the district of Singhios Basilios, where they fell upon some peaceable villages and massacred the inhabitants. Fourteen Christians are said to have been killed in the village of Koksaré alone. They returned the next day to Rethymo, bringing with them 400 sheep and 70 beasts of burden. They seem to have met with some resistance, as three of the marauders were wounded. Another band of 250 went to the district of Milopotamos, likewise on a plundering expedition, but they are said to have suffered considerable loss.

In the present state of the country it is impossible to verify these accounts with any exactitude, and it is more than likely that the number of those said to have been massacred is over-stated; but, knowing the temper of those accused of these crimes, I have no difficulty in believing in the general truth of the statement, which has been confirmed besides from an independent source which I consider worthy of credit.

The gates of Rethymo are now closed against the Christian peasantry by order of the authorities. Costaki Pasha has always set his face against this measure, but it is probable that the newly-appointed Mutessarif of Rethymo, who is well reported of, has found himself forced to yield to local pressure.

From Candia, Mr. Vice-Consul Calecherinos reports a state of continual reprisals in that part of the country between the two hostile communities. The Mussulmans distinguish themselves, as usual, by defiling the village churches in the neighbourhood of Candia. A quarrel having occurred in the village of Aregienaki, in the district of Temenos hard by, in which a Mahomedan was wounded, an excited crowd assembled at one of the gates of the town to proceed to the scene; but, the Governor ordering the gates to be shut, the mob opposed the measure, and was obliged to be dispersed by the soldiers of the garrison. This incident serves to show that, had the troops in Rethymo done their duty, the disgraceful scenes recorded above could not have taken place.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

No. 237.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 385.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 5*, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith an article of a semi-official character extracted from this day's "Agence Russe." It has evidently been written in the Imperial Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and begins by stating that the Mission of General Ignatieff to Vienna has succeeded in its object of an exchange of friendly communications between the two Governments, and of learning the views of the Cabinet of Vienna in regard to the Preliminary Treaty of San Stefano. The same is desirable with regard to England, for Lord Salisbury's Circular contains objections to the Treaty but no proposals. In this very object the Congress would have been of use, for by the exchange of views and by verbal communication combinations satisfactory to all might have been arrived at. If, therefore, the real object of the Circular of the London Cabinet was to point out its objections to the Treaty, it may be presumed that it will now make known its own proposals and it could then be seen if these, with those of the Vienna Cabinet, could lead to a common understanding.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 237.

Extract from the "Agence Russe" of April 5, 1878:

St. Pétersbourg, Jeudi soir, $\frac{24 \text{ Mars}}{5 \text{ Avril}}$ 1878.

AINSI que nous l'avons dit avant hier et que le répète un télégramme de ce soir de la "Provincial Correspondenz," la mission du Général Comte Ignatieff a réussi en ce sens qu'ayant eu pour objet l'échange de communications amicales entre les deux Gouvernements et la connaissance des vues du Cabinet de Vienne relativement au Traité Préliminaire de San Stefano, cet objet a été pleinement atteint.

Il serait à désirer que le Cabinet de Londres en fît autant de son côté; car enfin, par la Circulaire de Lord Salisbury que les télégrammes de Londres ont résumée, ce Cabinet fait bien connaître toutes ses objections à l'égard du dit Traité, mais l'on y cherche en vain ses propositions. Or, c'est précisément en cela que le Congrès, accepté par la Russie, était une combinaison utile, sage, et pratique. Non seulement d'après le programme large et correct admis par le Gouvernement Russe, l'Autriche-Hongrie et l'Angleterre, comme tout autre Puissance, y auraient émis les objections qu'elles énoncent aujourd'hui, mais elles y auraient encore fait, selon l'usage que nous avons rappelé ici même, les propositions ou contre-propositions qu'elles auraient jugé convenables. Et alors de cette échange d'idées et de vues, de cette discussion libre et approfondie, faite dans cet esprit calme et dans ces termes courtois que savent apporter en pareilles circonstances les hauts personnages appelés par la confiance de leurs Souverains à diriger la politique extérieure de leurs pays, seraient sorties telles ou telles combinaisons qui auraient pu donner satisfaction aux différents intérêts engagés dans la question et répondre à ce désir d'entente commune et de paix générale que chacun aurait certainement eu en vue.

Le Congrès projeté n'avait pas d'autre objet, et sa proposition, ainsi que son acceptation, indiquent bien de la part des Puissances qui l'ont proposé et accepté, que ce but et ce désir étaient bien les leurs. Il est évident en effet que les objections et propositions faites à distance, par échange de notes ou de télégrammes de Cabinets à Cabinets, non seulement demanderaient un temps infini, mais aboutiraient difficilement à cette entente commune que la correspondance écrite est moins propre à assurer que la conversation verbale, et à cet accord général qui en est la sanction définitive.

Si donc le Cabinet de Londres a eu réellement en vue, sans autre arrière pensée, de manifester par sa Circulaire ses objections personnelles au Traité de San Stefano, il le prouvera en faisant connaître ses propres propositions, lesquelles, à leur tour, donneront la vraie mesure de son désir d'entente. Ce n'est qu'alors qu'il serait possible de voir si elles peuvent, de même que celles du Cabinet de Vienne, devenir un acheminement à des pourparlers en commun. Jusque là si la vigilance qui commande la réserve maintient tous ses droits, l'espoir que la sagesse et l'équité n'ont pas tout-à-fait abdiqué les leurs est encore permis.

No. 238.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 387.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 6*, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a *précis* by Mr. Stephen of articles from the "Exchange Gazette" and "Novoe Vremia" on the proposed equipment of fast steamers to prey on English commerce in the event of war.

Translations by Mr. Michell of articles from the "Golos" of the 31st ultimo on the same subject.

From the "Golos" of the 5th instant, urging the necessity of the concentration of Russian forces at Adrianople.

From the "Golos" of 4th, "Novoe Vremia" of 3rd, and "Russki Mir" of 4th instant, on your Lordship's Circular of the 1st instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 238.

Précis of Articles in the "Exchange Gazette," "Golos," and "Novoe Vremia."

THE "Exchange Gazette," in its number of the 2nd April, considers that a resort by Russia to privateering would oblige all merchant vessels to be protected by convoys, and that this would produce such an increase in the rate of freight as to evoke a general protest from Europe.

The "Golos," for the same reason, in preference advocates the fitting out of a certain number of fast steamers under Russian command and bearing the Russian flag. But, says the article, should unforseen circumstances prevent the carrying out of this measure, resort must undoubtedly be made to "letters of marque," notwithstanding the protests of Europe, as it is only in her commerce that England is vulnerable.

The "Novoe Vremia," of the 3rd instant, on the other hand, considers that the fitting out of these steamers in any considerable number would be impossible, and denies the assertion of the "Golos" and the "Exchange Gazette" that the recourse to "letters of marque" would expose the vessels of neutral States to any more danger than would a system of cruizers. Privateers would be subject to military discipline in the same manner that cruizers are. The chief difference between them would be that while any vessel seized by a privateer would become the prize of the owner and crew, the greater part of the prize money of a "cruizer" might find its way into the Admiral's pocket, as was the case with the "Mersina" during the late war.

Inclosure 2 in No. 238.

Substance of Article in the "Golos" of March $\frac{10}{31}$, 1878.

(Translation.)

THE "Golos" of the $\frac{10^{th}}{31^{st}}$ March publishes the following extracts from the "letters and memoirs of the late Admiral V. A. Rimski-Korsakoff," which appeared in the "Yacht" newspaper. Admiral Rimski-Korsakoff was the originator of the idea which was acted on of equipping and secretly dispatching to the Atlantic in 1863 the squadron under Vice-Admiral S. S. Lisofsky. The "Golos" considers that it is highly opportune and beneficial in the present position of affairs to acquaint its readers with the opinions and views of the experienced Admiral in regard to ocean cruisers, inasmuch as the notes published by him contain a complete programme of the tactics to be pursued by the cruisers dispatched for the purpose of committing depredations on England's commercial fleet and on her colonies.

"In the event of a war," says the Admiral, "our fine new frigates and corvettes can be of no use whatever in the Baltic. In case of a bombardment their crews might be used in the forts and batteries, but for this object a sufficient land force can be obtained, as was done in the case of the Sebastopol batteries. In fact, if real benefit is desired to be derived from these vessels, they must be dispatched to sea before the outbreak of hostilities."

The task which the squadron of cruisers would have to perform is defined as follows by the Russian Admiral:—

"In order to render their operations most effective, these vessels must be dispatched out of Russian harbours in such numbers that when united they would form a formidable squadron. Any other plan would be only a half measure, and would simply lead to pitiable results. Is it possible for one or even two frigates to carry on operations with any success against the enemy's fleet or colonies? If Russia possessed four or five ships at sea, England would not be in a position to dispatch say five frigates to each of her colonial ports; also to have at her command a squadron for pursuing our cruisers and another squadron for convoying her merchantmen; consequently with only two frigates at sea, the ordinary naval means possessed by England would be sufficient to cope with our cruisers."

The main object of the squadron of cruisers, in the event of a war with any maritime Power, would consist in attacking the enemy's fleet and colonies, for the purpose of diverting his attention and strength, and thereby weakening his means for attacking our coasts. It follows, therefore, that the character of the operations of the squadron must be exclusively offensive, and that the tactics of the commander of the squadron must be marked by enterprise, daring and rapidity of action. Care, however, must necessarily be taken to keep the enemy in ignorance of the movements of the

cruisers, in order that he should not be able to neutralize any contemplated operation.

The commander of the squadron should not be condemned for rashness and self-reliance, inasmuch as it would be better to risk the whole squadron than pursue such a cautious policy as might exercise a demoralizing effect on the minds of the crews and only serve to encourage the enemy.

The field of operation for the squadron must be principally the ocean and open seas along the highways of commerce, or in proximity to the enemy's colonies. Distributed over the sea at a given moment with instructions to collect together at a certain point and period, the cruisers should be ordered to collect information from the merchant vessels of neutral powers of the situation and strength of the enemy's naval force at different points, and in conformity with such intelligence to undertake operations simultaneously with the whole or with a detachment of the squadron.

The main object of the cruisers must be to attack the enemy's naval force in such places where it will be necessary for him to divide his strength either for defending his colonies, or for convoying his merchantmen. As soon as information is received that the enemy is in strength inferior to that of the Russian squadron, measures should be taken to destroy his force.

Similarly, should it become known that any one of the enemy's colonies is inadequately defended, the squadron should hasten to that point and impose as large a military exactment as possible and destroy or render useless everything capable of contributing to the enemy's advantage.

Admiral Rimski-Korsakoff also says that Russian cruizers may always rely on the assistance and co-operation of the Americans. At the same time, however, he warns his countrymen that the Americans are great talkers and braggarts, and should therefore be regarded with caution.

Speaking of the moral side of the question in regard to the crews of the cruizers, Admiral Rimski-Korsakoff says:—

"The officers should always remember that being, so to say, completely cut off from their native land, every means should be taken to keep up the spirits of the crews and to infuse in them a feeling of determination to face the foe at all times and places and inflict on him as much injury as possible. It will be understood that in view of the vicissitudes and dangers to which the crews would be exposed, and their isolated mode of existence, great danger is to be apprehended from the development of a spirit of insubordination and even ferocity, which, if not checked, might easily counteract the effect of the most brilliant successes.

"Should one of the vessels of the squadron be injured, whether by an engagement with the enemy or from other causes, and rendered unfit for service, her guns, stores, etc., could be used for fitting out captured steamers or fast-sailing clippers, which in their turn could be despatched in search of merchantmen. It is, therefore, obviously necessary to capture at the very commencement of the war, several fast-sailing commercial ships, and hold these prizes in reserve. If even by a combination of unfortunate circumstances all the naval vessels should one after the other be crippled, their armaments, crews, &c., could be utilized, as pointed out above, in equipping captured vessels, which, if powerless to inflict injury on the enemy's naval force and colonies, could still harass his mercantile marine."

The question of the equipment of privateers and Government cruizers to operate principally against England's commercial fleet has been lately widely discussed by the Russian press. The "Golos," in its issue of the $\frac{2nd\ March}{2nd\ April}$, 1878, devotes a leading article to a consideration of the same subject. In this article the "Golos" examines at considerable length the arguments for and against privateering, and arrives at the conclusion that recourse by Russia to the equipment of privateers, excepting as a last resource, is not desirable, but that preference should be given to rapid Government cruizers, which could most effectually be employed against the commercial marine of England. The following is the translation of that portion of the article which embodies its views on this point:—

"We consider that it would be more profitable for Russia, instead of sanctioning privateers, to employ cruisers; in other words, to fit out a certain number of fast-sailing steamers with Russian crews, which would sail under the Russian naval flag. For this object, steamers belonging to private companies could be purchased and equipped for the purpose of attacking English merchantmen. If we succeed in organizing on a proper basis a cruizer expedition (which we may here remark is quite possible) there will be no need of violating the Treaty of Paris. We may rest assured that our brave sailors, with a due consciousness of the honour of the national flag, will

never be guilty of acts for which the Russian nation would have to blush. In regard to neutral vessels, our cruizers would likewise never forget their duty, and would keep in view the interests of their Government, who would be answerable for their actions.

"These are the principal reasons why a cruizer warfare would be most profitable to us and most disastrous to the English. But should the equipment of cruizers, through unforeseen circumstances, become practically impossible, and if no other means are available for injuring British commerce, in that case, decidedly, the idea of issuing letters of marque to privateers must be renewed and looked upon as a necessary evil. Such measures, however, are highly dangerous; they are denounced by all civilized nations, and the adoption of them by Russia would raise a storm of indignation against her; but this alternative may become inevitable, and in any case would inflict material injury to English commerce.

"With England, personally, we have no need of ceremony. That nation always derided all legitimate rules of warfare, and in the most barefaced and insolent manner laughed at the demands made by other nations in the voice of common justice. We must remember with what cynicism the British Admiral, in 1854, justified the seizure and destruction of Finnish fishing-smacks. We must recollect with what barbarous ferocity the English, in the same year, bombarded the defenceless town of Odessa."

According to a telegram received from Moscow this day, an extraordinary meeting of the Imperial Society for the Encouragement of Navigation was held in that town on the 8th April, 1878. The subject of discussion was the desirability of establishing committees throughout Russia for the collection of subscriptions for the purchase of cruizers to form a Russian Naval Volunteer Force. This proposal, the telegram states, was unanimously and enthusiastically adopted by the meeting, which, it is alleged, was very numerously attended. Count Komarofsky, Prince Dolgorouki, and M. Nos were empowered to proceed to St. Petersburgh for the purpose of requesting the Czarewitch to accept the Honorary Presidentship of the society, and to seek his support for the furtherance of the object in view. The Vice-Presidentship of the society was offered to and accepted by Prince Dolgorouki, Governor-General of Moscow. It was also decided to solicit the co-operation of the Russian clergy, Governors of provinces, and municipal authorities for the promotion of this national scheme.

St. Petersburgh, April 5, 1878.

Inclosure 3 in No. 238.

Substance of Article in the "Golos" of $\frac{\text{March 31}}{\text{April 2}}$, 1878.

THE "Golos" in its political review of the $\frac{\text{24th March}}{\text{5th April}}$, 1878, urges the necessity of a concentration of Russian troops at Adrianople in view of the commanding position held by England in the Sea of Marmora and elsewhere, and of the threatening attitude of Austria and Roumania. This sudden change of tactics recommended by the "Golos" is very significant, seeing that it has strongly and persistently urged during the last month the necessity of the seizure of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. The strategy it now recommends must be considered as a recognition of the weakness of the position of the Russian forces in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and as a first step towards the concessions which Russia must inevitably make to Europe. This sudden change in the appreciation of the Russian military situation must be attributed to official inspiration. It says:—

"The passive opposition of Turkey and the open hostility of England, whose fleet imperils the free navigation of Russian vessels in the Black Sea, are phenomena menacing to our front and left flank; to avert these dangers a fleet is necessary, and this we do not possess.

"On the other hand, the position taken up by Austria at the present crisis, the opposition displayed by the Roumanians, who it now appears were all along only our 'involuntary allies,' totally changes the position of our forces in the Balkan Peninsula.

"These new phases of the situation demand new resources in view of which a firm consolidation of our military force in the Bosphorus and at Gallipoli can scarcely be reckoned on. It therefore becomes apparent that a rapid concentration of our troops at Adrianople and the occupation of commanding strategical points in Roumania is of vital importance.

"The establishment of a reliable communication over the Danube and the organization of a new base of operations in northern Bulgaria, with the utilization at

the same time of the Danube, these are the only means by which we can effectually consolidate our military position in the valley of the Danube. . . ."

Inclosure 4 in No. 238.

Opinions expressed by Russian Press on Lord Salisbury's Circular Despatch.

THE following are the opinions expressed by the Russian press with reference to this Circular:—

The "Golos" of the $\frac{\text{23rd March}}{\text{4th April}}$, 1878, says:—

"The mask is dropped. The Marquis of Salisbury has commenced his career as Minister of Foreign Affairs by the issue of a diplomatic document which will be noted in history as a sample of the most self-reliant frankness and cynical insolence.

"England is not desirous that Russian influence should increase in the East. Russia is not alone not desirous, but cannot allow, after all the sacrifices made by the Russian nation, after having spilt so much precious blood, that such a condition of things should be re-established at Constantinople, under which an English diplomatist residing there was not only the actual ruler of the Ottoman Empire, but had the possibility of checking all the productive forces of Russia.

"Russia is not bound to answer Lord Salisbury's Circular. *Beati possidentes.* This henceforth must be our motto and our programme. To discuss the justice and efficacy of England's demands must be the work of Europe, who doubtlessly will not pass them over without comment. Our business is to take every measure that the conditions of the San Stefano Peace, so far at least as they affect the interests pointed out by Lord Salisbury in his Circular, should become accomplished facts. When this has been attained, we will then have only to impart to them a permanent and irreversible character. Should our efforts in this respect lead to a 'war of a horse with a fish,' as Prince Bismarck facetiously termed a war between Russia and England, we cannot draw back from such an issue. England has placed herself, by the frankness of her new Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the position of a nation with whom a continuation of the dispute can only be carried on with arms in hand."

The "Novoe Vremia" of the $\frac{\text{22nd March}}{\text{3rd April}}$, 1878, expresses its opinion in the following manner:—

"The pure, genuine spirit of England has spread over Europe, over the whole world; this spirit is expressed in the Circular despatched by Lord Salisbury, her new Minister of Foreign Affairs. Political liberty, nations, seas, straits, highways, Treaties, all these exist and must only exist for British interests, for England's commerce, for her political and mercantile supremacy, and for her universal domination which has no limits. . . .

"It is now for Russia to reply. Russia never exceeded the limits of her natural influence, she only maintained her own material interests and those of the Slavs. She burst the trammels which were placed upon her development by an European coalition in the Crimean War. She strove to remove the barrier placed by the English on her southern gates, to obtain a free passage into the open seas and oceans. England forces herself into our waters, our territories, and aims at our possessions obtained by terrible sacrifices. England recognizes nothing that has been done by the war; she wishes to drive a wedge between Russia and Slavdom, and to define the limits of our development. The whole of Russia, the whole of the Slav world will rebel against such a sentence, dictated not by a feeling of humanity, not by love of liberty and the development of nations, not by the idea of justice, but by arrogance and animosity to Russia and contempt for Slavdom. Having cast off the Tartar yoke from our shoulders, having joined the European family and laid the foundation for our future development by destroying the Turkish power over the Slavs, we will not submit to wear the English badge, we will not be driven like obedient oxen by English lords. We will find the means to defend our interests, our national honour, and our own Russian path of progress."

The "Ruski Mir" of the $\frac{\text{21st March}}{\text{1st April}}$, 1878, says:—

"Resting only on facts, and putting aside all their diplomatic embellishments, we cannot but conclude that matters are combining themselves most unfavourably for us. We have already allowed the Dardanelles to escape us, and if during the storm

of political discussions we allow the Bosphorus to pass out of our hands our position will not only be unfavourable, but almost impossible.

". . . . Judging from late telegrams, it is apparent that our Government fully recognises the gravity of the situation, and is preparing a definite plan of operation in the event of an unsuccessful issue of diplomatic attempts at conciliation."

The "Exchange Gazette" considers the situation as a hopeless one for Russia, and urges concession to the voice of Europe. It says:—

"The only answer that it is possible for Russia to make in reply to Lord Salisbury's Circular is a declaration of war. But this step is of such importance and may be attended with such disastrous consequences that before adopting it it will be necessary to weigh carefully all the chances of success and failure, and seriously to calculate the possibility of attaining the desired object.

"If the Russian army at present stationed in the Balkan Peninsula could be maintained there by local means a war with England would not present such great disadvantages. We might in that case take up a strong position on the banks of the Straits, and remain there until ousted by force of arms, and as it would be very difficult to find a force sufficient to beat back a Russian army of 400,000 men the only alternative left for England would be to seek a compromise and to come to an agreement.

"But the difficulty consists in having to maintain the Russian army beyond the Balkans exclusively with our own resources. While the British fleet is anchored in the Sea of Marmora, costing England almost nothing and in no way affecting the resources of the country, and can remain there for an indefinite time, the maintenance of the Russian army in the Balkan Peninsula calls for enormous sacrifices, exhausts our economic strength, and can only be supported for a very limited period.

"A campaign carried on under these conditions is in the highest degree unequal, and cannot in any case end advantageously for us.

"Moreover, on the declaration of war the British fleet will at once enter the Black and likewise the Baltic Seas. In every quarter it will injure our commerce and attack our sea coasts, without exposing itself to any attack on our part.

"All the advantages in this war will be on the side of England—all the disadvantages on our side. Under these circumstances it will not be wonderful if Russia should pause before commencing hostilities with a foe upon whom in the present position of affairs she can inflict no material injury.

"Our policy must be directed by calculation, and not by feeling.

"However bitter the insults now inflicted on Russia's national pride by England, revenge is not possible for us at present, but only in the future more or less distant.

"It should be quite clear to everybody at present that the defence of our supremacy over the Straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, in view of securing the economic freedom of the south of Russia, cannot be attained by force of arms, but by the maintenance of a system of commercial and industrial independence which we have long since ceded to the benefit of England and our western neighbours.

"A recourse to arms will never return to us that which we have lost by our commercial backwardness, our inactivity, and disregard to our own interests.

"Russia must concentrate her thoughts ('se recueillir'), carefully look round her, husband her resources, and gather wisdom out of the tribulation she has passed through."

No. 239.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 11, 3·20 P.M.)

(No. 22.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, April* 11, 1878, 1·15 P.M.

IN reply to your Lordship's telegram of the 9th instant, Count Corti says that M. Nigra was distinctly instructed by him to urge Prince Gortchakow to consent to unrestricted discussion of the whole Treaty as required by Her Majesty's Government. Up to last night Count Corti had received no answer from St. Petersburgh.

No. 240.

Consul Ward to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 11.)

(Telegraphic.) *Bremen, April* 11, 1878.

WITH reference to secret message of yesterday I have ascertained that no Russian sailors or naval officers have left Bremen by any ship during the last weeks. Next steamer for Baltimore which leaves to-morrow will carry about 215 passengers, and next steamer for New York, which leaves on Sunday, about 300 passengers; but among these neither Russian sailors nor officers. I shall continue inquiry and immediately report by telegraph all information in reference to this subject.

No. 241.

Acting Consul Freemon to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 11.)

(Telegraphic.) *Serajevo, April* 11, 1878.

Treaty of Peace received untouched. I start Saturday to verify statement regarding military road.

No. 242.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 462.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 11, 1878.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 412 of the 26th March, forwarding a memorandum signed by several English gentlemen residing at Constantinople, relative to the question of religious freedom in Turkey, and I have to request that your Excellency will inform these gentlemen that their memorial will receive due attention from Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 243.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 463.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 11, 1878.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch No. 407 of the 26th ultimo, I have to request that you will communicate to Mr. Acting Consul Barker the substance of that despatch, and you will at the same time ask him for any observations he may have to offer as to the information with which he furnished you, but which has been contradicted by the Vali of Salonica, relative to the despatch of irregulars against a monastery in Mount Olympus, in which women and children had taken refuge.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 244.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 465.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 11, 1878.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 418 of the 27th ultimo, forwarding a copy of a letter which the "Vekil" of the Protestant community in Turkey has addressed to you, on the subject of religious toleration in Turkey, and I have to request your Excellency to inform the Vekil that his representations shall receive due attention.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 245.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 467.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 11, 1878.

YOUR despatch No. 382 of the 20th instant has been received, forwarding copies of despatches from Mr. Vice-Consul Brophy, relative to the sad condition of the Turkish fugitives in his district, and reporting the steps which he has taken on their behalf, and I have to request that you will convey to Mr. Brophy my approval of his proceedings.

I am &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 246.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 468.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 11, 1878.

YOUR despatch No. 357 of the 16th ultimo has been received and laid before the Queen, and I have to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government have learnt with much satisfaction that the Porte has taken energetic measures to mark its disapproval of the conduct of the Turkish authorities in regard to the recent excesses at Shumla.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 247.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 470.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 11, 1878.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 361 of the 18th March, forwarding a letter from the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople addressed to the Earl of Derby on the subject of reforms for the Armenian provinces of Turkey, and I have to request that you will inform the Patriarch that this communication has been duly laid before Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 248.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 249.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 11, 1878.

HER Majesty's Government approve the language which you have used, as reported in your despatch No. 274 of the 2nd instant, in contradiction of assertions which appear to have been made at Vienna by General Ignatieff as to the past and present policy of Great Britain.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 249.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 250.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 11, 1878.

HER Majesty's Government approve the statement made by your Excellency to Count Andrassy, as reported in your despatch No. 295 of the 5th instant, as to the object which I had in view in recording in my Circular despatch of the 1st instant,

the impression produced upon Her Majesty's Government by the conditions of the Treaty of San Stefano.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 250.

Mr. Taylour Thomson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 17.)
My Lord, *Tehran, February* 14, 1878.

WITH reference to Mr. Abbott's despatch to me of the 24th January last, copy of which has been forwarded to your Lordship from Tabreez, relative to the ill-treatment and torture of Armenian Christians in the Province of Karadagh by the Persian Chief named Mahmood Khan and others of the tribe of Chilibeantoo, I have the honour to inclose herewith copy of a letter which I have addressed to the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs on the subject, together with a translation of his reply, a copy of which I have forwarded to Mr. Abbott, with a view to ascertain what measures have been adopted by the local authorities, in accordance with the instructions which the Persian Minister informs me have been issued, for the punishment of the persons who have perpetrated these acts.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. TAYLOUR THOMSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 250.

Mr. Taylour Thomson to the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Sir, *January* 31, 1878.

IT is with extreme regret that I bring to the knowledge of the Persian Government the following statement, which I have received from Mr. Abbott, Her Majesty's Consul-General at Tabreez, from which it appears that the Christian inhabitants of Karadagh have for some time been the victims of flagrant oppression and barbarous torture on the part of the Chilibeantees, and that Mahmood Khan, of that tribe, has set at defiance the orders of the Shah for the abolition of torture in Persia, and the wishes of His Majesty and the Persian Ministers, that none of his people should be subjected to inhuman treatment or be outraged in their persons or property by any of their fellow-subjects who happen for the moment to be placed in authority, and to be in possession of power over them.

Recently a Mohussil, named Mohammed Jaffer Bey, was sent by the Sahib Divan to inquire into the grievances of the Armenians in Karadagh, but the matter was not followed up, and the consequences have been that Mahmood Khan and his people have lately acted with unbridled licence in their dealings with the Christian population of these districts. It is reported, for instance, that at one village six women were robbed of all their trinkets and neck ornaments, and 95 tomans, which were not due by them, were extorted from the inhabitants. Further, Mahmood Khan himself seized eight men of the village of Serai, put iron spits into the fire, and when they were red hot used them to torture these people, and by this means extorted from them 275 tomans; after which the village was plundered, the villagers were stripped of everything they possessed, and an aged woman was killed under the horse of Mehdu Bey, a servant of Basooreh Khan. One of Mahmood Khan's servants, named Mohammed Yar, also, last month intercepted thirty-six Armenians, who were returning from Russian territory where they had been employed as workmen, and plundered them of their arms and clothes, together with 1,700 roubles in money. Besides this, within the space of one month and a half this Mahmood Khan has extorted from the Armenians, over and above the 1,700 roubles already mentioned, and all the Government taxes, 700 tomans without right or authority.

I need hardly point out to the Persian Ministers how exceedingly desirable it is that Persia, by prompt action in this matter, should make it clear and evident to everyone that the Shah's Government are determined that the rights of every community in

Persia shall be respected, and that they will not tolerate outrages, by whomsoever committed, of the nature described.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) WM. TAYLOUR THOMSON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 250.

The Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Mr. Taylour Thomson.

(Translation.) *February* 6, 1878.

I HAVE fully understood the contents of your Excellency's despatch of the 31st January relative to a report which you had received respecting the proceedings of Mahmood Khan Chilibeantoo towards the Persian Armenians of Karadagh, and which you, as a well-wisher, communicated to this Department.

In reply I beg to state most respectfully that this affair is one of the matters of the internal government of Persia, and its adjustment in a suitable manner is one of the special duties of the Home Government, so that, before the receipt of your Excellency's letter, general and full measures had already been taken in all these matters, more especially in this particular case, and before you took the trouble of alluding to it nothing had been neglected which was likely to procure the comfort and safety of all creeds, being Persian subjects, and under the protection of the Government.

Your Excellency having, however, addressed me this letter and informed me of the case, as reported to you, through the spirit of friendship which you entertain in all and every matter which concerns the Persian Government, it is with much satisfaction that I acquaint you that stringent instructions have been despatched to the authorities in Azerbaijan regarding these occurrences, and if true, not a single thing will be omitted for the punishment of the oppressor and securing rest and comfort to the villagers.

No. 251.

Acting Consul Lyall to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 4. Consular.)
My Lord, *Tiflis, March* 16, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Lordship's information, that the troops composing the Russian army of Asia, lately employed in Turkish Armenia, are, most of them, being withdrawn. I hear that it is contemplated to retain only one division of regular infantry (the 39th), consisting of 10,000 men, in the ceded districts, which will be stationed at Batoum, Kars, Bayazid, and Ardahan. Inclusive of Cossacks, irregulars, and artillery, it is probable that their force on that frontier will shortly not exceed 25,000 to 30,000 men.

The Grand Duke Michael contemplates, it is said, proceeding to Russia for several months, leaving the Viceroyalty in the hands of General Prince Mirsky. Batoum is said to be already occupied by a Russian force, though nothing has as yet been published to this effect, but of this I hope to give your Lordship more certain information within a few days. The Governor is certainly appointed. Part of the troops, chiefly irregulars, employed in quelling the late revolt in Daghistan, are reported to be *en route* for Ozurgeti and Batoum. The troops who are being withdrawn from Turkish Armenia proceed to Odessa by the land route, across the Caucasus *viâ* Wladikavkas.

Commissions are still being given to the Cadets of the Military Academy here, without requiring them to pass examinations, as in the height of the war. And I hear that a force has been despatched from Krasnovodsk to the east shore of the Caspian, consisting of troops from Astrakhan and the Caspian provinces, with a view to occupy Merv.

I believe there is a direct route through the desert (north of Nissa) between Krasnovodsk and Merv quite feasible, at this time of year, for a considerable force.

If this expedition is merely directed, as is possible, against the Tekke Turcomans, it would probably keep along the Atrek.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WALTER TSCHUDI LYALL.

No. 252.

Mr. Layard to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 439.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April* 1, 1878.

WITH reference to my despatch to Lord Derby No. 362 of the 18th ultimo, I have the honour to state that I have been requested by Safvet Pasha to convey to your Lordship the thanks of the Turkish Government for the communication to it of Lord Derby's answer to Count Beust's note respecting the proposal that a Congress should be convened at Berlin.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 253.

Mr. Layard to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 440.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April* 1, 1878.

THE Grand Duke Nicholas passed yesterday at the Russian Embassy in Pera, and received visits and deputations. Count Zichy applied for an audience of his Imperial Highness through M. Nelidow, but my French colleague and myself did not think it necessary to do more than write down our names. I was unable to go in person on account of indisposition, and sent Mr. Kennedy to explain the reason to M. Nelidow, who very obligingly called on me to-day. I had an opportunity during his visit to bring to his notice the case of the unfortunate Mussulmans surrounded by Bulgarians referred to by Mr. Brophy in a private letter, of which copy was inclosed in my despatch No. 395 of the 23rd ultimo.

I have since heard that these poor people, reduced to the bark of trees for their only food, were dying by hundreds a day. M. Nelidow said that he would mention the matter to the Grand Duke, who, he had reason to believe, had already received some information on the subject from General Lipinski.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 254.

Mr. Layard to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 443.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April* 1, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a memorandum given to me by an Albanian gentleman well acquainted with the Provinces of Turkey in Europe, where he has been employed by the Porte in important public offices. It will afford further proof of the danger arising from the encouragement given to the various populations of the Turkish Empire to look to "autonomy" as the remedy for any grivances they may have. The Albanians now consider themselves entitled to autonomous institutions and to virtual independence. They resent, at the same time, the intention of Russia to place any part of the territory which they inhabit under Bulgarian rule. My informant declared to me that his countrymen would never cease to agitate and make war until they had freed their country from the Bulgarians, whom they looked upon as a much inferior race. Mahomedan and Christian Albanians would unite for this purpose, and would ally themselves with the Greeks in resisting the encroachments of the Slavs. It would require, he declared, the continual presence in Bulgaria of at least 100,000 Russian troops to protect her unwarlike population against the Albanians. The fall of the Turkish power, he added, will not be the end but the beginning of the Eastern question. The views of this gentleman may not be much worth; but they show the hatred and jealousies which exist between the different races and creeds in Turkey in Europe, and the consequences of the destruction of the only rule which, however bad it may have been, was able to keep Christians from slaughtering each other. "Autonomy" will probably not prove a complete remedy for the cure of sectarian animosities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 254.

Memorandum.

LA question de la paix entre la Russie et la Turquie s'est compliqué toute dernièrement de nouvelles difficultés dont la diplomatie Européenne ne pourra avoir raison qu'au prix des plus grands efforts et peut-être d'immenses sacrifices; peut-être même faudra-t-il s'attendre à une nouvelle guerre qui sera beaucoup plus désastreuse que celle à laquelle on vient de mettre un terme.

Faisant abstraction des conséquences dont est grosse la question de la création d'un Etat Bulgare, de la rectification des frontières de la Serbie, de l'agrandissement du Monténégro, de l'entente sur les Détroits, et du tort que l'indemnité de la guerre ne laisse pas de faire aux créanciers de la Turquie, je crois qu'une nouvelle question est sur le point de se dégager de l'ensemble de ses complications—la question de l'Albanie.

L'Albanie, haute, moyenne, et basse a été, dès les temps les plus anciens, habitée par les mêmes populations qu'aujourd'hui. Le nombre des différents clans et tribus qui l'habitaient aux temps d'Hérodote, de Strabon, et de Pline est resté le même; il n'y a eu de change que les noms. Cette vérité se dégage d'elle-même, rien qu'en mettant en parallèle l'état actuel de l'Albanie et les descriptions que nous en ont laissées les historiens de l'antiquité.

A partir de Scutari (Scodra), avec Tricpchi, Gronda, Hot, Klémenti, Ikrilli, Castrati, Challa, Choche, et toutes les autres montagnes se prolongeant jusqu'à Ipek, et en contournant les districts d'Ipek, Pristrina, Guillan, Katchanik, Uskup, Perlepé, Monastir, Florina-Castoria, Metzovo, Kalnrites, et Arta jusqu'au Golfe de Prévéze inclusivement, tout le pays enserré entre ces points et la mer constitue essentiellement, historiquement, et ethnologiquement l'Albanie; la race des habitants, leurs mœurs, leurs usages, et leurs traditions sont identiques; elles défient tout argument pouvant être invoqué comme preuve du contraire.

L'Albanie, dans sa pleine intégralité, compte 2,000,000 d'habitants, dont 1,000,000 de Musulmans, 750,000 Orthodoxes, et 250,000 Latins-Catholiques.

La population du district de Scutari peut à elle seule être évalué à 250,000 âmes, dont 160,000 Catholiques, et 90,000 Musulmans.

Les tribus de Tricpchi, Gronda, Hot, Klémenti, Ikrelli, Castrati, Ilak, Témal, &c., sont peuplées par une immense majorité de Catholiques; Challa, Choche, Pullili, toute la Mirdilie, et les montagnes d'Alessio sont exclusivement Catholiques; c'est seulement dans les villes que les Musulmans sont en majorité.

Dans tous les districts il n'y a presque pas d'Orthodoxes ni de Slaves.

Annexer au Monténégro ou n'importe à quel autre Etat Slave des pays habités *ab antiquo* par des Albanais qui diffèrent essentiellement par leur langue, par leur origine, par leurs mœurs, par leurs traditions, et par leur religion, ce serait non-seulement une injustice criante, mais ce qui est plus, un acte impolitique qui ne manquerait pas de soulever des plaintes, du mécontentement, et des conflits sanglants; les Albanais, tant Musulmans que Catholiques, ne sauraient se soumettre à la domination d'un Etat Slave dont la civilisation équivoque et douteuse ne leur offrirait aucun avantage ni aucune compensation.

Si l'Europe consent à ce qu'il soit loisible aux Slaves de se constituer en Etats indépendants ou autonomes, il est évident que les Albanais ne pourront pas se contenter d'une administration aussi vermoulue et aussi mauvaise que celle qu'ils ont subie jusqu'à présent. Ils sont convaincus au même titre que les autres peuples de l'Empire que le Gouvernement Turc ne veut ni ne peut leur en donner une meilleure, car ce qui c'est passé en Turquie depuis vingt ans leur a donné la mesure de la valeur des hommes d'Etat et des fonctionnaires Turcs; que tout ce fatras de lois qui sont censées former le droit public en Turquie ne sont pas en harmonie avec le degré de civilisation de la population, et que, soit par ce fait irrécusable soit à cause de la corruption et de l'ignorance des juges et des Administrateurs Musulmans, elles sont condamnées à rester, même à l'avenir, à l'état de lettre morte comme elles sont restées jusqu'à présent.

Indépendamment de ces considérations, dont la justesse et la vérité n'échappent à personne (car les essais malheureux répétés à plusieurs reprises sont là pour donner raison aux populations qui se plaignent, qui souffrent et qui n'ont plus foi en les promesses du Gouvernement) les Albanais sont convaincus, en outre, qu'ils ont besoin d'une force armée compacte et homogène pour défendre leur pays contre les empiétements de leurs voisins, et que le Gouvernement Turc ne pouvant pas avoir cette force après la perte des provinces que la paix lui impose, c'est à eux-mêmes de se défendre

et d'aviser aux moyens de créer et d'organiser cette force en employant les éléments éminemment militaires dont abonde leur pays.

Si, donc, la Bulgarie, la Serbie, le Monténégro, la Bosnie, et l'Herzégovine doivent être plus ou moins désagrégés de l'Empire pour s'administrer selon leurs propres aspirations et leurs intérêts nationaux, il n'existe aucune raison qui puisse induire les Albanais à renoncer de leur gré aux avantages d'une administration autonome ni au désir de voir pénétrer un rayon de civilisation dans leur pays, que l'ignorance et l'abandon ont couvert des ténèbres de la misère et de l'abrutissement.

Les événements qui se sont succédé dans ces dernières années ont fini par dessiller les yeux de tous; aujourd'hui l'illusion n'est plus possible. Et puisque le Gouvernement Ottoman n'a pas su le montrer à la hauteur de la brillante position que les Traités de 1856 lui avaient faite, soit vis-à-vis des Puissances Européennes soit à l'égard de sa liberté d'action comme Gouvernement réformateur et progressiste, les races des vaincus Musulmans et non-Musulmans ont perdu tout esprit de voir l'Administration assise sur des bases équitables et de trouver dans les sentiments des vainqueurs d'autrefois la moindre garantie de l'égalité des droits, des devoirs et de la justice distributive; les races des vaincus, dis-je, se sentent toutes poussées vers le courant de l'émancipation; elles veulent vivre et se sentir vivre d'une vie plus large, plus digne, et plus honorable.

Aussi les Albanais en général qui, par rapport aux Turcs, sont tous décidés à briser les liens qui les rattachent à la Turquie; ils demandant une administration séparée plus en harmonie avec leurs besoins et leurs traditions; ils invoquent le droit de rentrer dans le sein de la grande famille Européenne dont ils font partie par leur race et par leurs affinités.

Cependant, il ne faut pas perdre de vue que malgré le désir qu'ils ont d'échapper aux malheurs que pendant cinq siècles leur a infligé la domination Turque les Albanais ne consentiraient jamais, je le répète, à se soumettre à aucun Etat Slave que la Russie s'efforce de mettre en évidence: race, langue, mœurs, haines privées et publiques, orgueil national, tout, enfin, s'y oppose; et il n'est ni juste ni prudent de les soustraire à une domination pour les soumettre à une autre qui les puisse sans améliorer sous aucun point de vue leur position sociale.

Ne pouvant obtenir leur autonomie, entre leur soumission à un petit Etat Slave, et l'option pour l'annexion à un grand Etat Européen, les Albanais n'hésiteraient pas à se prononcer à l'unanimité pour ce dernier terme de l'alternative.

No. 255.

Mr. Layard to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 444.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April* 1, 1878.

A DEPUTATION composed of Mohammedan gentleman representing the Mussulman inhabitants of the principal districts in Bulgaria and Roumelia, occupied by the Russian forces, waited upon me this morning, and placed in my hands the inclosed petition, which they requested me to forward to Her Majesty's Government.

They described the condition of the Mohammedan population in those districts as truly deplorable. Even within the last few days, they stated, Bulgarians under the protection of Russian troops, and, they asserted, with the aid of Russian guns, had massacred a large number of Mussulmans, including women and children, in the district of Djuma, to the south of Samakov. The persecution of the Mussulmans, they said, had increased since the signature of the Preliminaries of Peace, and they were convinced that there was a deliberate intention on the part of the Bulgarians, to destroy, or expel, all those who were not of the Bulgarian race and religion, as they were also persecuting the Greeks and burning their farms, houses, and property.

It was in vain, the deputation added, that the Mussulmans appealed to the Russian military and civil authorities for justice and protection. It was enough that a complaint addressed to them came from a Mahommedan for it to be summarily dismissed. It had been said that the Mussulmans might return to their homes, but they could not do so. Perhaps, in Adrianople itself, they might not be exposed to outrages, but there was no safety for them beyond half-an-hour's distance from the city walls.

Under these circumstances they appealed to the Queen of England, who had 100,000,000 Mussulmans under her rule, and who governed them with justice, respecting their rights and their religion. They ventured to hope that Her Majesty's Government would not forget them, but would plead their cause in the Congress.

They had no friends but the English, and it was to them that they looked for protection.

I told the gentlemen who called upon me that I had already received a similar deputation from the Mussulmans of Philippopoli, and that I had transmitted a petition they had addressed to me to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who had authorized me to state that Her Majesty's Government would not fail to use their influence, when the opportunity offers, to obtain the just and equal treatment of Mussulmans.

They expressed great satisfaction at this assurance; they then begged to be allowed to see Mrs. Layard to thank her personally for what she had done for the Mussulman fugitives, and requested me to convey their grateful acknowledgments to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts and to the British nation for their generous and humane efforts to relieve the terrible sufferings of those who had been driven by war and persecution from their homes.

On leaving me they said that they had named a Commission to collect information as to the massacres and outrages committed by the Russians and Bulgarians upon the Mussulman population on both sides of the Balkans, and that they hoped in a few days to be able to furnish me with a full report upon the subject. I told them that I should be ready to receive any such statement, but I advised them to avoid exaggeration, and to confine themselves as strictly as possible to facts of which there was trustworthy evidence. This they promised to do.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 255.

Petition.

A son Excellence Mr. Layard, Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté la Reine d'Angleterre et Impératrice des Indes, &c., &c., &c., à Constantinople, supplique:

Excellence,

NOUS soussignés avons l'honneur de soumettre respectueusement les faits suivants à la haute et bienveillante appréciation de votre Excellence.

Le bruit court qu'un Congrès composé des Plénipotentiaires des Grandes Puissances Signataires du Traité de Paris va se réunir bientôt pour résoudre les difficultés que les derniers événements ont fait surgir dans la Turquie d'Europe.

Dans les provinces de l'Empire Ottoman que les Russes et leurs alliés ont envahies, soit par la force des armes, soit sans combat, et qu'ils occupent en ce moment, ils ont commis des actes de pillage sur la propriété des populations Musulmanes; ils ont incendié et détruit les maisons, profané et saccagé les temples et les bibliothèques, massacré et fait prisonniers des enfants, des femmes, et des vieillards.

Que le Congrès se réunisse ou non, nous humbles signataires de la présente supplique, et représentants des localités qui ont été le théâtre de pareils actes de férocité, avons l'honneur de solliciter de votre Excellence, au nom des populations Musulmanes de ces contrées, de vouloir bien soumettre et communiquer au Gouvernement de l'auguste Souveraine du Grand Empire Britannique, l'expression de nos vœux légitimes.

Les habitants des localités envahies ne sont pas tous Bulgares, comme le prétendent les Russes. Les populations, comprises sous la dénomination de Bulgares, se composent de Chopes, de Turcs, de Grecs, d'Arméniens, de Juifs, de Pomaks, de Tchitaks, de Valaques, d'Albanais, d'Allemands, de Tatars, de Tcherkesses, de Tsiganes, et autres races. Le nombre de Bulgares proprement dits ne comporte que le tiers de la population entière. Les habitants Musulmans ne sont pas immigrés mais aborigènes, et leur nombre est supérieur à celui des Bulgares.

Ces considérations si importantes n'ont cependant pas empêché la Russie, d'après les versions qui courent sur l'administration future des provinces en question, d'établir un état de choses qui aboutirait simplement à accorder des droits civils et politiques exclusivement aux Bulgares, et à priver et exclure entièrement de ces droits les populations Musulmanes, Grecques, Arméniennes, Juives, et autres, qui cependant forment la majorité.

Devant ces faits nous croyons devoir protester hautement contre une manière d'agir aussi injuste.

Le système administratif, qui à ce qu'on dit sera introduit en Bulgarie, n'est pas

seulement contraire aux principes politiques qui sont la base de toute civilisation, et qui veulent qu'une égalité parfaite dans les droits et les devoirs règne parmi les habitants d'un pays, et qu'une classe de la population ne soit pas favorisée au détriment des autres, mais l'application de ce système provoquera sûrement de nouvelles complications.

D'ailleurs, il est évident que les Bulgares mêmes préféreraient vivre sur le pied d'une parfaite égalité avec les Musulmans, plutôt que de se sentir écrasés sous la domination de l'influence Russe. Il est donc contraire, et par conséquent inadmissible que, d'après le système précité, les Bulgares, qui forment la minorité de la population existante, puissent acquérir en un jour le titre de maîtres et seigneurs de notre pays, et que les populations Musulmanes et autres non Bulgares, formant la majorité absolue, soient privées de leurs droits et réduites, pour ainsi dire, à une servitude politique.

Les troubles qu'amènerait infailliblement l'ordre de choses que les Russes veulent instituer, et qui ne tend rien moins qu'à renverser de fond en comble l'édifice politique du pays, sont trop faciles à concevoir pour que nous ayons besoin d'entrer dans de plus amples détails.

Nous nous bornerons seulement à exposer respectueusement les considérations suivantes.

Les habitants Musulmans et autres non Bulgares ne se soumettront certainement pas de bon gré à une pareille injustice, par conséquent l'établissement d'un Gouvernement Bulgare, basé sur le système susmentionné, est la négation de toute prospérité, et par là même l'anéantissement du vœu le plus cher de toute nation. Il engendrera nécessairement des complications, qui loin de ramener la tranquillité et la sécurité dans notre patrie créeront, au contraire, des embarras et de soucis continuels aux Puissances de l'Europe, plus que par le passé.

Il est donc urgent que le système d'administration de notre pays soit basé sur le principe de l'égalité parfaite des races, sur l'observation des règles fondamentales du droit social, afin de prévenir, à l'avenir, le retour des malheurs dans lesquels notre patrie a été plongée; qu'en un mot, il n'y ait aucune distinction entre les différentes populations sous le rapport des droits civils et politiques: programme qui pourrait se résumer ainsi:—

(1) Liberté religieuse; (2) liberté individuelle; (3) libre possession d'immeubles; (4) liberté politique.

En outre, comme dans ces contrées la langue Turque a servi jusqu'à présent pour la promulgation des lois, règlements et ordonnances du Gouvernement, et qu'elle est comprise par la majorité de la population qui s'y est accoutumée, il est nécessaire que cette langue continue comme par le passé à être la langue officielle.

Ainsi une administration établie sur des bases aussi solides que modérées, limitées au cadre tracé plus haut, satisfera pleinement toutes les populations, et assurera d'une manière permanente la tranquillité de notre patrie, dont les habitants, libres de toute entrave, marcheront d'un pas ferme dans la voie de la civilisation.

Fermement convaincus des sentiments équitables et libéraux qui caractérisent les hommes d'Etat Anglais, nous sommes persuadés que cette requête, que nous osons présenter pour la seconde fois, sera favorablement accueillie par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine, qui est aussi Impératrice et Protectrice de cent millions de Musulmans.

En vous priant de vouloir bien communiquer la présente à votre Gouvernement nous saisissons, &c.

Constantinople, le 30 Mars, 1878.

Les représentants Musulmans des Vilayets d'Andrinople, du Danube, et de Kossowa:

(Signé) HUSNI BEY, *d'Andrinople.*
SAID AGHA, *de Tchirpan.*
NOURI EFFENDI, *de Philippopoli.*
ARIF EFFENDI, *d'Islimié.*
NOURI BEY, *de Plewna.*
HADJI PERHAT EFFENDI, *de Tirnova.*
HADJI MAHMOUD EFFENDI, *de Matchin.*
MAHMOUD BEY, *de Nich.*
EMIN EFFENDI, *de Samokov.*
FEIZI EFFENDI, *de Sofia.*
OMER EFFENDI, *de Kossowa.*

No. 256.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 117.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 3, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, copies of despatches from Her Majesty's Consular Agents at Varna, Larnaca, and Sulina, giving reports on matters of interest in their respective districts.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 256.

Consul R. Reade to Mr. Layard.

Sir, *Varna, March 27, 1878.*

IT may be proper that I should inform your Excellency of a, perhaps, significant circumstance I have lately heard of from Rasgrad.

There is one Bulgarian church there, under the ministry of several native priests.

The Russians have recently introduced there two of their own priests, who not only have strictly forbidden the ministry of the Bulgarians, but have substituted the entire Russian ceremonial for what has been hitherto observed there.

This, as your Excellency may imagine, has created deep irritation amongst the Bulgars, who, however, I am informed, are too timid to take any open notice of the matter.

I have also been informed that the Russian officers are most extraordinarily lavish with their money in all the towns in their occupation. For instance, General Zimmerman, at Bazardjik, lately paid several napoleons, accompanied by a medal, for a "pillaw" he ordered from a Greek eating-house keeper of this place, and who has set up a shop at Bazardjik. Similar acts have occurred in other places.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. READE.

P.S.—Since penning the foregoing I have also heard from persons from Rustchuk that the Russians there are waging a deadly war against the fez (the Turkish red cap), and woe to the Bulgar who is seen by them with one, and no Turk dare appear before them with this head-dress.

R. R.

Inclosure 2 in No. 256.

Consul Watkins to Mr. Layard.

Sir, *Larnaca, March 18, 1878.*

WITH reference to my despatch of the 5th instant, and to my telegram of the 8th, copy of which is inclosed, I beg to lay before your Excellency the following further particulars on the subject of the emigrants.

The vessel mentioned in my telegram to your Excellency as having been wrecked was the "Sphinx," bound from Cavalla to Lattakia, with about 3,000 Circassians.

The news of the disaster was conveyed to the Austrian Vice-Consul by the Kaimakam of Larnaca, upon which he requested the French Vice-Consul to telegraph to Beyrout for the French gun-boat "Linois" to render any possible assistance. He also reported the disaster to Beyrout and elsewhere.

On the evening of the same day the Austrian Vice-Consul and his chancellier assured in the most positive manner that they had just received a letter from the First Lieutenant of the "Sphinx" (who was at Tricomo) asking for military assistance, as his life and that of a portion of the ship's company was in imminent danger from the Circassians, and further stating that the captain and the remainder of the crew who had been left on the spot of the wreck had been murdered by them. I telegraphed this news with Mr. Pascohni's knowledge and precisely as he had stated it to Mr. Eldridge.

On the following day, however, the news being a little more reassuring, I telegraphed it to Beyrout.

Her Majesty's Consul-General at Beyrout kindly sent the "Coquette" here on the 8th instant to take the Austrian Consul to the place of the disaster, where the "Linois" had gone direct from Beyrout.

The "Coquette," on her way from this to Palluta, called at an intermediate village on the coast, Tricomo, and picked up the First Lieutenant of the "Sphinx," the rest having been rescued by the "Linois."

During this time the approaching arrival of another steamer with fugitives for Cyprus was again officially announced. The agitation of the people increased; telegrams were sent by the inhabitants to his Highness the Prime Minister at Constantinople, and further representations were made by them to the foreign Representatives, which occasioned the dispatch of my telegram to your Excellency of the 8th instant.

The French and some of the other Consuls telegraphed to their respective Embassies at the same time.

The appeal to the Porte and the foreign Representatives had the desired effect, inasmuch as orders were received from Constantinople that the Austrian steamer "Timavo," on her way to Larnaca with about 2,000 fugitives, should not land them here, but take them to Adalia, and then return to Cyprus, and convey the shipwrecked Circassians to St. Jean d'Acre. The "Coquette" went away the same day for the Syrian coast, having delayed her departure for a few days at the urgent request of a committee of the inhabitants of Larnaca.

The causes which led to the objection on the part of the Cypriotes to receive fugitives are the lawless character of the latter, and the great poverty of the island, and the great want of breadstuffs occasioned by a series of bad harvests.

The shipwrecked Circassians are being collected at Famagusta. They are reported to have plenty of money and jewels with them.

I beg to inclose for your Excellency's perusal a translated copy of the report which the Captain of the "Sphinx" made out regarding the loss of his vessel with upwards of 500 Circassians, and in which he thanks Captain Festing and his officers for their timely assistance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. WATKINS.

Inclosure 3 in No. 256.

Vice-Consul Stokes to Mr. Layard.

Sir, *Sulina, March 27, 1878.*

I HAVE now the honour to inform your Excellency that the navigation of the Danube is entirely free, seven British steamers and a number of foreign ships having proceeded up river to the ports of Galatz and Ibrail, without encountering any obstacle in the way, the lowest draught of water in the river being 17½ feet; but notwithstanding the above facts, the river has not yet been declared open, either by the Russian authorities or the European Commission of the Danube. There are five Russian men-of-war in port, consisting of steam lighters and gun-boats.

I have, &c.
(Signed) O. STOKES.

No. 257.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 12.)

[For Parliament.]

(No. 154.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 5, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy of a despatch, and its inclosure, from Mr. Vice-Consul Brophy, forwarding copy of a petition to the Porte from 20,000 Turkish fugitives now in the mountains between Bourgas and Kirk Kilissé.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 257.

Vice-Consul Brophy to Mr. Layard.

Sir, *Bourgas, March* 30, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Excellency a document signed by the Mayors (Mukhtars) of twelve Turkish villages (Dulgherli, Iskef, Ahlatli, Kainardji, Kaïrak-keui, Ahankaïrak, Bakadjak, Karaulykdéré, Kara Evren, Tekendjé, Alaguin, Belevren, Ahlatli Kebir, Kara Abaliler, Denisova, Evreneslı-keui, all situated in the district between Bourgas and Kirk Kilissé), and purporting to be written in the names of 20,000 Mussulmans still remaining in that part of the country.

This paper, which I received yesterday at Tekendjé, sets forth the pitiable condition of the Mussulmans who are left in those parts, and begs the Porte to take their case into consideration.

I was asked by the Turks to forward this petition, through Her Majesty's Embassy, to the Sidaret, as they had no means of communicating with Constantinople, and, at the same time, to express their determination to leave the country if it is to remain under Russian or Bulgarian rule. What they wish is, that in such an eventuality the Porte should send steamers to Bourgas to convey them to Constantinople (or Asia, or anywhere else), as they declare that otherwise they will set out on foot for the capital, although they know that half of them will die on the road, and that all of them will be plundered of what they may have with them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. BROPHY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 257.

Petition to the Porte from 20,000 Turkish Inhabitants of Roumelia.

(Traduction.)

LES humbles Soussignés ont l'honneur d'exposer ce qui suit :—

Nous sommes les habitants des villages du district de Pirgos, dépendance du Sandjak d'Islimia, au nombre de 5,000 personnes, et les habitants des districts d'Islimia, Carin-Abad et Aydos, au nombre de 15,000, se trouvant actuellement sur les hauteurs d'Elbizdjé et Annat-Bäri, en tout 20,000 personnes.

Les Soussignés ont émigré en obéissance de l'Iradé Impérial, mais ayant été surpris par l'hiver, ils n'ont pas pu arriver à un port de salut, mais ils furent abandonnés sur la route dans un état d'extrême misère.

En attendant, les Soussignés sont attaqués nuit et jour par des Chrétiens indigènes et par d'autres gens de Comités inconnus qui les pillent, les tuent, et les deshonorent. En outre, un grand nombre en meurt de faim.

Par conséquent les Soussignés sollicitent un ordre de votre Altesse pour qu'ils soient mis en liberté et conduits au port de salut.

Le $\frac{13}{25}$ *Mars*, 1878.

(Suivent les sceaux.) (Signed by the Moukhtars of 12 villages.)

No. 258.

Consul T. E. Reade to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 6. Political.)

My Lord, *Smyrna, April* 4, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to report that on the 30th ultimo I addressed to your Lordship a cypher telegram to the following effect :—

"A Turkish acquaintance of high respectability, and one in whom I can place every confidence, authorizes me to state to your Lordship that, if the occasion arise for any such undertaking, he is in a position to engage, within a term of six weeks, to raise, equip, and place at the service of Her Majesty the Queen, 100,000 Turkish soldiers from this and the neighbouring provinces, and double that number in three months from the date of any engagement into which he might enter."

To the above message I would beg to add my personal conviction that, in the event of a declaration of war with Russia, Her Majesty's Government can count upon

the sympathy and co-operation of all classes of the native population of this part of the Ottoman dominions.

The supposed warlike aspect or tendency of the last political news from Europe has given rise to considerable excitement here, and offers of military service from Turks of every grade are made daily at this Consulate.

In answer also to a call which, in pursuance of instructions from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, I made some days ago for the names of such persons as would be available, if necessary, to act as interpreters, from fifty to sixty persons presented themselves, and I had no difficulty in furnishing a satisfactory list of candidates for employment in that capacity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 259.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 388.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 7, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith translations by Mr. Michell of extracts from the "Exchange Gazette" and the "Russki Mir," showing the sudden change of opinion which is beginning to characterize the Russian press as to the necessity of yielding to the opposition raised by Europe against the schemes of Russia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 259.

Abstracts from the Russian Press.

St. Petersburgh, April 6, 1878.

THE following extracts from the "Exchange Gazette" and the "Russki Mir" (the latter having hitherto been a violent advocate for war), serve as a good index to the sudden change of opinion which is now beginning to characterize the Russian press. The necessity of yielding to the storm of opposition raised throughout Europe against Russian schemes is now being gradually recognized, both by the Russian press and the sober-minded section of the Russian public. The "Russki Mir" of the $\frac{25th\ March}{6th\ April}$, 1878, says:—

"After making friends with the defeated Turks we suddenly find ourselves on the eve of a new imbroglio—an imbroglio with a so-called Europe, which has all at once arisen out of the ashes, in the shape of the London and Vienna Cabinets. We always thought that a Europe without Germany was out of the question, but it would appear now that the hitherto omnipotent political power of the German Empire has retired into the background, and surrendered its place to another Europe, which has been specially created for Russia.

"The French papers are at present widely discussing this re-establishment of Europe without the sanction of Germany. The failure of the Berlin Conference is looked upon in Paris as equal to a complete political discomfiture of the Berlin Cabinet. The intimate relations between England and Austria are hailed by France as the commencement of a new European anti-German era, capable of developing into an era of retaliation. The hostile tone therefore of the French press—Conservative and Republican—towards Russia should not surprise us.

"We will hope, notwithstanding, that a peaceful and an equitable issue out of these complicated difficulties may be found. Such a solution is demanded by the vital interests of Russia, the self-respect of Germany, and by the general necessity felt for peace in Europe after these endless contentions."

The "Exchange Gazette" says :—

"Peace for Russia is a crying necessity. The Russian people have made without murmuring all the sacrifices which were demanded of them by the war. Similarly, if

called upon; they will make greater sacrifices; but, notwithstanding all this, we cannot shut our eyes to the mass of evil and disaster which the war has created amongst us.

"Will there be found one house in St. Petersburgh in which there is not a victim who has suffered in some way from this war? Who of us can desire its continuation, who will not shudder at its horrors, and who will not offer up a prayer that this bitter cup may pass from us?

"Even shutting our eyes to the indirect misery which the war has entailed on individuals and families, and ascending to the general views of the Government, and to political considerations—to the so-termed 'mission of Russia,' is it possible to find among us an enlightened, a reasonable, and really patriotic Russian who desires a kindling of this European conflagration? To what will it lead us? What will we obtain by it?

"Ought we to forget that the war which we have only just successfully concluded was not undertaken by us for our own personal interests, but only out of sympathy for races whom we considered to be in a state of suffering and oppression? We have done as much as possible for these races. As regards the re-establishment of Turkish domination in the Balkan Peninsula, the idea has been generally abandoned. Why should we oppose ourselves to the consolidation of the future of these nationalities after their own fashion and liking? And why should we be compelled to risk a collision with the whole of Europe for their sakes. The thraldom of the Turks must no longer press on the Christian population of the Balkan Peninsula, and, as regards this, the whole of Europe is of one mind. The delimitations of these various nationalities and the organization of their internal administration are matters which should not concern us.

"Those who combine special Russian interests with the future development of Bulgaria are egregiously in error. Whether the Bulgaria of the future will be our ally or opponent is a question far from being solved at the present moment.

"Russian blood has been copiously shed for the liberation of the Moldavian and Wallachian Principalities, and what is the result? Roumania, who has obtained her independence by the efforts of Russia, has sounded the alarm merely because Russia proposed an exchange of territory which is visibly to the advantage of Roumania. The Roumanian Ministry have addressed diplomatic notes to the European Cabinets in which they seek protection against Russia as against their direst enemy.

"Whether Bulgaria will serve as a Russian outpost on the Ægean Sea is also a doubtful question and one of unimportant signification, as Russia requires no Bulgarian guardian for the Turkish Straits.

"No Power will ever be in a position to close the Bosphorus and Dardanelles against us, inasmuch as we shall always be able to command these by the march of an army of 500,000 bayonets, and to destroy every obstacle which might be erected there against us. In these Straits we require only that which is sought for by the whole of Europe, namely, that they should always, and under any circumstances, be open for the free navigation of the vessels of all nations. So soon as this freedom of navigation through the Straits is established, Russia may consider her interests as regards the Straits as fully ensured.

"With respect to the historical mission of Russia, we consider that the chief mission of that country, as that of all other nations, consists in the amelioration of the condition of the people, their further enlightenment, the perfection of their institutions, their moral and material advancement. Its true mission also consists, both as regards its co-religionists and kindred races as well as in respect to humanity at large, in being lenient and just, in scheming against nobody, threatening no one, and in guarding, as the apple of the eye, the blood and substance of its subjects."

No. 260.

Lord Odo Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 230.)

My Lord, *Berlin, April 10, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship the accompanying despatches which I have received from Commander H. Grenfell, R.N., Her Majesty's Naval Attaché at this Embassy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 260.

Commander Grenfell to Lord Odo Russell.

(Confidential.)

My Lord, *Berlin, April 10, 1878.*

I HAVE received information which seems to indicate that the German coast batteries are being placed in a state of readiness.

The indications are slight, but it may be important to notice them at the present time.

In addition to this, a consignment of small-arm cartridges has just been received from England.

This may be nothing more than the replacing of deficiencies, but it is worthy of remark that not long ago the German Government refused tenders on the ground that their magazines were already amply supplied.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. H. GRENFELL, *Commander, R.N., Naval Attaché.*

Inclosure 2 in No. 260.

Commander Grenfell to Lord Odo Russell.

(Confidential.)

My Lord, *Berlin, April 10, 1878.*

IN connection with Consul Annesley's report from Hamburgh that steamers have been chartered under sealed orders for the Russian Government, I have reason to believe that the arrangements were made by the Russian Naval Agent in Germany, whom I chanced to meet at Hamburgh on the 5th instant.

This officer carries out all such affairs for his Government. Previous to visiting Hamburgh I have ascertained that he was in Copenhagen, possibly for a similar purpose.

I elicited from him last night that whilst his Government are not disposed to make use of letters of marque, they, to use his words, "might consider the question of arming ships obtained abroad."

This may be considered an indication that such steps are being taken.

It may be presumed that his recent visit to St. Petersburgh was in connection with this matter, among others, and that he has now completed whatever arrangements were to be made for chartering ships.

From another source I learn that for some time past Russian naval officers have been leaving in considerable numbers for America.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. H. GRENFELL, *Commander, R.N., Military Attaché.*

No. 261.

Mr. Vivian to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 103. Political. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Cairo, April 2, 1878.*

CHERIF PASHA came to me to-day with a message from the Khedive, to the effect that he had received confidential letters from Mustapha Pasha, Prince Ibrahim's governor in London, and others, saying that it was often asked in English society what would be the attitude of Egypt in the event of a war between England and Russia, in which Turkey might either be neutral or the ally of Russia.

His Highness hoped I would assure Her Majesty's Government that his answer would be that, under no circumstances whatever, would he associate himself with lending assistance to Russia; and he further begged me to inform your Lordship in confidence that if an Egyptian contingent of 40,000 men would be of any use to Her Majesty's Government, he would willingly furnish them to fight against Russia by the side of English troops.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. VIVIAN.

No. 262.

Mr. Vivian to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 105. Political. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Cairo, April 4, 1878.*

WITH reference to my despatches Nos. 90 and 96, Confidential, of the 29th and 30th ultimo, reporting the Khedive's anxiety about the detention in Turkey of the Egyptian contingent numbering between 25,000 and 30,000 men, His Highness informs me that Prince Hassan has succeeded in obtaining the authority of the Porte to send the troops back to Egypt, in detachments of which the cavalry and artillery horses will form the last portions.

Seventeen battalions have already arrived at Constantinople from Varna.

The Khedive is highly pleased with the tact and intelligence shown by Prince Hassan in the negotiation of this arrangement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. VIVIAN.

No. 263.

Mr. Vivian to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 106. Political. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Cairo, April 5, 1878.*

IN accordance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's telegram of the 3rd instant, I conveyed to the Khedive yesterday the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for his friendly assurances as to his attitude in the event of war between England and Russia.

His Highness was much pleased at my message, and replied that old traditions and sound policy alike suggested to him the wisdom of supporting English views and English policy in all questions relating to the East so far as lay in his power.

His Highness added that his anxiety about the detention of the Egyptian contingent serving in Turkey was at an end, owing to the skilful arrangements made by Prince Hassan, by which the whole contingent would return here in detachments within a short time.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. VIVIAN.

No. 264.

Mr. Vivian to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 114. Political. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Cairo, April 6, 1878.*

CHERIF PASHA has been to tell me that the Khedive has just received a telegram from his Agent at Constantinople stating that the Porte had demanded, as the Egyptian troops were returning home, that they should leave their arms and cannon behind, as the Porte had urgent need of them.

The Khedive, who is much annoyed at this demand, has instructed his Agent to represent to the Prime Minister courteously, but very firmly, that it is impossible for him to comply with it; that His Highness has no superabundant stock of either arms or cannon; that Egypt could not dispense with her troops at this moment, but that without arms they would be useless; and His Highness further desired his Agent to point out verbally that if the Porte required to arm its troops to take part in a possible war between England and Russia, England could probably readily supply the arms and material necessary for the purpose.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. VIVIAN.

No. 265.

Server Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Marquis of Salisbury by Musurus Pasha, April 12.)

(Télégraphique.)
(Confidentielle.) *Constantinople, le 10 Avril, 1878.*

NOUS avons en Amérique 170,000 fusils Martini-Henry perfectionnés. L'état déplorable de nos finances ne nous permet pas de rembourser le montant de cette commande. Je prie votre Excellence de proposer au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique l'achat des dits fusils au prix de fabrique, qui est de trois livres sterlings et trois shillings chaque. Vous voudrez bien nous faire connaître par télégraphie le résultat de vos démarches à cet égard.

No. 266.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 367. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 11, 1878.*

PRIME MINISTER is very anxious to have the views and advice of Her Majesty's Government with reference to demand of Austria for Bosnia and Herzegovina as soon as possible, as he is urgently pressed by Count Zichy for an answer.

Instructions will be sent to-day to the Turkish Ambassador at Vienna, to inform the Austrian Government that the Porte agrees to the Austrian occupation of Ada-Kaleh on the understanding that it will be restored to Turkey "au moment opportun."

Russia is pressing for the immediate surrender of Schumla, Varna, and Batoum.

No. 267.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 368.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 11, 1878.*

PORTE is sending Nedjib Pasha, of whom I hear a very good report, to command in Crete. He has assured Mr. Sandison that he will do all in his power to restrain irregulars, and to restore peace and tranquillity in the island. He is accompanied by Salih Pasha, who is also well spoken of.

(Sent to Crete.)

No. 268.

Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 12.)

(Telegraphic.) *Bucharest, April 12, 1878.*

A SPECIAL Commissioner is expected here to-day from St. Petersburgh, to conclude a Convention with Roumania. It is supposed that the above has reference to the VIIIth Article of the Treaty of San Stefano.

No. 269.

Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 12.)

(Telegraphic.) *Bucharest, April 12, 1878.*

WITH reference to newspaper rumours, nothing is changed in Roumania as regards the presence of Russian forces. There are no indications of a regular military occupation.

No. 270.

Consul-General White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 12.)

(Telegraphic.) *Belgrade, April 12, 1878.*

THE prospect of separate négotiations between Russia and single Powers is viewed with alarm here, because it is felt that if the general European interests are lost sight of, and Great Britain follows the example reported as set by Austria in complying with the Russian persistent wish for the production of a rival scheme of settlement, it is not improbable that, to satisfy and neutralize Austria, Russia will easily sacrifice Servia, with a view to save some of the clauses referring to Bulgaria. Prince Milan appears extremely anxious.

No. 271.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic. *Foreign Office, April 12, 1878.*

IN reply to your telegram No. 366 of the 11th instant, you may authorise Consul Blunt to do what he properly can to bring about some arrangement.

No. 272.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Parkes.

(Telegraphic.)
(Secret.) *Foreign Office, April 12, 1878, 3·40 P.M.*

THREE vessels of war have been built in this country under superintendence of Mr. Reed.

Two are sister ships, the "Kon-go" and the "Hi-yei," composite vessels with narrow belt of armour, carrying nine Krupp guns, and left England in February last.

The "Foo-so" is a broadside ironclad carrying six Krupp guns. She is said to have left England in March.

Endeavour to ascertain whether Japanese Government have sold or are entertaining any proposal to sell these vessels to the Russian Government.

No. 273.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

(No. 207. Secret and Confidential.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, April 12, 1878.*

COUNT MÜNSTER, in the course of a conversation which I had with him to-day, referred to the Circular recently issued by Prince Gortchakow.

I said that if the version which had been published of the 9th and 10th clauses of the inclosure in the Circular was correct, those clauses which dealt with the question of the acquisition of territory to be conceded to Russia in Asia would present the most serious obstacle to an agreement.

In the course of a discussion which followed this remark respecting the nature of the objections entertained by Her Majesty's Government to the Russian annexations, I referred to a conversation which I had with Prince Bismarck eighteen months ago at Berlin, in which his Highness advanced the proposal that England should find her compensation in Egypt for the extension of the territory of Russia. I observed that such a mode of restoring the influence of this country would, I thought, be inadmissible in consequence of the financial difficulties which would have to be overcome, and the opposition of other Powers, notably that of France.

Count Münster did not consider that these difficulties were of sufficient importance to cause the rejection of the plan, speaking strongly, as regarded the financial side of the question, of the richness of Egypt; and, as regarded its political bearing, expressing his belief that the only, or at any rate the principal object of France, was

to obtain in Tunis the harbour of Bona, the site of the ancient Carthage, to which project, however, he admitted that Italy was decidedly opposed.

We did not pursue the conversation.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 274.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 251.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 12, 1878.*

COUNT BEUST spoke to me to-day for some time upon the subject of the policy which it is at present the intention of Austria to pursue. His Excellency stated that he agreed with me in thinking that the right policy of Great Britain and Austria was to stipulate for a delimitation of the new Slav State, by which it would be confined within the Balkans, but he intimated that even this modification of the boundary provided in the Treaty of San Stefano would not satisfy the views of the Austrian Government, which required that no Slav autonomous State should be created south of the Danube. His Excellency did not countenance the idea of ceding to Roumania a large extent of the coast of the Black Sea, but he did not appear to object to it in principle.

In this conversation, as in all the previous ones which I have had with Count Beust, his Excellency, though speaking freely on the subject of the boundaries of Bulgaria, and the other stipulations of the Treaty, maintained the most absolute silence on the subject of the cession of territory, which, as is known from Mr. Layard's reports, Count Zichy is at this moment endeavouring to obtain from the Turkish Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 275.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 481.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 12, 1878.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 366 of the 11th instant, in which you suggest that Consul Blunt might be authorized, while he is at Volo, to endeavour to bring about an understanding between the Turkish military authorities and the insurgents, with a view to putting an end to the fighting and disorders now taking place in the provinces on the Greek frontier.

I telegraphed to your Excellency on the following day, that Her Majesty's Government would wish that your Excellency should instruct Mr. Consul Blunt in the above sense.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 276.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 185. Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 12, 1878.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 238 of the 28th ultimo, marked "Most Confidential," and I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government approve the manner in which you have carried out the instruction conveyed to your Excellency in Lord Derby's despatch No. 144 of the 13th ultimo, and the language which you held in communicating to Count Corti the memorandum setting forth the views of Her Majesty's Government, in which the concurrence of the Italian Government was invited, in regard to a joint understanding among the Powers more

immediately concerned in questions relating to the maintenance of their commercial and political interests in the Mediterranean and Black Sea.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 277.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 186.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 12, 1878.

AT an interview which I had with General Menabrea on the 9th instant, his Excellency spoke in decided language of the importance of maintaining the independence of the Porte for the protection of the passages of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, as well as the freedom of the navigation of the Danube, in all of which Italy had great interests at stake.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 278.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Lyons.

(No. 264. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, April* 12, 1878.

IN the course of a conversation which I had with the Marquis d'Harcourt on the 9th instant, his Excellency expressed himself very strongly and decidedly as to the evils to France in the future which would result from the admission of Russia to the position of a naval Mediterranean Power.

His Excellency went so far as to say that he thought the interest of France even greater in the waters than that of England, though she could not at present give material effect to her views on the subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 279.

Consul-General Eldridge to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 13.)

(No. 27. Political.)
My Lord, *Beyrout, March* 31, 1878.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 19 of the 14th instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, an extract from a despatch dated the 27th instant, which I have received from Mr. Acting Vice-Consul Blanche, reporting on the refugees who were previously landed at Tripoli, and the arrival of about 5,000 more.

The disposal of these immigrants causes much embarrassment to the authorities, on account of the unwillingness of the inhabitants to receive them into their midst on the one hand, and the difficulty of finding for them lodging, food, and transport out of an empty treasury on the other.

The greater part of the 1,500 who were disembarked at Latakia still remain at that place, as they refuse to go to the district of Gebele, where they were destined to settle. A few families have been induced to go to Antioch, but those who remain give considerable trouble to the authorities by their constant quarrels amongst themselves, though I have not heard that they have molested the inhabitants of the place.

I am informed that the refugees who were saved from the wreck of the "Sphinx," reported in my despatch No. 17 of the 10th instant, have been conveyed to Acre by the "Timavo," another steamer belonging to the Austrian Lloyd's Company.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

Inclosure in No. 279.

Acting Vice-Consul Blanche to Consul-General Eldridge.

(Extrait.) *Tripoli, le* 27 *Mars,* 1878.

LES réfugiés Circassians et Tartares qui sont arrivés à Tripoli depuis un mois, au nombre de près de 8,000, s'écoulent peu à peu dans l'intérieur, à mesure qu'il nous vient des chameaux. Il en reste encore environ 1,500. Mais en voici deux nouveaux chargements qui arrivent. L'un est déjà sur rade et l'autre est attendu à tout instant. Les deux réunis font près de 5,000 ames. Notre autorité, qui a mis beaucoup d'activité à expédier les premiers, est aux abois. La caisse est vide, le pain est à des prix exhorbitants, ce qui tient en partie à ce que les arrivages sont rares. Et, en effet, les chameliers se cachent pour éviter la corvée. Ils sont payés cependant exactement et à un prix raisonnable. Mais ils redoutent leurs passagers, qui écrasent les bêtes et maltraitment les conducteurs. En ville il n'y a pas à se plaindre. Tous les réfugiés se sont convenablement conduits. J'ai visité quelques uns de leurs logements: c'est une immense misère qui mérite compassion. La mortalité est enorme parmi eux et surtout en route sur les chameaux.

No. 280.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 13.)

(No. 255.)
My Lord, *Rome, April* 8, 1878.

I HAD an interview with Count Corti the day after communicating to him, as reported in my despatch No. 253 of the 5th instant, your Lordship's Circular of the 1st April, relative to the views of Her Majesty's Government respecting the Treaty of San Stefano and the proposed Congress in reference thereto, when his Excellency informed me that he had read this most important State paper with the greatest interest. He repeated a statement which he had previously made to the effect that he considered the Russian Government was bound to present the whole Treaty for the consideration of the Powers; and that in the event of a Congress meeting, there were many points touched upon in your Lordship's Circular on which he should be prepared to support the policy of Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 281.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 13.)

(No. 256.)
My Lord, *Rome, April* 8, 1878.

THE "Opinione" of this morning contains an article upon the Treaty of San Stefano, of which, as it appears to me to reflect the general feeling in Italy with regard to the state of affairs created by that Treaty, and the policy which should be pursued by the Italian Government in reference thereto, I think it worth while to give your Lordship the substance.

The article draws attention to the fact that the war was begun by Russia for the cause of the Christians of the Balkan Peninsula, but has ended in the complete destruction of Turkey with the absolute preponderence of Russia in the East. What, it enquires, should be the attitude of Italy under these circumstances? It cannot be doubted that Italy would wish to observe an attitude of neutrality; but there are two kinds of neutrality, neutrality which directs its efforts towards the accomplishment of a determined purpose, or an indifferent neutrality as if there were no great economic and political interests to defend in the East, as well as other interests not less important in the West.

Italy could not accept with apathy the territorial arrangement in the East which should bring Russia within twelve or twenty-four hours of her shores. There is no reason to distrust Russia, but everyone understands that to have Russia or Turkey as a neighbour is a very different thing.

The carrying out of the stipulations of the Treaty of San Stefano would, it is

admitted, be a danger to Italy, but for this reason ought Italy, it is asked, to associate itself with the warlike action of Great Britain and Austria to force Russia to modify that Treaty.

It would not be reasonable to ask Italy to do so. Italy, without approving the Treaty of San Stefano, does not find in it sufficient reason to depart from neutrality; but, without having recourse to arms, Italy ought, by the employment of her good offices, by conferences and understanding with other Powers, to employ all her energies to obtain by pacific means the modification of the Treaty of San Stefano, so that the result of the war may be the equalization of the political condition of the populations of the Balkan Peninsula and the formation of a Kingdom of Greece which may become the securest bulwark against the predominance of Russia.

If Italy can with right advocate the cause of nationality in the East, it is because the movements of the populations in the East were hastened by the example of Italy.

But while Italian diplomacy sustains the cause of autonomy and of the new equilibrium in the East, it is necessary that the distinction which there is between its prudent and active policy and a policy of agitation and revolution, which is founded on popular convulsion, should be distinctly explained.

It is necessary, says the "Opinione," to separate one policy from the other, in order that doubts and suspicions, to be followed by complaints and recriminations, may not arise.

In an article published some days ago by the "Diritto," which is, I believe, the organ of the President of the Council, it was stated that the principle of nationalities is the only settlement for the Eastern question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 282.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 13.)

(No. 258. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Rome, April 9, 1878.*

COUNT CORTI informed me last evening that in consequence of a telegram which he had received the day before yesterday from General Menabrea saying that your Lordship had stated that your Circular of the 1st April was not intended to be understood in a hostile sense, and that Her Majesty's Government would willingly listen to any fresh overtures which might be initiated by either Austria or Germany with a view to a pacific solution of the pending differences with Russia, he had sent a telegram to Chevalier Nigra in which, after repeating the information received from General Menabrea, he had desired him to urge Prince Gortchakow to receive in a conciliatory spirit any new proposal which might be made, and to consent to the unreserved discussion of the whole Treaty of San Stefano.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 283.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 13.)

(No. 259.)
My Lord, *Rome, April 9, 1878.*

IN an interview I had with Count Corti on the 5th instant, I read to his Excellency the telegram of Sir Henry Elliot, of the 4th instant, reporting the language which the Roumanian Agent at St. Petersburgh states had been used to him by Prince Gortchakow relative to the VIIIth Article of the Treaty of San Stefano.

Count Corti heard this report with astonishment and regret. He had not then received any account of it himself, but he told me this morning that he had since learnt from Count Robilant that M. Bratiano had delivered a protest to Count Andrassy against the retrocession of Bessarabia to Russia, and that he believed that Count Andrassy had been very guarded in his reply, and had avoided taking any engagement to support Roumania in her resistance.

Count Corti said that he had not received any such protest from the Roumanian Agent here, who, however, was constant in his efforts to induce the Italian Government to take up the cause of the Principality.

His Excellency added that he had also been very cautious in his reply to those appeals, for he thought that it would be doing a bad service to Roumania to encourage her in resistance without being prepared to support her by arms.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 284.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 13.)

(No. 260.)
My Lord, *Rome, April 9, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith an account published by the "Italie" of the debate upon foreign affairs which was commenced in the Chamber of Deputies yesterday, and which, it is hoped, will be brought to a close this afternoon by Count Corti's reply to the six interpellations, of which notice has been given.

The report of the "Italie" is much abridged, and consequently imperfect, but it will serve as an indication of the general tone of the two speeches delivered.

I have been informed by several Deputies with whom I have spoken, that the feeling in the Chamber is very decidedly anti-Russian, and that a great change in this respect has taken place within a recent period.

So long as Russia was engaged in a war which it was supposed she was waging, according to her often-repeated declarations, for the disinterested purpose of bettering the condition of the Christian populations of Turkey, the sympathies of the Italian people both in and out of the Chamber were in her favour; but when the conditions of the Treaty of San Stefano became known, and it was seen that the solicitude of Russia was enlisted in favour of only one Christian nationality, which it is evident that she protects with a view to her own aggrandizement and preponderance in the East, the tide which set in her favour suddenly turned against her, and the distrust of her policy has been continually on the increase by reason of her high-handed proceedings towards other Powers of Europe, who, it is thought, are justly entitled to have a voice in the future arrangements which are to replace the Treaties of 1856 and 1871, and by her conduct towards Roumania.

It is gratifying also to be told, as I have been frequently of late, that the bold stand which is now made by England in defence of European public law, interests, and Treaties has produced an immense reaction in her favour; and, it is added, that nothing has contributed more to this result than your Lordship's Circular of the 1st of this month, in which the views of Her Majesty's Government are set forth in such clear, vigorous, and decided language.

The debate is to be opened in the Chamber to-day by the Marquis Visconti Venosta.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 284.

Extract from "L'Italie" of April 9, 1878.

Chambre des Députés.—Séance du 8 Avril.

LA séance est ouverte à deux heures avec les formalités ordinaires.

MM. Macchi et *Constantini* demandent l'urgence pour une pétition.

M. le Président donne lecture des conclusions de la Junte des Elections, qui propose le validation de l'élection de M. Marselli comme Député du Collége de Pessina.

La Chambre approuve les conclusions de la Junte.

On accorde quelques congés.

M. le Président annonce le résultat du scrutin de Samedi pour la nomination de sept Commissaires du Budget:—

Votants	..	..	..	225
Majorité	..	..	..	113

Maurogònato, 109; Sella, 109; Minghetti, 106; Corbetta, 102; Ricotti, 101; Mantrin, 81; Brin, 63; Varè, 50; Speciale, 49, Ferracciù, 46; Indolfi, 46; Ruggeri, 46, Monzani, 46.

Personne n'ayant obtenu la majorité requise, on procède au scrutin de ballotage et au scrutin secret pour l'approbation du projet de loi relatif au Traité de Commerce et de Navigation conclu avec la Grèce.

M Pissavini, Secrétaire, fait l'appel nominal.

M. le President proclame le résultat du scrutin pour l'approbation du Traité du Commerce:—

Présents et votants	..	..	..	232
Majorité absolue	..	..	..	117
Pour	..	..	..	223
Contre	..	..	..	9

La Chambre approuve.

M. le Président.—L'Honorable Ministre Garde-des-Sceaux étant présent, je lui transmets les interrogations qui lui ont été adressées Samedi; la première est de M. Mussi au sujet de la saisie du numéro de Samedi du journal "Il Dovere;" la seconde de M. Muratori sur les conditions du Ministère Public en Italie.

M. Conforti, Garde-des-Sceaux.—Pour ce qui concerne le journal "Il Dovere," je répondrai que cette affaire devant être jugée dans quelques jours, je crois inopportun de faire surgir une discussion à ce sujet.

M. Mussi.—J'insiste pour que la réponse à mon interrogation ait lieu après le développement des interpellations sur la politique étrangère; en la renvoyant à un autre jour elle perdrait toute son opportunité. Il ne s'agit pas de discuter une action judiciaire, mais la conduite du Gouvernement.

M. Conforti, Garde-des-Sceaux, insiste sur le renvoi.

M. Mussi,—A quand renvoyez-vous la réponse à cette interrogation?

M. Conforti, Garde-des-Sceaux.—Après le verdict que prononceront les jurés à ce sujet.

M. Mussi accepte.

M. Conforti dit ensuite qu'il ne peut pas répondre à l'interrogation de M. Muratori, parce qu'il n'en connaît pas les termes.

M. le Président.—M. Muratori n'est pas présent.

M. Baccarini, Ministre des Travaux Publics.—J'ai l'honneur de présenter à la Chambre le projet de loi suivant, relatif aux crédits:—

1. Pour l'achèvement de la route nationale du Tonale;
2. Nouveaux crédits pour le transfert de la capitale à Rome;
3. Crédits pour le tunnel de Colle di Tenda;
4. Crédit pour le concours du Gouvernement pour la régularisation du lit du fleuve Tevere;
5. Constructions de divers ponts;
6. Concession du service de navigation sur le Lac Majeur;
7. Conversion en loi du Décret approuvant la Convention passée pour le service maritime de Brindisi à Tarente.

M. Marselli prête serment.

L'ordre du jour porte:

1. Interpellation Député Micoli au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères sur la conduite suivie par le Gouvernement dans la question d'Orient et sur celle qu'il entend suivre à l'avenir;

2. Interrogation du Député Cavallotti au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères sur la politique du Gouvernement au sujet des complications orientales et dans les rapports tenus à cet effet avec le Gouvernement Austro-Hongrois;

3. Interpellation du Député Musolino au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères sur la nécessité de maintenir en faveur de tous les Etats Européens les garanties d'équilibre politique, de liberté commerciale et de conservation nationale, formulées dans le Traité de Paris de 1856;

4. Interpellation du Député Colonna di Cesarò au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères sur la politique suivie par l'Italie pendant la guerre d'Orient et en prévision du Congrès Européen.

5. Interrogation du Député Visconti-Venosta au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, au sujet de la politique du Gouvernement dans les Affaires d'Orient.

6. Interpellation du Député Pandolfi au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères au sujet de la question d'Orient.

M. Di Cesarò.—Par suite de la situation actuelle, mon patriotisme m'engage à retirer mon interpellation.

M. le Président demande aux autres interpellants s'ils maintiennent la leur.

M. Micoli.—Inspiré des mêmes sentiments que M. Di Cesarò, je crois accomplir un acte de patriotisme en insistant sur mon interpellation.

L'orateur expose la situation créée par le Traité de San Stefano et dit que l'opinion publique s'inquiète de la rupture qui peut se produire d'un moment à l'autre entre la Russie et l'Angleterre. Tous désireraient la solution de cette éternelle question d'Orient, qui vient troubler les relations amicales existant entre les divers Etats de l'Europe.

L'orateur dit que les prétensions de la Russie ne sont pas exagérées, parce que après tant d'argent dépensé et tant de sang versé, elle a droit à une compensation en rapport avec ses sacrifices.

Il fait des vœux pour que la réunion du Congrès ait lieu.

Je comprends, dit-il, que l'Italie doive rester neutre, comme l'a dit M. le Président du Conseil, mais cependant, elle doit avoir sa politique.

L'orateur examine les solutions possibles du Traité de San Stefano; il dit qu'il avait toujours craint les invasions Russes, mais qu'il fait reconnaître que la Russie devant l'insouciance des Grandes Puissances, a le mérite d'avoir sauvé les populations Chrétiennes du joug des Turcs.

Par conséquent, dit-il, les nations Européennes doivent lui laisser achever son œuvre, en lui rappelant toutefois les promesses qu'elle a faites au commencement des hostilités.

L'orateur dit que l'Europe devrait s'occuper de la solution de ce grand problème, toujours en s'appuyant sur le principe des nationalités.

Il désire savoir si le Gouvernement Italien a appuyé la reconstitution des nationalités en Orient et s'il entend l'appuyer à l'avenir.

Je sais, continue-t-il, les principes qui ont toujours inspiré l'Honorable Président du Conseil, et j'espère qu'il me donnera une réponse satisfaisante, afin qu'on puisse dire que le Gouvernement et le Parlement confirment les déclarations précédentes de la Chambre au sujet des principes du droit public national.

M. le Président.—La parole est à l'Honorable Cavallotti.

M. Cavallotti étant absent, la parole est accordée à l'honorable Musolino.

M. Musolino.—Les conséquences de la guerre entre la Russie et la Turquie seront très-graves pour l'Europe, si on laisse agir la Russie.

Je déplore le silence auquel a été condamné le Parlement Italien pendant trois mois et je l'excite à réclamer du Gouvernement une politique conforme à la dignité et aux intérêts de la nation.

L'Europe peut-elle accepter ce que la Turquie a accepté par force, et à cause de l'impuissance où elle s'est vu réduite? Non, mille fois non. Le Traité de San Stefano est la destruction du Traité de Paris de 1856, et des garanties que ce Traité donnait à l'Europe.

L'orateur lit une proclamation de l'Empereur Alexandre II, où il est parlé de la "race Slav" et où le Czar déclare qu'il suivra les traditions de ses prédécesseurs. "Race Slav!" exclame l'orateur, traditions de ses prédécesseurs! Il veut alors mettre en pratique les testaments de Pierre le Grand et de Catherine II et tous les desseins de Nicolas Ier. (Hilarité.)

En Russie, les Ministres peuvent changer, mais le Gouvernement est toujours le même. Partout on voit la main vorace de la Russie! Le monde est trop petit pour son ambition. Si l'Europe ne prend pas ses précautions, avant 50 ans, la Russie deviendra la maîtresse du monde civilisé, de Rome et de Paris! (Hilarité.)

En 1863, la Russie avait 77,000,000 de sujets: en 1870, elle en avait 87,000,000. Si elle continue à suivre cet ordre progressif, dans cinquante ans elle aura 200,000,000 d'habitants, et, avec le service obligatoire, elle pourra mettre sous les armes la bagatelle de 12,000,000 à 15,000,000 de soldats. (Hilarité prolongée.) Comme la population de la Russie fait des progrès épouvantables, il arrivera un moment où elle occupera toute la superficie de l'Europe. (Hilarité.)

Les peuples travaillent à consolider leur nationalité et ils ne voient pas que derrière eux il y a un ours énorme qui rugit. (On rit.)

Par le Traité de 1856, les Puissances signataires ont espéré empêcher les invasions futures de la Russie.

(L'orateur demande un instant de repos).

M. le Président suspend la séance pour un quart d'heure.

M. Musolino, continuant son discours, parle de l'indemnité de guerre et désire que l'Europe demande formellement à la Russie de respecter le Traité de 1856.

La paix et la guerre, dit-il, sont entre les mains de l'Italie; elle doit prendre l'initiative de s'opposer aux prétentions de la Russie et s'associer à l'Autriche, qui maintenant se méfie de nous, et à l'Angleterre. C'est ainsi qu'on arrêtera la Russie.

Les petites difficultés territoriales qui nous divisent de l'Autriche ne sont rien en comparaison des grands intérêts politiques qui nous poussent à exiger le respect du Traité de 1856.

L'Europe ne doit pas laisser prendre à la Russie un seul pouce de territoire à la Turquie; sinon, bientôt le Sultan ne pourra plus voir l'Europe qu'au moyen d'une lunette. (Hilarité.)

La Russie veut donner à la Roumanie en échange de la Bessarabia, la Dobroutcha, pays si pestilentiel, que les grenouilles même ne peuvent y vivre. (Hilarité prolongée.)

On ne pourra jamais appliquer en Orient le principe des nationalités, parce que l'élément Musulman est le plus considérable. Turcs ou Russes, c'est là le destin de l'Orient. Supposons que la Russie arrive jusqu'à Constantinople, elle n'aura plus qu'un pas à faire pour engloutir la Grèce.

L'orateur termine en présentant un ordre du jour, par lequel il invite le Gouvernement à travailler efficacement au Congrès pour obtenir un accord sur les bases suivantes:—

1. Maintien du Traité de 1856 et de la Convention de Londres.

2. Amélioration des conditions des populations Chrétiennes assurée par la Constitution Ottomane—(ici la Chambre se livre à une bruyante hilarité)—qui accorde l'égalité à tous les citoyens, de quelque race et de quelque religion qu'ils soient, et qui leur accorde la décentralisation administrative. (Hilarité générale.)

L'orateur envoie l'ordre du jour à la présidence.

La suite de la discussion est renvoyée à demain.

La séance est levée à 6 heures.

Demain, séance à 2 heures.

No. 285.

Count Schouvaloff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 13.)

Mon cher Marquis, *Vendredi, le 12 Avril*, 1878.

JE m'empresse de vous communiquer les pièces dont je vous ai annoncé ce soir la réception et que vous avez manifesté le désir de recevoir aussitôt.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) SCHOUVALOFF.

Inclosure in No. 285.

Prince Gortchakow to Count Schouvaloff, March 28, 1878 (o. s.), with Annex.

[See "Turkey No. 27."]

No. 286.

M. Callimaki-Catargi to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 13.)

Milord, *Londres, Alexandra Hotel, le 13 Avril*, 1878.

CHARGE par mon Gouvernement de renseigner votre Seigneurie sur l'état des affaires de la Roumanie et de demander votre appui pour notre pays, j'ai l'honneur de solliciter la faveur d'une audience.

Je présente en même temps une lettre que Lord Lyons a bien voulu me donner pour votre Seigneurie.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) N. CALLIMAKI-CATARGI.

Inclosure in No. 286.

Lord Lyons to the Marquis of Salisbury.

Dear Lord Salisbury, *Paris, April 10, 1878.*

YOU are already aware that M. Callimaki Catargi has been ordered by the Roumanian Government to proceed to London, with a view to entering into personal communication with you.

He has asked me to give him a letter of introduction to you, which I have great pleasure in doing.

I have always derived satisfaction from my own intercourse with him here, and I have ventured to assure him that you will be very glad to see him.

Believe me, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 287.

Sir E. Thornton to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 13.)

(Telegraphic.)

(Secret.) *Washington, April 12, 1878.*

HER Majesty's Consul at San Francisco telegraphs that no vessels have been purchased there by Russia, nor are any fitting out.

Mr. Archibald suggests that men mentioned in your telegram of 9th instant may be going to Colon for transfer to Panama. North German Lloyd's steamers go from Bremen. Hamburgh-American line go from Hamburgh to Colon.

No. 288.

Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 13.)

(Telegraphic.)

(Secret.) *Bucharest, April 12, 1878.*

TWELFTH Corps d'Armée is at Rustchuk; 11th is to be stationed at Giurgevo, upon the line of railway, and in the vicinity of Bucharest. It is rumoured that a strong camp is to be formed at Tir. It is also reported that Corps d'Armée from the Dobrudscha is passing into Moldavia. I have telegraphed to Jassy and Galatz for information. A division of 12th Corps from Rustchuck is to cross the Danube and occupy Kalarash. With the exception of two regiments at Bucharest, and one at Olousky, all the Roumanian army is in Little Wallachia, some detachments being pressed forward towards the mountains.

No. 289.

Consul Annesley to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 13.)

(Telegraphic.) *Hamburgh, April 12, 1878.*

HAMBURGH-AMERICAN Company's ship left without passengers, but engaged pilot for Baltic, saying she was to call at Riga for Russian seamen before leaving for America.

No. 290.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 13.)

(No. 88.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April* 12, 1878, 10·25 P.M.

I AM informed by Mr. Michel that General Tchernaieff, after audience of Emperor on the 24th ultimo, left St. Petersburgh for Krasnovodsk, through the Caucasus, charged with important mission. Emperor received with him Colonel Stoletow, a Russian officer of great repute in Central Asian affairs.

No. 291.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 13.)

(No. 89.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April* 13, 1878.

THIS morning's "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" denies categorically the existence of a second Circular by Prince Gortchakow, replying to Austrian objections to Treaty, as reported by Agence Reuter.

No. 292.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 13.)

(No. 90.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh April* 13, 1878.

RUSSIAN Government evince a more conciliatory spirit towards Roumania. Previous language of Prince Gortchakow to Roumanian Agent is represented as a misapprehension on his part. Offers to conclude a fresh military Convention with Roumania have been made. Roumanian note, referred to in my telegram No. 83, not yet received.

No. 293.

Colonel Maude to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 13.)

(Telegraphic.) *Warsaw, April* 13, 1878.

CERTAIN small detachments of troops have lately been conveyed, mostly by night trains, to the Austrian frontier, but absolutely no concentration is taking place in the towns your Lordship names. The usual number of 60,000 troops is not exceeded in Poland at present. No contracts are being made for delivery of provisions in Poland.

No. 294.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Foreign Office, April* 13, 1878.

COUNT BEUST has had several interviews with me, and has spoken about the boundaries of Bulgaria and other stipulations of the Treaty, but has maintained the most absolute silence about the demand of Austria for the cession of Bosnia, of which we have heard from Mr. Layard.

No. 295.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

(Telegraphic.)
(Secret.) *Foreign Office, April* 13, 1878.

COUNT MÜNSTER mentioned to me on the 10th an idea of Prince Bismarck that the British fleet might be withdrawn from the neighbourhood of Constantinople

in consideration of the Russian military forces being also withdrawn to an equivalent distance.

He told me yesterday that Russia was willing to accept such an arrangement, and I explained to him that the fleet could go below the Dardanelles only in the event of the Russian army retreating to a certain specified line drawn so as to correspond to the retirement both of the squadron in the Sea of Marmora and that at Gallipoli. I said that this line should follow the railway from Dédéagatch to Adrianople, and thence in a straight line to Media in the Black Sea.

I could hold out no expectation that Her Majesty's Government would accept a diminution of the distance.

From a telegram he showed me to-day it seems an effort would be made to induce Her Majesty's Government to take a less distance than Adrianople.

This would be impossible in view of opinion here.

Adrianople is considerably nearer to Constantinople than Besika; the railway is speedier than the water, and possible impediments from batteries and torpedoes more formidable than any that could be interposed on a railway.

No. 296.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord A. Loftus.[*]

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April* 13, 1878.

A REPORT received from Consul at Hamburgh states that the "Cimbria," of the Hamburgh American Company, has left Glückstadt on the 8th for the Baltic, without passengers, supposed to be going to Riga, to ship the Russian officers and men there. She had 8,000 pounds of fresh meat on board, and a number of mattrasses. One statement was that she was to be used as a transport to remove Russian troops from Turkey.

Another vessel is said to be in preparation for a similar service.

[To Lord A. Loftus only.]
Communicate with Consul at Riga at once. Also with any other place where the vessel is likely to proceed.

[To Sir E. Thornton only.]
Have a watch kept for the "Cimbria."

No. 297.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April* 13, 1878.

I HAVE received with much regret intelligence that Porte refuses cessation of hostilities. The Porte cannot long retain Thessaly and Epirus within the Ottoman Empire except by the good-will of Europe, and that good-will will assuredly be sacrificed if civil war in Thessaly continues. It is possible accommodation may be arranged through Consuls without requiring any action of Porte till matter is complete. If Blunt on your part met some Consular Officer on Wyndham's part in Thessaly, terms might be agreed upon between them which should afterwards be pressed with utmost influence of Her Majesty's Government on both parties. Let me know if you think there is any chance of Porte assenting. Without some concession on their part, it appears to be useless to press Greek Government further. They have a very restricted authority over an inflammable population, and so long as tales of outrage come from Thessaly, Greek Government will be too weak to restrain incursions. Porte cannot be allowed to apply pressure by attacking Athens.

I have good authority for believing that Russian Agents on both sides are trying to prevent an accommodation.

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[*] A similar telegram was sent to Sir E. Thornton.

No. 298.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April* 13, 1878.

IN answer to your Secret telegram No. 367 of the 11th instant, Her Majesty's Government have no materials on which to found advice until they know what Austria promises in return for concession, or what she threatens in default of it. It is not desirable that Porte should be able to say to Austria they have refused on account of English advice.

No. 299.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Wyndham.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April* 13, 1878; 6·55 P.M.

WITH reference to my other telegram of to-day, Consul Blunt is understood to be now at Volo.

No. 300.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Wyndham.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April* 13, 1878.

PORTE being unwilling to recognize in insurgents in Thessaly any other character than that of brigands, no direct armistice appears possible. I have inquired of Mr. Layard whether a British Consular Officer selected by him could meet one selected by you in Thessaly, and consider equitable terms of arrangement between Porte and Greek Chiefs, which Her Majesty's Government should afterwards press with their utmost influence on both Governments. Let me know how far you think that Greek Government would fall into such an arrangement. If disturbances should go on it may be difficult to prevent Russian intervention.

No. 301.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 253.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 13, 1878.

IT was to be expected that General Ignatieff would be disposed, as reported in your Excellency's despatch No. 274 of the 2nd instant, to seek in the recommendations of the Constantinople Conference a justification for the limits assigned to Bulgaria in the Treaty of San Stefano. It is, however, more surprising to find that this fallacy should have made any impression on Count Andrassy's mind. In the first place, as your Excellency argued, it is evident that the concessions then advised by Her Majesty's Government were not in all cases what they thought abstractedly the best, but what they thought it might be worth the while of Turkey to make in order to avoid the destruction and horrors of the war that was manifestly impending.

But, even if it could be admitted that the concessions then advised were such as Her Majesty's Government would, under any circumstances, and without any such terrible alternative before them, have recommended, they form no sort of justification for the limits and constitution proposed to be assigned to the new Bulgaria.

The proposals of the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers at the Conference contemplated not one Bulgarian autonomous State, stretching from sea to sea, but two Bulgarian Provinces, of which the one which would not have contained a Slav majority in its population, would have commanded the passes of the Balkans, the fortresses of the Quadrilateral, and the sea coast of the Euxine, and of which neither would have touched or nearly approached the coast of the Ægean. In both of these provinces the strongholds would have remained in the hands of the Porte, and instead of being independent under a Prince elected in the presence of a Russian army of occupation, they would have been subject to Governors named by the Porte with the

assent of the Powers, and at the end of five years liable to be dismissed in case of disloyal tendencies.

The two arrangements are alike only in the fact that they apply to a region to some extent identical, and designated for the occasion by the same name; but they differ as much as it is possible for two arrangements to differ in their bearing on the independence of the Porte, the prospects of the regions inhabited by a Greek population, and the interest of the nations who are affected by the balance of power in the Ægean Sea.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 302.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 485.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 13, 1878.

HER Majesty's Government have learned with much regret, from your Excellency's telegram of the 11th instant, that the Porte has declined to order a cessation of the hostilities now taking place in the Turkish provinces upon the Greek frontier.

It will be impossible that the Porte should long retain Thessaly and Epirus within the Ottoman Empire except by the good-will of Europe; and that good-will will assuredly be sacrificed if civil war in Thessaly continues.

It appears, however, to Her Majesty's Government that, without requiring any action on the part of the Porte until some agreement has been arrived at on the subject, it might be possible to find a means of accommodation through inquiries made by Her Majesty's Consuls on the spot.

I should be glad to learn from your Excellency whether you are of opinion that, if Mr. Consul Blunt were instructed, on your Excellency's part, to meet in Thessaly one of Her Majesty's Consuls to be selected by Mr. Wyndham, for the purpose of arranging terms between them, which should afterwards be pressed with the utmost influence of Her Majesty's Government on both parties, the Porte would be disposed to assent to such a proposal.

Unless the Porte is willing to make some concession on their side, it would be useless to press the Greek Government further.

The Greek Government have a very restricted authority over an inflammable population, and so long as tales of outrage reach them from Thessaly they will be unable to restrain incursions across their frontier; and the Porte cannot be allowed to bring pressure to bear upon them by attacking Athens.

From information which has reached Her Majesty's Government there is good ground for believing that Russian agents are trying, on both sides, to prevent an accommodation between the opposing parties.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 303.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 487.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 13, 1878.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 367 of the 11th instant, in which you state that the Porte is very anxious to be furnished with the views of Her Majesty's Government as to the reply which should be returned to the demand made by Austria for the cession of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In reply, I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government have no materials on which to found advice until they know what promises have been given by Austria to the Porte in return for such a cession of Turkish territory, or what is threatened by her in default of it.

Her Majesty's Government consider that it would be undesirable that the Porte should have it in its power to state to other Powers that it refused to entertain the Austrian proposal on account of advice received from England.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 304.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Count Schouvaloff.

Dear Count Schouvaloff, *Foreign Office, April* 13, 1878.

I HAVE received the despatch addressed to you by Prince Gortchakow on the 28th March (o.s.), accompanied by a *Pro-Memorid*, which you have been good enough to transmit to me with your letter of yesterday, and in thanking you for this communication I beg you will accept the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 305.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 261.)

My Lord, *Rome, April* 10, 1878.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 260 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the remaining interpellations on foreign affairs were disposed of in yesterday's sitting of the Chamber of Deputies.

I inclose herewith an extract from the "Italie," giving an abridged account of the speeches of the movers of the interpellations, together with a translation of the reply *in extenso* of Count Corti, with which his Excellency has been kind enough to furnish me.

The remarks of the Marquis Visconti Venosta, in speaking of Russia and the results of the war, were characterized by his usual caution, and by the apparent dread of compromising himself which seems inherent to every leading man in Italy when speaking on foreign affairs, but what he said is sufficient to show that he considers the sanction of Europe to be indispensable for the validity of any new settlement in substitution of existing Treaties.

For the rest he advocated the cause of Greece with the view to the maintenance of the existing balance of power in the East, and expressed the hope that the Italian Government, while exerting its influence in order to obtain a pacific solution, would not depart from a policy of neutrality in the event of a fresh war.

Signor Cavalotti, a Deputy of the Extreme Left, openly denounced the Treaty of San Stefano as a violation of all public law and right, and as totally unacceptable both from an European and Italian point of view, a sentiment which, I have reason to believe, is fully shared by the majority of the members of the Italian Parliament. This sentiment would no doubt have found more general expression but for the rule of the House which prevents anyone but the mover of an interpellation taking part in its discussion, unless a personal allusion has been made.

The impression with regard to Count Corti's reply would seem to be that it could not have been couched in more general or reserved language, and that on some points he might advantageously have been somewhat more explicit, especially as to the views of the Government upon the Treaty of San Stefano.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 306.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 91.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April* 13, 1878.

WITH reference to telegram from Sir A. Paget of the 11th instant, M. Nigra informs me that he has received no instruction to make any communication to Prince Gortchakow of the nature referred to.

I learn privately that answer was sent from here yesterday to Vienna to the programme which General Ignatieff brought back.

No. 307.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 369. Secret.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 14, 1878.

SULTAN declines to give up Ada Kaleh until he can learn opinion of Her Majesty's Government as to cession of this fortress, and of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria. Minister for Foreign Affairs says that Count Zichy is pressing him incessantly for an answer, and he again begs me to ask your Lordship's advice. I have told him that I have already telegraphed to you on the subject.

He also says that he expects that Russia will shortly fix a delay for the surrender of Shumla, Varna and Batoum, as her demands for them are now very peremptory. The answer appears to me to be that the Preliminary Treaty fixes no time for their surrender, and that as Russia herself admits that it is to be followed by a definite Treaty, the surrender of these places is to be finally settled by it. Minister for Foreign Affairs is also of opinion that the Russians meditate a sudden advance upon Kavak and the entrance to the Bosphorus, and are making their preparations for it. There is no doubt that they are collecting stores and forage at Bujukdere; but I hear of no movement in that direction.

Sultan declares that he is prepared to resist one, and if encouraged would probably do so.

He is also disposed to resist any attempt to seize Shumla, Varna, and Batoum.

No. 308.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 370. Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 14, 1878.

PORTE has sent by telegraph confidential Circular to its Representatives abroad, instructing them as to the language they are to use, which is in substance that Turkey acknowledges herself bound by the Treaty of San Stefano, and that she purposes to execute faithfully its stipulations, although she considers them onerous for the interests of the Turkish Empire. Her Representatives are instructed to appeal to the sentiments of humanity of the Governments to which they are accredited to endeavour to obtain for her modifications of its Articles.

I hope to send text by next messenger.

No. 309.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 44. Political.)

My Lord, *Bucharest, April* 2, 1878.

I THIS day informed your Lordship, by telegraph, that the Roumanian Railway authorities have been requested by the Austro-Hungarian railway companies to return all the rolling stock belonging to them.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 310.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 47. Political.)

My Lord, *Bucharest, April* 3, 1878.

I HAVE this day sent a telegram to your Lordship to the following effect:—

The Agent at Paris of these Principalities is proceeding to London, and the Roumanian Government trusts that your Lordship will receive him favourably.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 311.

Colonel Maude to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 4. Political.)

My Lord, *Warsaw, April 2, 1878.*

THE extreme tension of the relations between your Lordship's Government and that of Russia, has caused the prospect of war between those countries to be an almost absorbing topic of conversation among all classes of society in Warsaw.

I think that your Lordship will find the following a reliable résumé of the state of feeling in this country upon the subject. The Poles, almost to a man, are desirous that such a war should break out, and this, mainly, for two cogent reasons.

In the first place, it is a curious fact, that the Kingdom of Poland has profited, to a considerable extent, by the recent Russo-Turkish war.

Owing to the closing of the Black Sea ports, a portion of the carrying trade has been diverted to the Polish system of railways, and to the River Vistula.

The closing of those ports has also given an additional stimulus to Polish manufactures, which, as your Lordship is aware, are almost entirely directed to supplying the wants of the Russian Empire.

Besides which, the manufacture of almost all kinds of munitions of war has been largely carried on in Poland.

The effect of the war has also been to raise the price of every description of agricultural produce; hence, that class has largely profited by the circumstances.

A considerable trade has lately sprung up in exporting swine, fowls, &c., to Germany and Austria; and the foreign money, so received, appears delightfully enhanced in value to the recipients.

On the other hand, it is true that the serious depreciation (some 25 per cent.) in the value of Russian money, consequent upon the war, has unfavourably affected certain classes of manufacturers and traders, and, through them, the general public.

But, on the whole, this has not yet equalled the advantages reaped by the agricultural class, and it is probable that this state of things would continue to obtain, at least for a time, in the event of a war with England.

In the second place, from a political point of view, Poles regard with great complacency the prospect of Russia being engaged in a deadly struggle with England, or, indeed, with any great European Power; and this for reasons which will not fail to commend themselves to your Lordship's appreciation. Even in the event of Russia being victorious in such a war, they hope that the prolonged strain to which she would be subjected would force her to grant a Constitution to the Empire.

By virtue of their superior intelligence, education, and proved administrative capacity, the Poles would, infallibly, reap by far the largest share of advantages from such a reform.

In the event of disaster to the Russian arms, which I may say is generally considered as the more likely alternative, not only the humiliation, but even the dismemberment of Russia, is looked upon as a not improbable contingency.

I need hardly remind your Lordship that this latter result is ever amongst the hopes of Poles.

But the wishes for war are by no means confined to Poles. The military party, with some honourable exceptions, appear to believe that their interests would be best served by such a conflict, even though it were at the expense of the prosperity of the Empire. Besides these, not a few officials, both civil and military, are so profoundly convinced of the necessity for political reform, that they would even welcome a crushing national disaster, in the hope and belief that it would force the Government to accord such constitutional measures as would amply repay the sacrifice, costly though it would be.

In my next despatch I shall have the honour of describing to your Lordship the nature of those measures of reform of which this country is at present most sorely in need.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS C. MAUDE.

No. 312.

Colonel Maude to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 8. Political.)

My Lord, *Warsaw, April 5, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Lordship's information, that last night, when present at a soirée of the Countess Kotzebue, the Governor-General in shaking hands with me said: "Je vous tends la main, mon Colonel, mais je crois que c'est pour la dernière fois." And, on my replying that I hoped it was not so, his Excellency repeated, "Mais oui! Je trouve que la proclamation (*sic*) du Marquis de Salisbury est équivalente à une déclaration de guerre."

I think it my duty to repeat this conversation to your Lordship, but without wishing to convey the belief that, in so speaking, his Excellency represented any opinions but his own.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS C. MAUDE.

No. 313.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 372.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, March 30, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy of a note which I have addressed to M. de Giers, in accordance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 221 of the 19th instant, forwarding copies of complaints which had reached Mr. Layard of the destruction by Russian troops of property belonging to British subjects.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 313.

Lord A. Loftus to M. de Giers.

M. le Conseiller Privé, *St. Petersburgh, March 29, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copies of two complaints which have reached Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, respecting the destruction by the garrison troops of property belonging to British subjects; and in compliance with the instructions which I have received from Her Majesty's Government, I have to request that your Excellency will be so good as to cause an inquiry to be instituted into the two cases complained of, with the view of indemnifying the sufferers should their allegations prove to be correct.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 314.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 350 A.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 4, 1878.*

GENERAL IGNATIEFF returned here yesterday evening from Vienna without passing by Berlin, which had been his primary intention on leaving St. Petersburgh.

Nothing very positive is known here in regard to his mission, but it is generally believed that it has not been attended with the hoped for success.

His Excellency expressed himself to me as satisfied with the result, adding, however, in reply to my inquiry, that he did not expect to return to Vienna.

It is pretty certain that the explanations given by General Ignatieff to the Austrian Cabinet in regard to the Treaty of San Stefano have not proved satisfactory, and that

the opinions of the two Governments are widely divergent as to the stipulations and general bearing of that Treaty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 315.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 386.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 6, 1878.*

GENERAL PRINCE GHIKA, the Roumanian Agent here, called on me this morning. He fully confirmed to me the information reported by Sir H. Elliot in his telegrams of the 4th instant of his interview with Prince Gortchakow.

He stated that by the express desire of Prince Gortchakow he had telegraphed to his Government the question as to whether or not the Roumanian Government intended to protest against and oppose the VIIIth Article of the Treaty of San Stefano with the menace threatened by the Emperor in the event of their doing so. He received a telegram in reply from his Government, stating that his telegram had crossed a note which he was instructed to present to the Imperial Government and which will probably reach him in four days. Prince Ghika is under the impression that this note is identical with the protest against the VIIIth Article of the Treaty which has been already presented at Vienna, and will be likewise presented to the other Powers.

Prince Ghika is now awaiting the receipt of this note, but in the meantime has been instructed by his Government to inform the Imperial Government that the protest, notwithstanding the menace, will be made to the European Powers, and that the Roumanian army would resist any attempt of disarmament by the Imperial troops.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 316.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 390. Secret.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 9, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship a Memorandum I received to-day from Mr. Michell, stating that he had heard from a reliable source that on the 4th instant 600 sailors of the Imperial Navy, with 6 officers, had left Cronstadt for Reval to embark at Baltic port on board of two steamers of the North German Lloyd, which have been freighted at Hamburg by the Russian Government.

These officers and men are to proceed from Hamburg to New York, where it is said they are to man three cruizers which have been purchased by the Russian Government, and which are fully armed and equipped.

The foregoing information has been confirmed to me from another reliable source, with the addition that the men were accompanied by forty officers in lieu of six, and that on their arrival at Hamburgh they were to be forwarded from thence to New York by the ordinary trans-Atlantic steamers.

I hear from other quarters that great achievements are expected from these cruizers against English commerce, as it is expected that, from their reputed speed (from 15 to 17 knots an hour), they will be able to copy the tactics of the "Alabama," and to escape pursuit and capture.

The information received does not distinctly state whether the American cruizers purchased by the Imperial Government are at New York or at San Francisco; but I have reason to suspect that it is the intention to station these vessels at Vladivostock, or in some American port on the Pacific for immediate operations in the event of war.

I have further been privately informed that many proposals have been made either by Americans citizens, or at their instigation to the authorities here, for arming and equipping cruizers to prey on English commerce in the event of war, and I am told

that a Captain Hunt, formerly in the American commercial navy, is one of the agents thus employed; but I have reason to believe that these operations are entirely carried on by private speculators without the knowledge of the American Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 316.

Memorandum by Consul Michell respecting Despatch of 600 Sailors for Reval and New York.

(Secret.)

I HAVE heard from a reliable source that on Thursday last, the 4th April, 600 sailors of the Russian Imperial Navy, with 6 officers, were despatched from Cronstadt to Reval, and from thence to Baltic port, where two German steamers of the Northern Deutche Lloyd, previously freighted at Hamburg by the Russian Government, shipped the above men and proceeded with them to New York. On arrival at that place these seamen and officers are, it is said, to be immediately placed on board three cruizers, which have been purchased by the Russian Government, and are now fully armed and equipped. No arms were taken by the crews from Cronstadt, and the officers had merely time, so sudden was the order received for their expedition, to take a change of clothes with them. The officers who are to command the three cruizers are Commanders Avelan, Alekseyeff, and Grippenberg.

(Signed) JOHN MICHELL, *Her Majesty's Consul.*
St. Petersburgh, April 8, 1878.

No. 317.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 395. Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 9, 1878.*

I AM privately informed that the answer of the Imperial Government to your Lordship's Circular of the 1st instant was despatched to the several Courts yesterday.

It is in the form of a Circular despatch addressed to the Russian Representatives at the Great Courts inclosing a *Pro-Memorid*, which they are instructed to communicate to the Government to which they are accredited.

This *Pro-Memorid* discusses each separate clause of your Lordship's Circular relating to the Treaty of San Stefano, and seeks to prove that the objections offered by your Lordship to certain portions of that Treaty are inexact and illusory.

It is weak in argument, though conciliatory in tone, and evinces an evident wish that the Treaty should be the subject of a friendly discussion and understanding in an European Congress.

I am informed that some pressure is being exercised on the Imperial Government by the German Government to induce moderation and concessions with a view to the meeting of a Congress.

A copy of Prince Gortchakow's answer to your Lordship's Circular of April 1st was given to-day to the correspondent of the "Times," on the condition that he would telegraph it *in extenso*; the Imperial Government being evidently anxious that it should be published and known before the termination of the debate on the Eastern question in the House of Commons.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 318.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 397.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 10, 1878.*

I HAD the honour to report by telegraph on the 1st instant, that, according to a telegram received from Odessa, the Constructor of Coast Batteries (an Imperial officer) had received an order for 58,000 iron spades, to be sent immediately by steamer to Constantinople.

The same Russian journal which published this telegram has since stated (with a view probably to counteract any suspicions that these tools might be required for military purposes) that they were necessary for the purpose of interring the putrid remains which infected the neighbourhood of the army.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 319.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 398.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 9, 1878.*

I AM informed that about three weeks ago orders were given by the Imperial Ministry of War for the formation of three fresh divisions of reserves. I cannot exactly state whence these troops are to be taken, but I am told that they are to be formed in part from what is termed the garrison troops.

The reserve troops which have been called under arms since the close of last summer consist of 48 battalions about five months ago, another 48 battalions about two months ago, and now the three divisions in process of formation.

There has been some difficulty in finding officers for these levies, and to meet it officers have been recalled from the active army in Bulgaria, and about 2,000 cadets have been taken from the various military institutions, although they had not completed the full time for their military education.

In addition to the foregoing reserve forces there are still the annual conscripts raised at the close of last year, which amount to about 200,000 men, but they are mere recruits, and require to be drilled for at least six months before they can be incorporated into the army as fit for service.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 320.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 399. Secret.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 9, 1878.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 370 of the 27th March, I have now the honour to inclose to your Lordship copy of a Report which I have received from Her Majesty's Consul at Helsingfors, stating that he had ascertained that thirty torpedoes, mentioned by him as having been sent from Sveaborg, were destined for Abo.

Mr. Campbell further reports that forty steel torpedo boats had been ordered by the Russian Government from Messrs. Crichton and Co., at Abo, at a price of 38,000 roubles each, to be furnished by the 1st June next.

He also reports that orders have been given to the firm of Osberg and Bade, of Helsingfors, for the immediate construction of as many hospital-carriages as that firm can get ready before the 1st June.

I think it right to observe that the steel torpedo-boats, in case of obstruction by sea, can be forwarded by rail from Abo direct to Helsingfors or St. Petersburgh.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 320.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, March 20, 1878.*

REFERRING to my Report on the defences of Sveaborg and its adjacent islands, which I had the honour of submitting to your Lordship yesterday, I now beg to add that I have ascertained that the destination of the thirty torpedoes mentioned in that Report as having been sent from Sveaborg to the west of Helsingfors on Saturday last, has turned out to be Abo.

The forts at Hango Head, which were attacked and demolished by the English and French fleets during the Crimean war, have not been rebuilt, nor have the batteries on Hwit Sand, near the port of Ekenäs, been re-constructed.

I have not as yet been able to obtain reliable information as to whether the important fortress of Bomarsund, on the Aland Archipelago, which was reduced and taken by Captain Hall's squadron in 1854, has in any way been reconstructed during the past winter, but I have every reason to believe that nothing has been done. I will, however, make immediate inquiry, and report thereon to your Lordship without delay.

I beg, further, to acquaint your Lordship that forty steel torpedo-boats have been ordered by the Russian Government from the mechanical works of Messrs. William Crichton and Co., of Abo, at a price of 38,000 roubles each. The firm is under contract to have these boats finished by the 1st June next.

Orders have also been issued by the Russian Government to the firm of Osberg and Bade, of Helsingfors, for the immediate construction of as many hospital-carriages as that firm can possibly get ready before the 1st June. Ten of such carriages are already completed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. CAMPBELL.

No. 321.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 400. Secret.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 9, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship herewith copy of a despatch in cypher which I have received from Her Majesty's Acting Vice-Consul at Moscow, of which I telegraphed the substance on the 6th instant.

I am not enabled to confirm this information, but I think it not unlikely to be correct.

General Tchernaieff is not in favour with the Emperor or the Grand Duke Michael, and it is not improbable that a mission of the nature mentioned may have been confided to him if only for the purpose of neutralizing his Panslavist tendencies.

I will endeavour to ascertain the truth of the information reported by Mr. Vice-Consul Webb, and will report the result to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

P.S.—I think it right to state that General Tchernaieff was received a short time ago by the Emperor in the character of a Major-General under the orders of His Imperial Highness the Commander-in-chief of the army of the Caucasus.

I annex the article from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" announcing his reception by His Imperial Majesty.

A. L.

Inclosure 1 in No. 321.

Acting Vice-Consul Webb to Lord A. Loftus.

Moscow, April 4, 1878.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency in cypher hereunder the source and nature of a communication which has been made to me this day :—

"Information obtained indirectly from high official of Governor-General's office that General Tchernaieff, formerly Commander-in-chief of Servian army, has been sent to the tribes of Indian frontier."

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE WEBB.

Inclosure 2 in No. 321.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of March $\frac{15}{27}$, 1878.

SA Majesté l'Empereur a reçu avant-hier (Dimanche) le Lieutenant-Général Comte Nostitz, de la cavalerie de l'armée et des troupes de réserve, et les Généraux-Majors Tchernaiew, à la disposition de Son Altesse Impériale Mgr. le Commandant-en-chef de l'armée du Caucase, et Stolétow, Commandant de la 1re brigade de la 3e division d'infanterie.

No. 322.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 402.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburgh, April 10, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a translation by Mr. Michell of an article from the "Exchange Gazette," showing the financial disasters which must inevitably result to Russia from a war with England.

The "Exchange Gazette" is a journal which is constantly rendering itself liable to penalties inflicted by the Ministry of the Interior for articles of a similar nature to the inclosed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 322.

Article from the "Exchange Gazette."

(Translation.)

THE "Exchange Gazette" of the $\frac{25th\ March}{6th\ April}$, 1878, publishes the following article, in which it reviews the lamentable consequences that would be entailed on Russia by the explosion of a war between her and England :—

"A war between England and Russia, should such a struggle ensue, would chiefly assume the shape of a financial combat, and the losses which the same would entail on us would undoubtedly produce a most disastrous effect on the economic condition of Russia.

"In discussing the question of the losses which we would thus suffer, it is first of all necessary to keep in view our present financial condition. The war with Turkey has already embarrassed us in this respect to no slight extent. Our readers are already aware of the difficulties which attended the conclusion of one foreign and two interior loans, a part of the latter not having been realized to the present day, and the masses of paper currency which the State Bank has been obliged to issue in order to satisfy the requirements of the Treasury. In the event of a war with England, the emission of further loans, in view of the glutted condition of our Stock market and the want of confidence displayed towards Russian funds abroad, will in all probability be attended with still greater difficulties than during the past year. The war with Turkey has produced a depreciation of our funds from 30 to 15 per cent., and there is every reason to suppose that a war with England will be followed by as great a fall in the value of

our securities. It may even be anticipated that such a war will produce a depreciation still more serious, as a struggle with Great Britain cannot be one of short duration, and will call for the issue of further loans to a great amount. We cannot of course undertake to determine the limit of value to which our securities will descend on the Exchanges of Europe, but it must be borne in mind that according to the law of the fall of the prices of funds the process of depreciation will be all the more rapid the further these prices recede from their original nominal value. The depreciation of our funds will be still further accelerated by the issue of paper notes, which it will be of course impossible to avoid.

"The conditions of our foreign trade cannot but be injuriously affected by a war with England. Our foreign trade is principally carried on by sea, three-fifths of it being conducted by that channel, and only two-fifths by land. A war with England will involve the closing of all our ports, so that our export trade will have to be conducted across the land frontiers. Thanks to the establishment of railroads, this trade will not be exposed to the same serious diminution which it suffered during the Crimean war; but, nevertheless, it must decrease, as the railroads will not be able to transport the enormous bulk of goods that are now despatched abroad by sea. It may be argued by some, that during the early period of our war with Turkey it was also apprehended that our export trade would suffer, and that notwithstanding the blockade of our southern ports this trade did not decrease, but on the contrary attained increased dimensions. This is, however, attributable to the circumstances that our southern ports were only closed to navigation in the month of April, 1877, prior to which period a large quantity of goods had already been exported; and, moreover, it must be recollected that this increased export trade was equally marked in the Baltic, White Sea ports, as also across the land frontier. In the case of war with England not a single ton of goods will be despatched out of any of the above ports.

"The export trade of last year assumed unusual dimensions, owing to the bad harvests which had prevailed in several countries in Western Europe. No prediction can be made as to the harvest of the present year, but considering that 1876 was also marked by an insufficient grain crop, that a failure of crops abroad does not take place during several years in succession, and that there is a considerable accumulation of grain stocks in all countries, it cannot be expected that the demand for grain will be so great in 1878 as it was during the preceding year. In this respect, therefore, the prospects of our export trade are not particularly brilliant.

"At the same time, a flourishing export trade constitutes one of the first conditions for our financial prosperity. It was only owing to our good export trade in 1877 that our Treasury was able to obtain a large quantity of gold coin abroad. Had the export trade been unsatisfactory, the Minister of Finance would have found himself obliged to contract another loan abroad on very unfavourable conditions. Hence it is clear that in case of a war with England, the position of our Treasury, under a diminution of exports, depreciation of our securities, and a growing necessity for money in the shape of gold, both for defraying the expenses of the war, and paying the current interest on foreign loans, would even during the first year of the war be one of extraordinary embarrassment. With a continuation of the war the difficulties of the position would still further increase.

"This enumeration of the chief difficulties which Russia must encounter in a war with England must be sufficient for the present, as we do not wish to enlarge on the mournful theme, for fear of being reproached with premature intimidation. We shall, therefore, make only one more observation, which is, that even without any war with England, many years of great effort will be necessary to reduce our finances, which have been shaken by our short Turkish war, to their former condition. Should these efforts not be made, owing to a war with England, the disorganization of our finances will reach its highest point."

No. 323.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 403.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburgh, April 10, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, in translation by Mr. Stephen, an article from the "Exchange Gazette," giving an approximate of the expenses of the Russian-Turkish war, which are stated at about 850,000,000 roubles (or about 110,000,000*l.* sterling at the exchange rate current before the outbreak of the war), which will necessitate for

interest and sinking fund an additional annual charge to the State of 45,000,000 roubles, or about 6,000,000*l.* sterling.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 323.

Substance of Article in the "Exchange Gazette."

(Translation.)

THE "Exchange Gazette" estimates the cost of the Russo-Turkish war as follows:—

"From the 12th April, 1877, the date of the declaration of war, to the 4th March, 1878, the date of the ratification of the Treaty of Peace, a period has elapsed of ten months and twenty-two days. But five months before this a large portion of the army had already been mobilized. Now these sixteen months have cost us enormous material sacrifices. In November 1876 were issued three internal loans, amounting to 350,000,000 paper roubles, and a foreign loan of 93,750,000 silver roubles, or 125,000,000 paper roubles. In addition to this, the State Bank advanced out of the Imperial Exchequer about 285,000,000 roubles, the savings of the previous year's Budget. Thus the preparations for and the carrying out of the war have cost altogether 800,000,000 roubles. If we add to this 50,000,000 roubles as the outlay for the transport of the troops back to Russia, the whole cost of the war may be estimated at 850,000,000 roubles. The sum apportioned to the Sinking Fund and the interest will amount to 45,000,000 roubles a-year, and as by the Budget of 1877 the interest on the National Debt was fixed at 108,250,000 roubles: it may be said that the war will have increased the interest on the debt by nearly a half. This increase will be less felt should Turkey pay the 300,000,000 roubles which she is required to do by the Treaty of Peace. In this case the cost of the war would not amount to more than 500,000,000 roubles, and 30,000,000 roubles would be sufficient to cover the yearly interest and the sum set aside for the Sinking Fund.

We cannot, however, yet say how far it is likely that this contribution will be paid.

No. 324.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 405. Secret.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 10, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a Report from Her Majesty's Consul at Helsingfors, acknowledging the receipt of the verbal instructions I sent by Mr. Egerton with regard to visiting Bomarsund and Abo, and transmitting information with regard to the military forces in Finland and the existing supply of steam-coal at Helsingfors.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 324.

Consul Campbell to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord, *Helsingfors, April 4, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Lordship's instructions, delivered to me verbally by Mr. Egerton, ordering me to visit Abo, the Aland Islands, and other fortified places on the northern coast of the Gulf of Finland, and to report to your Lordship thereon. I will lose no time in carrying out these instructions, and will immediately transmit all the information which I can gather as to the coast defences of Finland.

In the meantime I beg to give your Lordship the following information as to the *Military Force in Finland.*—There is at present one division of infantry stationed in the Grand Duchy, irrespective of the garrison troops, and these are divided as

follows:—One regiment at Abo and Tavastihus, one regiment at Helsingfors, one regiment at Urborg, one regiment at Fredrikshamn, Lovisa, and Thusby.

Artillery.—One battery of six guns at Wilmanstrand, two batteries of twelve guns at Helsingfors, one park of artillery at Tavastihus.

According to present arrangements, these troops will be augmented on and after the 8th instant by two divisions and one brigade of infantry with the accompanying artillery, that is to say, 10,000 men to Helsingfors, 5,000 men to complete the garrison at Sveaborg, and the remainder to be stationed along the seaboards of the Gulfs of Finland and Bothnia, but their actual destination I have not as yet been able to ascertain.

It is generally reported here that the most of these men are raw recruits.

Steam-Coal.—The quantity of steam-coal at the present moment stored at Helsingfors is as follows:—At the Depôt in the North Harbour, from which the Russian Government draws its supplies, 3,500 tons; at the Depôt in the South Harbour (private stores), 2,400 tons; total, 5,900 tons.

In conclusion, I may remark that great excitement prevails throughout Finland relative to the probability of a war breaking out between Great Britain and Russia. The poor Fins maintain that they have no further connecting link or sympathy with their Eastern neighbours than that of their being under one crowned head. Having their own Constitution, laws, and finance, they reap none of the advantages from prosperous times in Russia; but, on the other hand, have to bear the brunt in the event of war with a great maritime Power, as their seaboard is so extensive.

The main, and in fact only, article of export from Finland is timber; and in consequence of the low prices and limited demand for that article in the English and other European markets last autumn, the stocks lying on the coasts of the Grand Duchy are unprecedentedly large.

Now, should a blockade of the ports be established, even though private property remained unmolested, it would, without question, end in one word, be the ruin of the country. This feeling is universal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. CAMPBELL.

No. 325.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 407.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 10, 1878.*

I AM informed that preparations are being made at Cronstadt to fit out and despatch to sea, with as little delay as possible, four vessels, "The General Admiral," "Minin," "Pojarski," and "Svetlana," which are to be placed under the command of the Grand Duke Alexis.

The extreme mildness of the weather promises an early break up of the ice in the Nova and Gulf, and it is not improbable that the navigation may be open within a few days.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 326.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 408.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 10, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship a Memorandum by Mr. Michell respecting the preparations for the defence of Cronstadt, and the strength of the Russian Pacific squadron.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 326.

Memorandum.

THE ironworks and foundry belonging to Mr. Colquhoun, of St. Petersburgh, have received an order for the manufacture of 100,000 shells for 4-pounder field-guns.

1,500 shells (11-inch) have recently been despatched to the Cronstadt forts, and great activity prevails in supplying these forts with ammunition and projectiles.

The submerged walls impeding the approach of vessels to the Cronstadt forts on the southern side were repaired and strengthened in the course of last month.

1,200 anchors for mooring torpedoes are now being manufactured at the Government steam factory of Cronstadt.

In addition to the torpedo boats ordered in Russia and abroad on Thornycroft's system, several steam launches for carrying torpedoes are in course of construction at Cronstadt.

The following are the names of the most efficient Russian corvettes and clippers now cruizing in the North and South Pacific:—

Vessels.	Guns.	Officers.	Men.
Vsadnik	8 (3 of 6 inches)	20	158
Kreiser	8	21	162
Bayan	10	21	237
Ukhtomski	8 (3 of 6 inches)	19	156
Abrek	7	..	..

No preparations have as yet been commenced for the equipment of the heavy Russian ironclads, &c., lying in Cronstadt harbour.

(Signed) JOHN MICHELL, *Her Majesty's Consul.*

St. Petersburgh, April 10, 1878.

No. 327.

Consul-General Stanley to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 21. Political.)

Odessa, April 9, 1878.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that the Russian troops who arrived yesterday from San Stephano are composed of a detachment of the Guard who formed the Emperor's Body Guard, the 6th battery of the 14th division, and the regiment of Podolin, consisting of 1,600 men.

The Guard appeared in good condition, but the line regiment of Podolin seemed miserably weak and tired, and unfit for further work.

Their wretched appearance was a subject of general remark. It is said that of the 3,500 men who originally formed this regiment, only 100 have returned, the regiment having been three times filled up by recruits and men from other regiments.

In all, 2,800 men arrived.

The "Whitehall Review" is wrong in stating that the Russian naval force is being concentrated at Sebastopol; nearly all their vessels are here or at Nicolaief.

The Russian press is unanimous in urging on the Government the immediate occupation of the heights commanding the Bosphorus.

450 Russian prisoners are expected to-morrow from Constantinople.

A large class wish for war, not with any expectation or hope of maintaining the stipulations of the San Stephano Treaty, as they say they must be defeated, but their hopes are that out of the defeats would arise a Constitution.

This class is chiefly composed of professors and students.

I do not myself think they possess the influence attributed to them by many,

nor do I think the country is yet fitted by education or political morality and honesty for a Constitutional form of Government as understood in England.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

No. 328.

Consul St. John to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 12. Political.)

My Lord, *Ragusa, April* 6, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that General Poppenheim, commanding the troops in Southern Dalmatia, has been summoned by telegraph to Vienna, with the view, it is said, to being consulted on important military affairs.

Though he tells me that his absence will be of short duration, it is generally believed that, in the event of war breaking out, he will be selected for an important command.

General Poppenheim, as I have already had the honour to report, is opposed in politics to the Governor of Dalmatia, General Rodich; and his proclivities, therefore, are anything but Slav.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. ST. JOHN.

No. 329.

Consul St. John to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 13. Political.)

My Lord; *Ragusa, April* 6, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to report that the Acting Russian Consul-General has left Ragusa for Cattaro, where he is superintending the transport of provisions to Montenegro, and that the archives of the Consulate have been removed to Cettinje.

M. Durando, my Italian colleague, who has just returned from Montenegro, informs me that M. Jonine, the Russian Consul-General, has quite established himself at the Prince's palace, where he is looked upon as a member of the family.

Accounts I have heard describe the Principality to be in a pitiable state, and entirely dependent on my Russian colleague for subsistence. Some of their most renowned Chiefs now go to him for their daily rations of Indian corn.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. ST. JOHN.

No. 330.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 371.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 14, 1878.

MR. CALVERT reports from Adrianople a serious rising against Russians of Mussulmans from the neighbourhood of Tartar Bazarjik to Gumurbatzina (*sic*).

It is stated that 80,000 mountaineers and fugitives from the plains are connected with the movement, and that a considerable portion of them are armed with Martini-Henry rifles.

No. 331.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 15.)

(No. 372.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 14, 1878.

PORTE has received information that six battalions, with artillery, are about to be added to the Russian force before Batoum, and Onou has asked Minister for Foreign Affairs whether, in the event of Russians advancing on the place, the Turkish troops would open fire. Minister answered that he trusted the Grand Duke would not give orders for them to advance. He expects from Onou's language to receive an ultimatum shortly with reference to evacuation of Batoum, Shumla, and Varna.

No. 332.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 15.)

(No. 373.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 14, 1878.

TURKISH Minister for Foreign Affairs states as follows:—"The offer of Austria is to endeavour to obtain reduction of limits assigned to Montenegro and Bulgaria, for which service Turkey is to cede to her in perpetuity Bosnia and Herzegovina, as she cannot retain authority over (them with ?) proposed autonomy. Should Porte refuse, force of events will oblige Austria to abstain from all interference with the stipulations of the Treaty of San Stefano, and to take possession of two provinces."

In Council of Ministers it was to-day decided to refuse cession. Porte would have done so at once, but abstained lest its refusal might detach Austria from the understanding with England then supposed to be imminent. It now believes that she has come to an understanding with Russia through General Ignatieff, of which this demand is the first result.

Count Zichy spoke to me to-day for the first time on this subject. According to him Austria undertakes to obtain for Turkey a considerable reduction of proposed frontier of Bulgaria and Montenegro, and an arrangement as to Servia favourable to Porte, and did only require cession of provinces after this has been accomplished.

Whether Bulgaria shall be confined to north of Balkans and become a tributary principality under a foreign prince, whether Thessaly and Epirus should remain to Turkey, whether she should be released from indemnity and obtain other important modifications of the Treaty of San Stefano, will depend upon whether England will unite with Austria, in which case she would be even prepared to go to war to obtain these concessions for Turkey. Other advantages to Turkey, according to Count Zichy, from cession of Bosnia and Herzegovina, are that Austria would then virtually become (two groups unintelligible) that with a large Mussulman population in those provinces, it would be to her interest to support Mahomedan element in Turkey, that she would insist upon the same rights and privileges being granted to Mussulmans as to Christians in any autonomous provinces of Turkey, and that she would deal with Montenegro and Servia in a manner which would prevent them in future being a danger to Turkey. All this would, he says, add greatly to the strength of the Turkish Empire in Europe. In the event of Turkey refusing cession, Austria will be compelled, in defence of her own interests, to occupy provinces. Count Zichy is instructed not to put demand in writing.

Pray do not refer in any quarter to his conversation with me.

No. 333.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 14.)

(No. 375. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 14, 1878.

I HAVE seen Prime Minister, who tells me that all that Austria offers to get for Turkey is the district of Monastir, some fragment of that of Bourgas and that of Salonica, but not the districts of Sofia and Philippopolis. This persuades him that there is an understanding between her and Russia, as the territory Austria proposes to obtain for the Porte is exactly that which Russia would be most anxious and ready to give up. Count Zichy's conduct certainly gives rise to the suspicion that such is the case. He carefully concealed from me until to-day that he had asked for the cession of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He has said that his Government had obtained the sanction of England and France to it, which is evidently not the case, and the statement he has made to the French Ambassador on the subject does not quite agree with that he has made to me. French Ambassador has written to his Government strongly against the cession. Although Prime Minister confirms the statement that the Council to-day decided against acceding to Austrian demands, he says that he will still wait for the advice of Her Majesty's Government before giving a decided refusal. Ada Kaleh will be given over to Austria. I venture to think we ought to be on our guard, lest Austria is playing us false.

No. 334.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 15.)

(No. 106.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April* 15, 1878.

FOR several days the newspaper advertisement spoke of a despatch from Prince Gortchakow in answer to communications of the Austrian Government sent by General Ignatieff.

I am positively assured that up to yesterday no such despatch had been communicated to Count Andrassy.

No. 335.

Consul-General Stanley to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 15.)

(Telegraphic.) *Odessa, April* 15, 1878.

HER MAJESTY'S Vice-Consul at Sebastopol reports that two fast torpedo-launches, mentioned in my despatch No. 20, Political, have been sent away, he is informed, to the Bosphorus.

No. 336.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 15.)

(No. 93.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April* 15, 1878.

THE "Cronstadt Naval Gazette" states that the following Russian ships are being rapidly equipped for service:—The "Peryeraiz" iron-clad floating battery, "Pogarski," "Peter the Great," "Sebastopol," "Monia," "Petropaulovsk."

They are expected to be ready for sea in four weeks.

No. 337.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April* 15, 1878.

REUTER reports that Count Zichy's demand for cession of Bosnia has been rejected by Porte. Pray ask Count Andrassy whether such a demand has been made.

No. 339.

Sir R. Wood to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 16.)

(No. 13.)

My Lord, *Tunis, April* 9, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Lord Derby's despatch No. 6 of the 20th March, with reference to the desire which the Italian Government has expressed, through General Menabrea, to act in concert with England in regard to the affairs of Egypt and Tunis.

In relation to this subject, I may be permitted to state that I have been informed that M. Jules de Lesseps, the Bey's private agent in Paris, has recently informed his Highness (I presume in consequence of passing events in the East) that he need not entertain any apprehension with regard to Tunis, as France would intervene on behalf of Tunis as well as of Egypt in case of necessity.

I am not aware whether M. de Lesseps was authorized by his Government to make the above communication; but it is not improbable that M. de Lesseps has based his communication upon a despatch from Vienna, published in the "Times," to the effect that Austria, Germany, and Italy have agreed that no question shall be raised in the projected Congress which has a reference either to Egypt, Tunis, Syria, or the Holy Places, with a view to please his Highness and to give him a proof of the readiness of France to protect Tunisian interests.

It was received with much satisfaction at the Palace.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RICHARD WOOD.

No. 340.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 16.)

(No. 411.)

My Lord, *St Pétersburgh, April* 11, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copies, extracted from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of this day, of Prince Gortchakow's Circular addressed to the Russian Ambassadors at Berlin, Paris, London, Vienna, and Rome, in reply to your Lordship's Circular of the 1st instant, with the *pro-memoriâ* annexed to it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 340.

Prince Gortchakow's Circular of March 28, 1878, *as published in the "Journal de Pétersbourg."*

[See Turkey No. 257 (1878).]

No. 341.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 16.)

(No. 415.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 12, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a Memorandum which I have received from Mr. Michell, stating that General Tchernaieff, after his audience with the Emperor on the 24th ultimo, has started for Krasnovodsk viâ the Caucasus. The Emperor received him in company with Colonel Stoletoff, an officer well versed in Central Asian affairs. The nature of his mission, which is said to be of importance, has not transpired.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 341.

Memorandum.

IT is reported that General Tchernaieff has proceeded to the Caucasus *en route* for Krasnovodsk on the Caspian. It is said that he is charged with a very important mission, the nature of which has not yet transpired. Colonel Stoletoff, a Russian officer of great military and administrative renown in Central Asia, and one possessing an intimate knowledge of matters relating to that country, was received by the Emperor, together with General Tchernaieff, on the 23th March last. I am informed from a reliable source that General Tchernaieff left St. Petersburgh shortly after his audience, only a few days having been allowed him for making the necessary preparations for his journey.

(Signed) JOHN MICHELL.

St. Petersburgh, April 12, 1878.

No. 342.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 16.)

(No. 416.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 12, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship a *précis* by Mr. Michell from the "Novoe Vremia" of this day's date, giving a description of a visit by its correspondent, accompanied by a Russian artillery officer, to the British squadron in the Sea of Marmora.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 342.

Précis of Article from the "Novoe Vremia" of $\frac{\text{March 31}}{\text{April 12}}$, 1878.

VISIT OF RUSSIAN SPIES TO HER MAJESTY'S SHIPS "ALEXANDRA" AND "SULTAN."—A. Molchanoff, the correspondent of the "Novoe Vremia" with the Grand Duke's army, supplies that paper, in a letter addressed from Izmid dated the 1st April, with a description of a visit paid by him and a Russian artillery officer to Admiral Hornby's flag-ship, the "Alexandra," and the "Sultan."

Having engaged the services of a Greek purveyor of provisions to the British fleet, the correspondent and his companion boarded the "Alexandra" and obtained access on board under the pretext that the former was the representative of a Belgian newspaper. He minutely details the armament and offensive appliances of that vessel, and states his companion, the artillery-officer, took careful measurements of the calibre of the guns, which were uncovered for their inspection, and of the diameter of the projectiles.

Two hours were passed on board the "Alexandra" by these visitors, who afterwards proceeded to examine the "Sultan." On gaining the shore A. Molchanoff says that he at once went to the local telegraph office and dispatched a telegram to the editor of the "Novoe Vremia."

It was only then that their nationality was discovered by the telegraph clerk, an Armenian, and by their cicerone, the Greek purveyor, to the no small consternation and dismay of the latter.

St. Petersburgh, April 12, 1878.

No. 343.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 16.)

(No. 417.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 12, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship herewith a Memorandum by Mr. Michell, together with an official notification signed by the Governor of the Bank, on the subject of the issue of a second series of Treasury bonds to the amount of 50,000,000 roubles, and respecting the increase during the past week of the debt of the Imperial Treasury to the State Bank by the sum of 9,000,000 roubles.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 343.

Memorandum.

THE "Official Gazette" $\frac{\text{31st March}}{\text{12th April}}$, 1878, notifies the issue of a second series of Treasury bonds to the amount of 50,000,000 roubles under the same conditions that were specified for the first issue.

During the past week the debt of the Imperial Treasury to the State Bank was increased by the sum of 9,000,000 roubles.

(Signed) JOHN MICHELL.

St. Petersburgh, April 12, 1878.

Inclosure 2 in No. 343.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of $\frac{\text{March 31}}{\text{April 12}}$, 1878.

BANQUE DE RUSSIE.—AVIS.—Aux termes de l'Ukase Impérial donné au Sénat dirigeant le 10 Février, 1878, et relatif à l'ordre d'émission des obligations du Trésor à courte échéance et conformément à l'Ordonnance Impériale rendue à la même date, il sera effectué, par l'entremise de la Banque de Russie, une émission de la seconde catégorie des dites obligations pour la somme de 50,000,000 roubles et aux conditions suivantes:—

1. Les obligations du Trésor sont émises au porteur au prix nominal de 1,000 roubles et de 5,000 roubles, pour un terme de six mois, à partir du 4 Avril, 1878;

2. A partir du 4 Octobre, 1878, il est payé au porteur le prix nominal des obligations avec les intérêts du 4 Avril au 4 Octobre, 1878, au taux de 4½ pour cent par an. Ce remboursement sera effectué à la Banque de Russie et dans les comptoirs et succursales de cette Banque qui se trouvent dans les villes les plus importantes. Après le 4 Octobre, 1878, les intérêts cessent de courir.

3. Les obligations du Trésor peuvent être achetées à partir du 4 Avril, 1878, à la Banque de Russie (à la caisse de roulement) et aussi dans ses comptoirs et succursales à Moscou et à Riga, en payant le prix nominal de ces obligations; les personnes qui feront l'acquisition de ces obligations après le 4 Avril auront à payer, outre le prix nominal de l'obligation, le montant des intérêts arriérés au taux de 4½ pour cent par an depuis le 4 Avril, 1878, jusqu'au jour où sera faite leur acquisition.

4. Le compte des intérêts arriérés sera fait à volonté entre l'acheteur et le vendeur des dites obligations quand elles passeront d'une main dans une autre.

5. La Banque de Russie et ses comptoirs et succursales accepteront ces obligations en escompte au taux de l'intérêt existant le jour de leur présentation.

6. Les obligations du Trésor seront acceptées en nantissement à leur valeur

nominale par les administrations de l'Etat et comme garantie des frais de douane aux prix qui seront fixés par M. le Ministre des Finances.

Le Gouverneur de la Banque,
(Signé) E. LAMANSKY.

No. 344.

Consul Ward to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 16.)

(No. 10. Consular.)
My Lord, *Bremen-Bremerhaven, April 12, 1878.*

A FEW hours after doing myself the honour yesterday to telegraph to your Lordship (as advised by my despatch No. 8 of yesterday's date) that no Russian sailors or naval officers have left Bremen up to the present moment by any ship, and that the next steamer for Baltimore, of the North German Lloyd Company's line, which sails to-day, would carry about 250 passengers, and the next weekly steamer of the same Company for New York, which sails on the 14th instant, is expected to carry about 300 passengers, but that neither steamer will certainly take any Russian sailors or naval officers. I received a letter dated the 10th instant from Commander Grenfell at Berlin, communicating to me, by direction of Lord Odo Russell, a telegram addressed to his Excellency by Lord Augustus Loftus, respecting the reported conveyance of Russian sailors to America by steamers chartered at Hamburgh or Bremen by the Russian Government.

After making most careful inquiries in various quarters both at Bremen and at Bremerhaven, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, with regard to the report mentioned in the telegram of Lord Augustus Loftus, viz., that two steamers of the North German Lloyd Company had lately been sent to the Baltic for conveying Russian sailors to America, nothing whatever is known of such a fact here at the office of the North German Lloyd. It is most probable, however, that the report in question has arisen through the fact that (as I have ascertained from perfectly reliable persons) two steamers of the Company mentioned, viz., the "Albatross," an iron screw-steamer of 773 tons register and 200 horse-power, and the "Condor," an iron screw-steamer of 508 tons register and 145 horse-power, both of which vessels are ordinarily employed on the Bremen-London line of the North German Lloyd, have recently been chartered for the three months May, June, and July, by the firm of De Leuve, Philipps, and Co. at Antwerp, for trading between the latter port and Cronstadt, viâ Bremerhaven. The steamer "Condor" made a voyage last February from Rotterdam to Reval (Baltic), and from thence back to Rotterdam, where she is lying at present; but since then up to the present date no steamer belonging to the North German Lloyd has been in the Baltic.

It is reported here (but with how much truth I am unable to state) that both Her Majesty's Government and the Russian Government have of late been engaged in negotiations with the North German Lloyd, for the purpose of chartering several steamers of this Company; and that the Russian Government was lately on the point of concluding a contract to such effect for the conveyance of Russian troops from San Stefano or other Turkish ports to Odessa or to St. Petersburgh, but not for the conveyance of sailors from Baltic ports to America; that these negotiations, however, have been broken off, owing to the Russian Government declining to agree to the condition made by the North German Lloyd, that, in case of war breaking out between Russia and any other country, the former would buy the steamers chartered by it. It is, on the other hand, further reported here that the Managing Director of the North German Lloyd (Mr. J. G. Lohmann) is to-day on his way to London, in order to effect a contract with Her Majesty's Government by which the latter will, it is said, in certain eventualities charter several of the large trans-Atlantic steamers of the Company mentioned.

The report mentioned by Consul Annesley at Hamburgh, and communicated to me likewise in the above-mentioned letter from Commander Grenfell, viz., that two large steamers had been lately chartered by the Russian Government at Hamburgh or some other German port to sail with sealed orders immediately, is not believed by generally well-informed persons at Bremen to be based upon actual fact.

I shall not fail to report at once to your Lordship any further information which may reach me with regard to the conveyance of Russian sailors, &c., and I beg leave

to add that I shall forward this despatch under flying seal to Lord Odo Russell, for his Excellency's perusal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM WARD.

No. 345.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 16.)

(No. 264.)
My Lord, *Rome, April 13, 1878.*

I ALLUDED in a recent despatch to the public feeling against Russia and in favour of England, which had been manifesting itself of late in Italy, and, in further evidence of this feeling, I have the honour to inclose an extract, with translation, from the Political Review in the "Opinione" of this morning, and an article from last night's "Italie."

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure 1 in No. 345.

Extract from the "Opinione" of April 13, 1878.

(Translation.)

A TELEGRAM from St. Petersburgh speaks of a Circular which accompanies the Memorandum of Prince Gortchakow. In that Circular the Chancellor says that it would be expedient, in order to clear up the situation, that England should state what she wants, and should bring forward formal propositions. Respecting the Congress, Prince Gortchakow says that Russia communicated officially the text of the Treaty of Peace, declaring that each Power would have full liberty of appreciation and of action, reserving the same right for Russia. The Government of St. Petersburgh cannot go any further in concessions. We need not point out what ability and aggressive subtlety lie concealed under the language of the Czar's Prime Minister. We always have conciliation and compromise in the form, but the most tenacious resistance in the substance. Lord Salisbury's Circular is even too explicit, and the declarations, so applauded because eloquent and answering to the exigencies of English *amour-propre* and to the sense of Europe which were made by Lord Beaconsfield in the House of Lords on the 8th, ought not to allow any doubts to exist at St. Petersburgh respecting the intentions of England. But it is evident that the Russian Chancery tries to embroil matters, and to make England appear as the only Power which prevents the meeting of Congress, by exaggerated and unacceptable pretensions.

A yesterday's telegram to the "Times" said that the horizon was again clouded at St. Petersburgh, in consequence of the demonstrations in the British Parliament. Surely, for Prince Gortchakow and for General Ignatieff, it must be melancholy to think that there are diplomats in Europe capable of detecting the moves and hindering the attacks of the Muscovite policy. For instance, we have no difficulty in admitting that at St. Petersburgh a great impression was produced by that part of Lord Beaconsfield's speech which spoke of the sending of the fleet into the Sea of Marmora.

"When Austria," said Lord Beaconsfield, "proposed Berlin in place of Vienna for the meeting of Congress, England made no objections. In order, however, to avoid delays, and knowing that secret negotiations were pending between Russia and Turkey, and that the Russian army was advancing and was surrounding Constantinople, we thought it expedient to send our fleet into the Marmora."

No, there's no doubt at London, in the Councils of the Crown, there always exists some of that wise and enterprising spirit of Pitt and Palmerston which allows England to make herself felt, and to see clearly through the prodigies of the oracles of the Neva and the Spree.

Prince Gortchakow hopes to isolate and to humiliate England, but as yet this has not succeeded, and we believe that it will not succeed. In order to satisfy the insidious demands of Russian diplomacy, England must undertake a part which belongs to the whole of Europe—must alone solve a question which also interests the

other Powers. The policy of England is, in our opinion, worthy of a great Power, and we believe with the "Journal des Débats," that in this policy exists to-day the guarantee of individual interests, and the defence and respect of general interests.

Inclosure 2 in No. 345.

Extract from "L'Italie" of April 13, 1878.

La Raison du Plus Fort.—Tandis que le Parlement de Bucharest délibère, la Russie agit: depuis trois jours l'occupation militaire de la Roumanie est à peu près un fait accompli.

C'est ainsi que la Russie répond à l'Angleterre et à l'Autriche-Hongrie qui, dit-on, ont conseillé à la Roumanie de résister jusqu'au bout aux prétensions Russes sur la Bessarabie.

"L'ingratitude," a dit Larochefoucauld, "est l'indépendance du cœur." La Russie prouve à la Roumanie qu'elle comprend la gratitude à la manière du moraliste Français. Il y a sept mois le Grand Duc Nicolas, arrêté devant Plevna par la bravoure héroïque d'Osman Pacha, désespérant d'en venir à bout, envoyait au Prince Charles le télégramme suivant:—

"Venez à notre secours. Passez le Danube où vous voulez, comme vous voulez, sous quelles conditions vous voulez, mais venez à notre secours au plus vite."

Pour apprécier ce télégramme il faut se rapporter au sans-façon avec lequel l'état-major Russe jugeait la co-opération militaire de la Roumanie avant qu'Osman Pacha fit pousser au Grand Duc Nicolas ce cri de détresse. Or, on sait d'autant mieux quelle a été la part de l'armée Roumaine dans la chute de Plevna que le Grand Duc s'est hâté noblement de la reconnaître. Sans l'armée du Prince Charles, Plevna serait probablement encore debout.

Eh bien! sept mois à peine se sont écoulés depuis la dépêche éplorée du Grand Duc au Prince de Roumanie, et le télégraphe annonce que, pour faire entendre raison aux alliés d'hier, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie a ordonné l'occupation militaire de la Roumanie et le désarmement de l'armée Roumaine.

L'exploit, on le comprend sans peine, est beaucoup plus facile à mener à bonne fin que ne l'a été la guerre contre la Turquie. Que pourrait faire la petite Roumanie contre le colossal Empire du Czar? Réduite à elle-même, elle ne peut que se résigner à son sort. "Dieu, a dit Turenne, est toujours du côté des gros bataillons."

Et le Congrès? Il est plus improbable que jamais. On ne peut croire sérieusement que les Grandes Puissances envoient leurs Représentants siéger dans un Congrès dont la mission se bornerait à enregistrer les faits accomplis et à donner la sanction d'un Traité aux conquêtes de l'armée Russe.

Or, si le Congrès ne se réunit pas, c'est la guerre.

On parle, il est vrai, d'une troisième solution: ce serait la médiation amicale d'une Puissance neutre et désintéressée—par exemple, l'Allemagne—qui, se plaçant au milieu des autres Puissances, trouverait le moyen de concilier tous les intérêts qui sont en conflit. On a cru ces derniers temps, en effet, que M. de Bismarck n'était pas disposé à se prêter plus longtemps au jeu du Prince Gortschakow, que la prévision d'une nouvelle guerre lui donnait assez de souci pour qu'il se décidât à faire tous ses efforts pour la détourner. On parlait même d'un *quos ego!* neptunien qu'il allait prononcer et qui, certes, n'eût pas manqué son effet.

Rien, jusqu'ici, ne confirme ces nouvelles. Assurément, le langage de la presse officieuse de Berlin est de nature à faire croire que la neutralité toute bienveillante de l'Empereur Guillaume envers la Russie a subi quelques modifications; mais, tant que ces modifications ne sortent pas des colonnes des journaux, il est permis de croire que le Gouvernement Russe ne s'en émeuvra guère.

La Roumanie a son Traité avec la Russie, signé au commencement de la guerre, par lequel la Russie lui garantit son intégrité territoriale sans restrictions, ni apparence. Le Traité est daté du mois d'Avril, 1877, de ce même mois qui voit, en 1878, l'occupation violente de la Roumanie par les armées de l'allié sauvé au siége de Plevna. Mais les Traités, a-t-on dit, ne sont faits que pour donner le plaisir de les violer.

En attendant, l'Europe est plus que jamais inquiète; l'espoir qu'on avait caressé d'un peu de repos après tant de désastres causés par la guerre, a à peu près disparu; le commerce et l'industrie souffrent du contre-coup des crises internationales; et la

seule industrie florissante est celle des "articles de guerre;" M. Krupp est plus que jamais le grand fournisseur des marchés Européens.

Tout cela est triste; et les rêveurs qui font des discussions sur l'arbitrage international ont d'excellents motifs pour peser à leur juste valeur la portée de leurs projets d'amphictionat Européen.

Cependant, nous ne désespérons pas encore du maintien de la paix. Il nous semble impossible que la Russie veuille se jeter de gaîté de cœur dans une enterprise pour laquelle elle n'aurait plus l'appui moral d'une grande partie de l'Europe qui l'a accompagnée dans la guerre contre la Turquie. Il y a, en ce moment, un réveil de l'opinion qui ne lui est pas favorable; elle ne doit pas oublier que pour les Etats aussi bien que pour les individus, ce n'est pas tout que de savoir vaincre les autres, mais qu'il faut savoir se vaincre soi-même.

No. 346.

Major-General Sir A. Kemball to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 16.)

My Lord, *London, April 13, 1878.*

ALTHOUGH it does not strictly fall within my province to address your Lordship regarding officers employed as Military Attachés to Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople, I crave permission in behalf of the three named in the margin,* who formed my staff and who were placed under my immediate orders during the campaign in Asia, to bring their merits to your Lordship's notice.

Their services were acknowledged by Her Majesty's Ambassador in a letter to myself, which I duly communicated to them, but as no record of it may exist in the Foreign Office I avail myself of the opportunity afforded by my return to England to testify to your Lordship the zealous and efficient manner in which these officers severally performed the duties entrusted to them, the soldierly qualities of which they gave proof on trying occasions, and the tact and good judgment they displayed in their relations with the Turkish military authorities and officers with whom they were brought in contact.

Captain McCalmont, whom I desire especially to recommend to your Lordship as an energetic and talented officer, is still employed at Constantinople under the direction of General Sir Collingwood Dickson.

With respect to Lieutenant Maitland Dougall, to whom my thanks are also especially due, I have only to add that, except for a short time when detained by illness at Erzeroum, he never left my side during the whole course of the campaign.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. E. KEMBALL.

No. 347.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received April 16.)

Sir, *Admiralty, April 15, 1878.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, copy of a letter from Captain Molyneux, of Her Majesty's ship "Ruby," dated the 24th March last, reporting his proceedings at Dédéagatch.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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* Captain Hugh McCalmont, 7th Hussars; Captain Henry Trotter, R.E.; Lieutenant W. H. Maitland Dougall, R.N.

Inclosure in No. 347.

Captain Molyneux to Captain Salmon.

"*Ruby*," *Dédéagatch, March* 24, 1878.

Sir,

THE "Research" has just arrived with orders for this ship to proceed to Sea immediately. I therefore write to inform you that I have remained off Dédéagatch since Wednesday.

2. The Consul reports that he has received a letter from the English Consul at Adrianople, informing him that Russian sailors have been sent down to the coast, and that it is said they have taken "a few dozen" torpedoes with them. No Russian sailors have arrived here.

3. The Russian officers told me they expected a steamer would be sent here to embark troops for Odessa in about a week or ten days, after they had finished transporting the Guard from Rodosto. They say about 60,000 will be embarked here altogether, and they seem to think each steamer will leave independently when loaded. However, this information is not official, but founded on reports, which daily arrive from Adrianople.

4. The Russians themselves appear anxious to get away from the coast, as they seem to regard a war against England and Austria as almost a certainty.

I have, &c.

No. 348.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 16.)

(No. 375.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 15, 1878.

PRINCE HASSAN leaves to-morrow for Egypt. All the Egyptian troops have now gone back, taking with them their arms, guns, &c.

No. 349.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 16.)

(No. 377.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 15, 1878.

MINISTER for Foreign Affairs authorizes me to say, that if the Greek bands in Thessaly will retire across the frontiers, the Porte will be ready to suspend hostilities, to proclaim an amnesty to all those concerned in the insurrection, to withdraw the Albanians and other irregulars from the province, and to guarantee perfect security to those who will return to their villages. His Excellency says that the Turkish Minister at Athens reports a more favourable disposition on the part of the Greek Government, and that such being the case, there will be no difficulty in restoring peace and tranquillity in Thessaly, as the Porte is fully determined to perform its undertaking to introduce the reformed administration in that province and Epirus, provided for by the Treaty of San Stefano.

No. 350.

Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 16.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Bucharest, April* 15, 1878.

IT is reported 200,000 men from Russia are to occupy this country, with the view of protecting communications, as well as to intimidate the Roumanians.

For such a force to arrive in Roumania, at least ten to twelve weeks would be requisite.

No. 351.

Consul Sanderson to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 16.)

(Telegraphic.) *Galatz, April* 15, 1878.

THE portion of the 7th Russian Corps d'Armée that was in the Dobrutscha is entering Bessarabia at Ismaïl. 6,000 infantry and two batteries have crossed between the 6th and 12th instant. A regiment of cavalry was expected on the 13th. These troops are being spread over Bessarabia at Galatz. Twenty guns, ten mortars, are ready for shipment.

No. 352.

Sir H. Parkes to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 16.)

(Telegraphic.) *Yedo, April* 16, 1878.

WITH reference to your telegram of the 13th instant, I am assured by the Japanese Government that they have no wish to sell the three vessels to the Russian or any other Government. Japanese Minister in London reported, at the end of January, that some persons not named had applied to purchase these vessels; and Mr. Reed telegraphed to the Japanese Government, at the end of February, urging them to sell them to him. Japanese Government distinctly refused. They disclaim all knowledge of Mr. Reed's principals. I reported on this subject on the 18th ultimo.

No. 353.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 16.)

(No. 107.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April* 16, 1878.

I SPOKE yesterday to M. Orczy about Reuter's telegram alluding to Count Zichy's demand about Bosnia, but could not induce him to admit that it was correct.

I asked to see Count Andrassy, but he is to-day with the Emperor, and I am not likely to see him till to-morrow.

No. 354.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 16.)

(No. 94.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April* 16, 1878.

I HAVE received following telegram from Her Majesty's Consul at Riga, dated 15th instant:—

"No German Lloyd's steamer is arrived at Riga. I have no means of ascertaining with respect to Revel or Baltic port."

I have sent a private agent to Baltic port to obtain desired information. Will telegraph to-morrow on his return.

No. 355.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 16.)

(No. 376.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 15, 1878.

PRINCE HASSAN leaves to-morrow for Egypt. All the Egyptian troops have now gone back, taking with them their arms, guns, &c.

No. 356.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Wyndham.

Foreign Office, April 16, 1878, 4 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

WITH reference to your telegram of the 15th, you may tell the Greek Government that Her Majesty's Government will do all they can for the purpose of obtaining in the ultimate settlement guarantees for the security and good government of the Christian population.

No. 357.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.[*]

Foreign Office, April 16, 1878, 6·50 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

IN answer to a question as to the truth of the newspaper report that Count Zichy had asked the Porte to permit the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Count Beust to-day denied it as an "histoire controuvée."

No. 358.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 259.)

Foreign Office, April 16, 1878.

Sir,

I MENTIONED to-day to Count Beust the report which has been published in the newspapers, and to which I have referred in my despatch No. 255 of the 15th instant, respecting the overtures said to have been made by Count Zichy to the Porte for the eventual occupation by Austria of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

His Excellency said that the report was a pure invention ("une histoire controuvée"), to which he had no hesitation in giving a distinct denial.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 359.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 260.)

Foreign Office, April 16, 1878.

Sir,

AT the interview mentioned in my despatch No. 257 of yesterday, I had impressed on Count Beust the impolicy of the separate action which, it would appear, was being pursued by Count Andrassy, and pointed out that it was an unwise waste of force, when our interests were common, to pursue a parallel instead of a common action.

His Excellency called upon me to-day, and said that he had forwarded my observations to Vienna; and that a despatch answering these remarks, as well as dealing with other points to which I had called his attention, was on its way from Vienna, and would be here before Saturday.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

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[*] A similar telegram was sent to Sir H. Elliot.

No. 360.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 17.)

(No. 413.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 12, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith an article from this day's "Agence Russe," stating that the Circular despatch of Prince Gortchakow, with the *Pro-Memorid* annexed to it, have produced a favourable impression, and that under the influence of Germany a peaceable agreement may be hoped for unless England should, in some unexpected way, once more disturb the chances of peace.

A semi-official leading article in this day's "Journal de St. Pétersbourg," which I also inclose, mentions the favourable impression created by Prince Gortchakow's Circular, but expresses surprise at the Berlin organ, "Norddeutsche Zeitung," having stated the question of submitting the whole Treaty of San Stefano to the Congress has not been answered, which the "Journal" considers is implied in the phrase "liberty of appreciation and action." This article expresses surprise at the reproach of the "Daily News" that the intentions of the Imperial Government have not been clearly stated. They have proved that the obstacles to the meeting of the Congress do not come from them, and they decline no discussion which can bring about an agreement. The English Cabinet must abandon its negative attitude, and if the Powers propose some other solution of the Eastern difficulty the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh will willingly discuss them.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 360.

Extract from the "Agence Russe."

St. Pétersbourg, Jeudi soir, le $\frac{29 \text{ Mars}}{10 \text{ Avril}}$, 1878.

LA Circulaire du Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg et le *Pro-Memorid* qui y était joint ont généralement produit une favorable impression à l'étranger.

Il se fait un travail diplomatique actif, sous l'influence modératrice de l'Allemagne, afin d'arriver à une entente pacifique, dont le Congrès serait la voie la plus naturelle.

L'amélioration que nous avons signalée dernièrement s'est donc accentuée de manière à autoriser l'espoir prochain d'une issue satisfaisante, si l'Angleterre ne prépare pas de nouveau une de ces surprises, qui ont tant de fois déjà déjoué les chances de la paix.

Inclosure 2 in No. 360.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of $\frac{\text{March 31}}{\text{April 12}}$, 1878.

Les journaux étrangers ayant eu connaissance dès hier soir du *Pro-Memorid* joint à la Circulaire Russe du 28 Mars (9 Avril), insérée dans notre dernier numéro, le télégraphe nous a apporté déjà quelques-unes de leurs impressions. Tous sont d'accord à constater que la Russie est sincèrement désireuse d'assurer la paix de l'Europe par une entente avec les Puissances sur le règlement de la question d'Orient. Cependant deux journaux, généralement bien disposés, le "Daily News" et la "Norddeutsche Zeitung," font des remarques qu'on est quelque peu étonné de rencontrer dans leurs colonnes. La feuille Allemande est d'avis que la question de savoir si tout le Traité de San Stefano sera formellement présenté au Congrès semble être restée sans réponse. Il paraît cependant que cette réponse se trouve suffisamment contenue dans la déclaration inscrite aussi bien dans la Circulaire que dans le *Pro-Memorid*, où il est dit que les Plénipotentiaires "auront tous une pleine et entière liberté d'appréciation et d'action." Cette liberté d'action n'implique-t-elle pas pour chaque Puissance représentée au Congrès la faculté de proposer n'importe quel Article du Traité de San Stefano à la discussion? Et la liberté d'appréciation ne conduit-elle pas à cette conclusion que chaque délégué pourra examiner, au point de vue de l'intérêt de son pays comme au point de vue de l'intérêt général, non-seulement chacune des stipulations de ce Traité, mais encore les conséquences qui en découleraient? Retomberons-nous dans les distinctions Byzantines qui ont déjà produit tant

de cruelles angoisses? Que Lord Beaconsfield ait taxé de "classiquement obscurs" les termes de liberté d'appréciation et d'action, c'est une de ces boutades oratoires familières à l'auteur de *Tancrède*. A notre tour, nous sommes toujours à la recherche d'un homme de bon sens, en mesure de définir la différence qu'il peut y avoir entre la communication du Traité déjà faite aux Puissances et sa "présentation" au Congrès. A moins toutefois que le sens attaché à cette expression, et que le Cabinet Anglais désavoue lui-même, n'implique une *soumission absolue* de la Russie aux décisions du Congrès. Il serait temps de mettre fin à cette guerre de mots et de réticences inavouées.

Quant au "Daily News," son appréciation a été trop brièvement mentionnée hier par le télégraphe pour qu'elle puisse être sérieusement discutée. Est-il vrai que notre confrère ait reproché au Memorandum Russe "de ne pas jeter une lumière bien claire sur les intentions" du Gouvernement Impérial? Répondant à la Circulaire de Lord Salisbury, le Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg avait à constater que les obstacles à la réunion d'un Congrès ne venaient pas de lui, que les critiques dirigés contre les Préliminaires de San Stefano reposaient sur des bases erronées, sur des préventions et des préjugés qu'en tout cas elles "auraient plus naturellement trouvé leur place au Congrès" et que le document dont il s'agit ne contenait aucune réponse aux questions de savoir "comment, en dehors des bases préliminaires posées par le Traité de San Stefano, Sa Seigneurie entend atteindre le but désiré par tous, en tenant en même temps un juste compte des droits acquis par la Russie pour les sacrifices qu'elle a portés seule, afin d'en rendre la réalisation possible."

Le Gouvernement Russe ne pouvait pas faire davantage. C'est à l'Angleterre et aux autres Puissances à décider si elles veulent porter, non pas seulement la discussion du Traité de San Stefano, mais celle de la solution à donner aux difficultés de la question Orientale, devant un Congrès, ou si elles préfèrent une discussion par correspondance. Le Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg ne se refuse à aucune discussion pouvant conduire à une entente.

Le "Standard" a si bien saisi la justesse de l'observation du *Pro-Memoriâ* transcrite plus haut, que, de crainte d'en voir sortir une possibilité d'entente, il conseille au Gouvernement Britannique de ne pas faire de contre-propositions, "parce que ce serait un piége dans lequel l'Angleterre ne doit pas tomber." C'est l'Europe, dit-il, et non pas la Grande Bretagne, qui doit décider ce que le Traité de San Stefano contient d'admissible.

Cette dernière observation serait aussi d'une parfaite justesse, si ce n'était pas le Cabinet de Londres qui a empêché jusqu'ici la réunion de l'Europe en Congrès et si son Ministre des Affaires Etrangères n'avait pas entreprise la critique détaillée du dit Traité—tout en omettant d'indiquer ce qu'il convient de mettre à sa place.

Sans nous arrêter d'ailleurs plus longtemps à ces appréciations, nous constatons, d'après les dépêches, que la presse étrangère considère la Circulaire du 28 Mars (9 Avril) comme manifestant "le désir réel d'une solution pacifique et la disposition à examiner loyalement les questions soulevées par le Traité de San Stefano."

C'est maintenant au Cabinet de St. James de sortir de l'attitude de pure négation qu'il observe à l'égard des arrangements qu'appelle la situation de l'Orient, soit en invitant l'Europe à se réunir promptement pour une délibération commune, soit en suggérant les solutions qu'il propose de substituer à celles arrêtées entre la Russie et la Turquie. La négation seule des Préliminaires de San Stefano, le renforcement constant de la flotte dans les Dardanelles et l'appel des réserves ne sauraient être considérés par l'Europe comme un hommage suffisant au droit qui lui revient, de régler les questions d'un caractère Européen; elle pourrait finir par se persuader que tout cela a pour but de substituer à ce droit les prétentions de l'Angleterre—et elle en serait médiocrement édifiée.

Qu'il nous soit permis de rendre, à tout ce débat, qui fait honte à la diplomatie Européenne, son véritable caractère. Le Traité de San Stefano n'a été qu'une forme donnée par la Russie aux conséquences de la guerre, afin d'y lier la Turquie et de se prémunir contre les refus qu'elle a toujours opposés aux vœux de l'Europe.

Si les Puissances trouvent d'autres moyens de solution, de nature à concilier leurs intérêts avec les transformations de l'Orient qu'elles-mêmes ont jugées inévitables, le Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg ne demande pas mieux que de les discuter et de modifier dans ce sens le Traité Préliminaire qu'elle a conclu, pourvu que ces solutions ne mettent pas en doute l'œuvre qui lui a coûté tant de sang, et qu'elles tiennent également un juste compte des sacrifices portés par la Russie pour accomplir ce que l'Europe elle-même a jugé nécessaire sans vouloir s'exposer aux risques inhérents à sa [illegible]

No. 361.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 17.)

(No. 378.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, April 16, 1878.

MR. CALVERT reports from Adrianople that movement of troops, artillery, and war material towards Constantinople has lately been so great as to cause suspension of the ordinary railway traffic.

Nine trains, conveying infantry, field artillery, and ammunition were dispatched on 11th instant, a large part of the garrison had left, and on the 13th no less than fifteen batteries of guns of large calibre were sent forward.

The troops are stated to be very unhealthy, typhus, typhoid, and pneumonia prevailing. Medical staff is much reduced and hospitals are in a deplorable state of inefficiency.

Above information is confirmed by Sir C. Dickson, who adds that over 20,000 Russians with 5,000 horses are now at Rodosto, and 32 field and 16 heavy guns; 10,000 additional troops are expected there. At Silivri there are over 8,000 troops, with 3,000 horses and 16 field pieces. Early arrival of 5,000 cavalry expected. Guns and *matériel* alluded to by Mr. Calvert have been arriving on 14th and 15th instant at Chataldja and Hadem-koi.

No. 362.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 17.)

(No. 379. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, April 16, 1878.

WITH reference to your telegram of to-day, I think that desire of Turkey to obtain advice of Her Majesty's Government with respect to Austrian demands and other important matter comes mainly from the Sultan, who is anxious to act as much as possible upon the counsels of England and to be with her.

I have heard nothing hitherto to lead me to suspect that the Porte is looking to military aid from us to resist Austrian demands, or to make use of our opinion in negotiation with other Powers.

Porte has now given a negative answer to Count Zichy, who seems in no way put out by it, but the contrary, and proposes to leave on Thursday to be present at his son's marriage at Pesth. I understand that it is possible that it will be denied at Vienna that any demand for the cession of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been made, and Count Zichy has been most careful to avoid anything in writing on the subject. Can Count Andrassy have made this demand in consequence of some engagement with Prince Bismarck or Prince Gortchakow, with the hope and intention that it should be refused?

Porte is quite willing to accept our advice as regards Greece. It only objects to recognize the Chiefs of the bands from Greece as belligerents and their right to speak in the name of the Christians of Thessaly and to stipulate for the future of that province and of others inhabited by Greeks.

If the Greek Government would only prevent fresh bands from crossing the frontier, and recall those who are in Thessaly, I believe that there would be no difficulty in bringing about, through the mediation of Her Majesty's Government, a satisfactory arrangement with such insurgents as are subjects of the Porte.

No. 363.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 17.)

(No. 380.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, April 16, 1878.

PRIME MINISTER yesterday informed the Sultan that he would resign unless Said Pasha, the late Secretary, who is believed to have undue influence over His Majesty, and to be intriguing against Prime Minister, was removed. I believe that the Sultan will yield, and the affair has been arranged for the present.

Rachdi Pasha, ex-Grand Vizier, has been named Minister without a portfolio, and some persons expect that he will shortly replace Prime Minister.

No. 364.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 17.)

(No. 108.)
(Telegraphic.)
Vienna, April 17, 1878.

COUNT ANDRASSY is sending by messenger a long despatch to Count Beust, for communication to your Lordship respecting the understanding to be come to for giving effect to the seven points enumerated in his note of the 29th May. He asked me whether Her Majesty's Government meant him to understand that they would make it a *casus belli* if Russia refused to limit the new Bulgaria by the Balkans.

I said to him that I could not take upon me to say what particular point Her Majesty's Government would or would not regard as a *casus belli*, but I would venture to affirm that if Austria went to war to prevent formation of a Slav State, or for any of the other six points she would run no risk of being deserted by Great Britain.

Count Andrassy says that he has no wish to recede from his former position, but before coming to a more formal understanding upon such a serious question, he is obliged to put his views more fully before Her Majesty's Government than could be done by telegraph.

No. 365.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 17.)

(No. 109.)
(Telegraphic.)
Vienna, April 17, 1878.

WITH reference to Count Zichy's negotiation about Bosnia, Count Andrassy says that he is sending to Count Beust a full explanation of his views, and of the course that has been followed.

He positively declares that the consent asked from the Porte was for occupation and not the annexation of the Province, but he assented to my remark that the two expressions would be found synonymous.

Count Zichy had been instructed to endeavour confidentially to persuade the Porte that it would be for its advantage to consent to the occupation.

Immediately after the definitive Treaty of Peace, about 180,000 Bosnian citizens at present in Austria (requested ?) to be sent to their homes, where their presence will certainly cause a renewal of troubles, encouraged by Servians and Montenegrins, which the authorities will be powerless to suppress, and it would be followed by an Austrian intervention.

Count Andrassy says that annexation of Bosnia having become a necessity for the tranquillity and preservation of the neighbouring Austrian territories, he wishes it to take place without injury to Turkey; it is very probable that Austria may be involved in war with Russia, and it would be an unfortunate complication if she had to appear as an enemy to Turkey at the same time.

No. 366.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 17.)

(No. 110.)
(Telegraphic.)
Vienna, April 17, 1878, 8 P.M.

THE increase of Russian forces in Roumania is attracting the serious attention of the Austrian Government, who have sent officers to ascertain the numbers and positions.

Count Andrassy says that although this concentration has been represented to him as directed against England in consequence of our attitude at Constantinople, he is perfectly aware of its being in fact directed against Austria, and that he will probably have to meet it by placing a force on the Austrian frontier.

No. 367.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 17.)

(No. 95.)
(Telegraphic.)
St. Petersburgh, April 16, 1878.

I AM privately informed that the Grand Duke Nicholas is about to return to St. Petersburgh. General Todleben will take provisional command of southern army.

No. 368.

Consul Kirby Green to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 17.)

(Telegraphic.)
Scutari, April 17, 1878.

LAST night one of the Turkish posts near port of Podgoritza was suddenly attacked, sustaining loss of one killed and several wounded. General here has telegraphed to Prince for explanations.

No. 369.

Consul-General Stanley to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 17, *at night.*)

(Telegraphic.)
Odessa, April 17, 1878.

I HAVE been informed that Captain Baranoff, lately of steam-ship "Russia," has gone to St. Petersburgh, where he will receive commission to purchase cruizers.

No. 370.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.)
Foreign Office, April 17, 1878.

I AM much annoyed to find Prince Bismarck's negotiations respecting the simultaneous withdrawal to equivalent distances of Russian army and British fleet have crept into some of the papers here. I know the inconvenience which this may cause, but if you hear any complaint you should know that Count Beust knew of it five days ago from Count Schouvaloff, and that nothing which gets into the Austrian Embassy here is safe from the newspapers.

No. 371.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.)
Foreign Office, April 17, 1878.

WITH reference to Mr. Wyndham's telegram of 15th, reporting orders given by Greek Government and Committees to their Officers and Agents, you should endeavour to persuade the Porte to do the same to prevent further hostilities, pending proposed negotiations.

No. 372.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

(No. 222. Confidential.)
My Lord,
Foreign Office, April 17, 1878.

I HAVE learnt with considerable annoyance that allusions have appeared in the English newspapers to the negotiations, initiated by Prince Bismarck, respecting the simultaneous withdrawal of the Russian army and British fleet to equivalent distances from Constantinople. I am aware of the inconvenience which may be caused by the

publicity thus given to secret negotiations, and think it very probable that complaints on the subject may be made at Berlin. I think it therefore desirable that your Excellency should know, in case any such complaints should reach your ears, that Count Beust was informed of the negotiations five days since by Count Schouvaloff.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 373.

Consul Henderson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 18.)

(No. 1. Political.)

Aleppo, March 28, 1878.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a despatch which I have received from the British Vice-Consul at Mersyna.

I have, &c.
(Signed) P. HENDERSON.

Inclosure in No. 373.

Vice-Consul Tattarachi to Consul Henderson.

Mersyna of Tarsus, March 25, 1878.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, about two months ago, the Turkish Government sent here about 7,000 Circassians, and scattered them over the villages and on the borders of the rivers Saurus and Pyramus.

The other day some disturbances happened in a village close to Mersyna, where two natives were killed by the Circassians. The murderers were brought before the Courts of Justice, and you may be surprised to hear that they were liberated. Often we hear of cattle being stolen, and the poor country people are complaining of their new visitors, but in vain.

The roads are unsafe, and two Arabs, Syrian merchants, on their way to Adana, were robbed on the high road and left naked.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. TATTARACHI.

No. 374.

Vice-Consul Biliotti to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 18.)

(No. 37. Political.)

Trebizond, April 1, 1878.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, copy of a letter which I have received from Mr. Consular Agent Doulcet, describing the unenviable position in which are placed the inhabitants of Samsoon, in consequence of the landing a short time ago in that town of 5,000 or 6,000 Circassian emigrants from Turkey in Europe.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ALFRED BILIOTTI.

Inclosure in No. 374.

Consular Agent Doulcet to Vice-Consul Biliotti.

Samsoun, le 27 Mars, 1878.

Monsieur,

Il nous est arrivé ces temps derniers 5,000 à 6,000 Circassiens qui ont été importés par trois vapeurs du Lloyd, lesquels les avaient reçus à Varna.

Ceux-ci se sont assez bien comportés jusqu'à présent; mais depuis quelques jours ils deviennent menaçants pour la tranquillité et la sécurité du pays, et cela parce que l'on a cessé de leur distribuer des rations de pain qui leur avaient été allouées jusque là.

Hier, ils se sont portés en grand nombre vers le Konak du Gouvernement et quelques uns de leurs chefs ont été dépêchés auprès du Gouverneur pour réclamer au sujet de cette mesure.

Le Gouverneur leur aurait répondu que c'est par ordre de la Sublime Porte qu'il a dû cesser de leur faire distribuer du pain et que celle-ci refuse même de l'autoriser à payer le prix de celui qui leur a été distribué jusqu'à présent.

Là dessus la députation aurait déclaré au Pacha qu'un grand nombre des réfugiés dont il s'agit étaient absolument sans ressources et qu'ils seraient exposés à mourir de faim si le Gouvernement ne leur venait pas en aide, ajoutant que probablement ces derniers se voyant réduits à une semblable extrémité ne reculeraient devant aucun acte pour se procurer les moyens d'éviter de la subir, &c.

Bref, le Mutessarif a télégraphié immédiatement à la Sublime Porte pour exposer la situation et demander à être autorisé à continuer les distributions de pain.

Il paraît que cette autorisation a été formellement refusée et que l'on s'est borné à inviter le Gouverneur à diriger le plus promptement possible les Circassiens sur Sivas, où ils doivent être installés définitivement. Mais ceux-ci refusent de partir en ce moment, alléguant le mauvais temps, le mauvais état des routes, &c.

Pour le moment l'on prévient les maux qui pourraient résulter de la cessation de tout secours aux Circassiens en recueillant des ressources dans la ville, et il est probable que la population sera obligée de subvenir elle-même aux besoins des émigrés pour éviter qu'ils mettent la ville au pillage. Heureusement le moment est proche où l'on peut espérer le retour des beaux jours et il est probable que le temps aidant, l'on parviendra à débarrasser la ville de cette vilaine urgeance.

Mais que deviendront les populations du dehors dans le voisinage desquelles passeront ces gens-là?

Je vous tiendrai au courant de ce que cette question pourra avoir d'intéressant.

(Signé) N. C. DOULCET.

No. 375.

Vice-Consul Biliotti to the Earl of Derby —(Received April 18.)

(No. 38. Political.)

Trebizond, April 1, 1878.

My Lord,

TSUROOKSOOLI ALI PASHA, whom I had never seen before, called on me yesterday, for the purpose of begging me to communicate to Her Majesty's Government and to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople the statements which he was about to make to me.

As your Lordship is aware, Ali Pasha and his brother Osman Pasha commanded the Laz volunteers during the last campaign, and both have an unbounded influence in the Lazistan.

They have been for some time kept at a distance from Batoum, under the pretext that they were too favourable to Russia, but Ali Pasha gave me to understand that the real motive was jealousy on the part of the Commander-in-chief.

The substance of Ali Pasha's conversation is that if it is deemed necessary to hold Batoum he answers for 15,000 Laz volunteers, whose numbers might be increased to 30,000.

He feels confident that the Laz volunteers, even without the assistance of any other regulars than artillerymen, but with the co-operation of a few vessels of war, can defend Batoum against the Russians.

The Laz, who have fought manfully for their country, do not want to hear of being handed over to Russia.

Ali Pasha, who was a month since at Constantinople, was told that the cession of Batoum was an unavoidable necessity. However, as no steps in that direction have yet been adopted, the populations of the Lazistan are still in hopes that the measure will not be carried out.

They have drawn up protests against their annexation to Russia, one of which has been sent lately to the Porte, and the other is to be presented to the Congress, if it ever takes place.

They are not likely to submit without resistance to a decision opposed to their wishes, and seem decided not to give up their arms.

Should violence be used to disarm them Ali Pasha foresees regrettable complications, on the ultimate result of which the Laz can entertain no illusions.

Ali Pasha assured me that rather than submit to Russian rule, that part of the population which can afford to do so will remove to other Turkish provinces, and that the remainder will follow the example if assisted a little by the Government.

The number of families living within the limits of the territory which is expected to be given up to Russia, that is, taking the Tsorook River as the boundary line, is about 30,000, of whom 5,000 or 6,000 only are in a position to emigrate.

I avail myself of this opportunity to inform your Lordship that the Mussulmans in this and the neighbouring provinces, who had been awe-struck at the rapid and uninterrupted disasters which had of late befallen their Empire, are now beginning to recover their spirits.

Their hatred of the Russians has reawakened with more intensity than ever, while the bitterness which they had exhibited for some time past against Europe in general, and Great Britain in particular, has given way to a revival of hopes.

They are now nearly convinced that Great Britain will furnish them with an opportunity to take revenge on the Russians for the humiliations which they heaped upon them, and look forward with anxiety at the course of events in Europe.

According to all appearances, and in spite of their sufferings during the last campaign, a fresh war in which Turkey might play a part would be very popular among the Mussulmans in this quarter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ALFRED BILIOTTI.

No. 376.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 18.)

(No. 43. Political.) *Canea, Crete, April 7, 1878.*

My Lord,

DURING the last few days there has been a lull in the military movements in this neighbourhood. The Turkish troops have not advanced beyond the river which forms the boundary between the combatants, and as a natural consequence the insurgents have remained on the defensive. There are supposed to be about 4,000 of the latter under arms on the western frontier, where the late operations have taken place, and the military authorities talk of the ease with which they could drive them away. This they might undoubtedly do, but it is certain that two or three times that number would quickly muster to oppose the onward march of the troops, who would soon begin to find it a work of difficulty to keep up communications with their base of supplies. Apokorono, meanwhile, on the opposite side, is left unmolested by the Turks, and the Christians of those parts have full liberty of access to the town.

It is easy to see that Costaki Pasha is averse from pushing matters to extremities with the insurgents, and though he sometimes uses language inconsistent with that view, I conceive it is because it is his policy to humour the Mussulmans, who regard his prudent conduct as indicative of a leaning towards his fellow Christians.

His Excellency's greatest anxiety is how to find means for feeding the large destitute Moslem population which crowd the three garrison towns of Candia, Canea, and Rethymo, where 60,000 Moslems are collected, more than half of them refugees from the interior. Their condition is becoming more and more desperate every day. The Vali has at length succeeded in obtaining the consent of the Porte to distribute 125 quarters of wheat, part of a cargo sent for the supply of the troops, among these starving creatures, and this wheat he has prudently bartered for twice that quantity of barley, which will be served out to the most indigent. His Excellency is apprehensive lest the presence in our midst of this mass of destitution should lead to grave disturbances, and if the Porte could be induced to send a cargo or two of barley to feed its famine-stricken subjects it would tend to ward off the most threatening form of danger. The Moslems of Rethymo, in organizing raids for the purpose of carrying off sheep, are mainly impelled thereto by the cravings of hunger, and large allowance ought in fairness to be made for human nature exposed to such extremes of misery. With regard to the alleged massacre of Christians at the village of Koxara, or Doxara, mentioned in my last despatch, I yesterday telegraphed to the Consular Agent in Rethymo to ask for further information, and he replied that the person he had sent to the spot to make inquiries had not yet returned. The Vali, whom I interrogated on the subject a day or two ago, declared that he had no knowledge of murderings, but only of the robbery of sheep. On this subject I shall doubtless have further information hereafter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

P.S.—*April 8.* A slight skirmish seems to have taken place at Alikianu last night.

T. B. S.

No. 377.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 18.)

(No. 44. Political.)

My Lord, *Canea, Crete, April 8, 1878.*

THE newly-appointed Provisional Government has sought to justify its creation by organizing a police and establishing Courts of Law, where summary justice is dealt out. The Christians of the district of Selino have appointed a special police force for watching over the property and growing crops of the absent Mussulman owners, and they have, for greater security, carried off the doors and windows of those houses which escaped the pillage of the zaptiés in the early days of the exodus. These they have stored in places of safety, and duly catalogued, and they declare it to be their intention to restore them to their owners at the final pacification, if no proof be forthcoming of their complicity in the destruction of the Christian villages round Canea. Similarly their crops will be garnered and restored to them, on their paying the cost of watching and the general working expenses. It seems almost too much to expect that, with anarchy stalking abroad, this equitable programme can be carried out. I have little doubt that we should hear more of the faults of the Christians, and less of their virtues, if their hereditary enemies had remained among them. But while I am disposed to receive these glowing reports with caution, there is the clearest evidence that their conduct towards the Moslem refugees has been marked, on the whole, by moderation and justice. A proof of their desire to conform to civilized usages has lately come under my own notice, which I think it a duty to put on record. When the steamship "Assyrian," belonging to Messrs. Leyland and Co., of Liverpool, ran on some rocks in Selino, in the early part of last month, the leading Chief of that neighbourhood immediately placed a guard of ten men to guard the cargo, and he acquainted me with his having done so. Although it was well-known that there were 800 sacks of flour, besides other provisions, in the hold, the guardians continued to keep a strict watch for twenty days to the entire satisfaction of the master of the vessel. Eventually the whole was swallowed up by the sea, and the ship became a total wreck. Their conduct is the more praiseworthy because there was no established Government on the spot to enforce the law, and, as your Lordship is aware, the entire population is suffering dire distress from the want of wholesome food, bread having become an article of diet within the reach of very few.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

No. 378.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 18.)

(No. 419.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 13, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship a semi-official article from this day's "Journal de St. Pétersbourg," denying the truth of a statement circulated by the Agence Reuter, of a second Circular having been addressed by Prince Gortchakow, in reply to the Austrian objections to the Treaty of San Stefano.

This article further refers to a suggestion made by the "Times," that Prince Bismarck should use his influence to induce Russia to submit the Treaty to the Congress, and to listen to the objections of other Powers. It observes in reply that, o

is proved by the *Pro-Mémorid*, the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh is ready to discuss any portions of the Treaty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 378.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of April $\frac{1}{13}$, 1878.

NOUS commencerons aujourd'hui par signaler une honteuse manœuvre dont "l'Agence Reuter" de Londres aura été, nous l'espérons pour son honneur, la victime seulement et non point la complice. Elle a expédié hier une dépêche disant que les journaux du soir publient le résumé d'une Circulaire du Prince Gortchakow répondant point par point aux objections de l'Autriche-Hongrie contre les préliminaires de San Stefano, tout comme cela avait été fait pour les objections de l'Angleterre. La dépêche contient ce résumé, qui se termine par une phrase assez communatoire. Or, pareille Circulaire n'existe pas. Il n'a pas été expédié d'autre Circulaire que celle du $\frac{28\ \text{Mars}}{9\ \text{Avril}}$ répondant à la Circulaire du Marquis de Salisbury.

Quels sont les "journaux du soir" qui se sont prêtés à cette mystification? Pourquoi "l'Agence Reuter" ne les nomme-t-elle pas? Est-ce tout simplement en vue de spéculations de Bourse que cette pièce apocryphe a été propagée, ou bien s'agit-il de produire quelque part de l'agitation, de provoquer un vote, de précipiter une résolution? Nous le saurons peut-être lorsque nous aurons sous les yeux les journaux qui ont servi à cette publication.

En attendant, bornons-nous à répéter que la Circulaire en question n'existe pas, que d'ailleurs elle n'avait pas de raison d'être, le Cabinet de Vienne n'ayant pas, que nous sachions, transmis ses demandes par cette voie aux Puissances signataires du Traité de Paris. Les pourparlers avec le Gouvernement Austro-Hongrois se poursuivent amicalement et dans les voies ordinaires.

Nous pourrions nous en tenir aujourd'hui à ces quelques mots, si nous n'avions à relever une assertion du "Times" d'hier, qui tendrait à prouver qu'on persiste, à Londres, à vouloir embrouiller les affaires dans un but que nous nous abstiendrons même de caractériser. Le "Times" demande au Prince de Bismarck, "d'amener la Russie à soumettre le Traité au Congrès et à prêter l'oreille, à cette réunion, aux objections sans réserve des autres Puissances."

Qu'est-ce à dire? On tient donc absolument à rester sourd et aveugle à la fois? L'auteur de cette étrange exhortation n'a donc pas lu tout ce qui a été écrit sur la matière et en dernier lieu le *Pro-Memorid* du $\frac{28\ \text{Mars}}{9\ \text{Avril}}$? Ce *Pro-Memorid* démontre par le fait que le Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg ne se dérobe à aucune discussion. Il fait comme le philosophe qui, pour prouver le mouvement, se lève et marche. Il n'y a pas un seul des points de la dépêche de Lord Salisbury qu'il ne discute et il invite l'Europe à formuler son opinion sur les solutions à adopter. Que celles des Puissances qui ont des objections ou des contre-propositions à opposer au Traité de San Stéfano les fassent connaître; on pourra alors comparer, et si une entente raisonnable s'établit, la paix définitive pourra se conclure sur ces bases. D'ici là ce Traité reste et doit rester pour la Russie le seul terrain sur lequel elle puisse se placer, car on ne saurait raisonnablement lui demander de l'abandonner avant qu'il n'ait été remplacé par un autre arrangement arrêté d'un commun accord et tenant compte de ses intérêts légitimes et des résultats, si chèrement payés, de la dernière guerre.

No. 379.

M. Coumbiccano to M. Catlinaki-Catargi.—(Communicated to the Marquis of Salisbury by M. Catlinaki-Catargi, April 18.)

(Télégraphique.) *Le 15 Avril*, 1878.

D'APRÈS les rapports que nous recevons journellement des préfets de nos districts d'au delà du Pruth, il résulte que toute la Bessarabie a été et continue de plus en plus à être occupée militairement par des troupes Russes. Toutes les villes et bourgs et même des villages auraient reçu des garnisons Russes. A l'heure qu'il est nos autorités civiles ne sont pas encore troublées dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions. Pour aujourd'hui je me borne à vous communiquer le fait brutal, en vous priant de le

porter à la connaissance du Gouvernement Anglais. Le Président du Conseil est arrivé et j'espère vous communiquer bientôt la décision qui sera prise relativement à cette occupation illégale d'une partie de notre sol.

Pour être soumis à Lord Salisbury.

No. 380.

Lord Odo Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 18.)

(No. 23. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, April 17, 1878.*

BOTH my Austrian and French colleagues have been informed of Prince Bismarck's proposal for a simultaneous withdrawal to equal distances of the British fleet and Russian army.

As far as I could find out their information came from Russia.

No. 381.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 18.)

(No. 96.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April 17, 1878.*

COLONEL WELLESLEY requests me to send the following:—

"The Emperor told me to-day that he had accepted in principle the proposal made through Berlin for withdrawal of Russian army and English fleet from the vicinity of Constantinople.

"His Majesty is evidently most desirous of peace, but both he and his Ministers appeared convinced that Her Majesty's Government are bent on (it?), an impression I endeavoured to dispel, stating at the same time my conviction that the policy adopted by the British Cabinet would be firmly adhered to."

No. 382.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 18, 10·20 A.M.)

(No. 23.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, April 17, 1878, 11 P.M.*

WITH reference to my telegrams of the 9th and 11th instant, and to Lord A. Loftus' of the 13th, Count Corti says that, without desiring M. Nigra to make a formal communication to Prince Gortchakow, he told him that, in his opinion, the Russian Government should consent to unrestrained discussion of the whole Treaty, but it seems that M. Nigra has thought it better to say nothing.

No. 383.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 18, 9·30 A.M.)

(No. 24.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, April 17, 1878, 11·50 P.M.*

I HAVE just been informed that a Russian Colonel and Major, and eleven other officers of lower rank, all of the Engineers, leave Rome to-night for Naples, sail for Pireus in French boat on Monday, intending to proceed to Suez, and re-enter Russia by Persia.

No. 384.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 18.)

(No. 67. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April* 18, 1878.

AGENT I have sent to Revel reported that large three-masted steamer, with funnel painted white, with black ring, arrived in roadstead. On the 11th, 600 seamen, with 66 officers, arrived at Baltic port. Men embarked in another large steamer.

Four hundred more expected at same port shortly. Great secrecy maintained. Agent unable to obtain names of two steamers.

From another source I learn that 600 Russian sailors left Baltic port in a German steamer for Baltimore, and that fast steamers have been purchased in America as war cruizers. Eleven naval officers have previously gone to America.

No. 385.

Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 18.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Secret.) *Bucharest, April* 18, 1878.

IT would appear that a communication has been addressed to this Government to the effect that the Emperor would be satisfied with cession of that part of Bessarabia east of Lake Jalpac.

I am unable to ascertain what compensation is offered.

In consequence of small encouragement experienced by Minister President at Vienna and Berlin, it is thought that a Russian tendency is again influencing this Cabinet.

No. 386.

Vice-Consul Cooper to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 18.)

(Telegraphic.) *Mostar, April* 18, 1878.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 9th April to Consul at Bosna-Serai, San Stefano Treaty can be read so as not to include Novi-Bazar. The Mekinje stream skirts the south-east of town, and joins the Raska below the castle.

No. 387.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 18.)

(No. 381.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 18, 1878.

I LEARN from a good authority that the Prime Minister has resigned. His successor not yet appointed, but will probably be Sadic Pasha, at present Director of Customs.

No. 388.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 18.)

(No. 382.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 18, 1878.

CONSUL BLUNT telegraphs following from Volo, dated yesterday :—

"State of affairs here improving. Rising in Mount Pelion suppressed. Most of the Greek bands are withdrawing, and concentrating in positions this side of Greek frontier. About 22,000 Ottoman regular troops occupy Thessaly with a little artillery and horses. Bashi-Bazouks are being dismissed and sent to their homes. Ottoman authorities have issued amnesty, and show conciliatory spirit, but pacification very difficult to bring about so long as Greek bands remain in the province, and Greek Government

does not co-operate to that effect. Design of parties here to spread about reports that English Government favours the insurrection, and the removal of Greek fugitives by our ships-of-war strengthens this impression.

No. 389.

Consul Kirby Green to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 18.)

(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, April* 18, 1878.

MONTENEGRO endeavours to throw responsibility of encounter of the 16th on the Turks, and proposes that intercourse lately resumed between inhabitants of two countries should cease for the present.

No. 390.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April* 18, 1878.

COUNT BEUST communicated yesterday Count Andrassy's new proposal for Congress. We did not discuss it. I told Count Beust that views hitherto expressed by Austria applied only to Europe, that England had also important interests in Asia, and that I must reserve entire freedom of Her Majesty's Government in regard to that portion of the question. I said that even with reference to European portion considerable difficulty was caused to Her Majesty's Government by attitude of Austria.

France and Italy, although they wish us well, take little part in the affair; Germany, however benevolently disposed, is bound by special ties to Russia. The view, therefore, taken by Her Majesty's Government of the importance of a Congress must be considerably affected by the disposition of Austria towards them, and from Austria we can obtain nothing definite.

No. 391.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 263. Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 18, 1878.

THE Austro-Hungarian Ambassador brought me yesterday a renewed proposal from Count Andrassy for the assembling of a Congress. I reserved for a future occasion any expression of my opinion as to the contents of this paper, of which a copy is herewith inclosed for your Excellency's information, but in the conversation which ensued, I observed to Count Beust that the views hitherto expressed by Austria applied only to Europe; that England had also important interests in Asia, and that I must reserve the entire freedom of Her Majesty's Government in regard to that portion of the question. I added that even in respect to the European portion of it considerable difficulty was caused to Her Majesty's Government by the attitude maintained towards them by Austria.

We know, I said, that France and Italy, although they wish us well, take little part in this affair, and that Germany, however benevolently disposed towards us, is bound by special ties to Russia. The view, therefore, taken by Her Majesty's Government of the importance of an early meeting of the Congress must be considerably affected by the views of Austria upon the questions at issue; and from Austria they can obtain nothing definite.

Count Beust thereupon assured me that the Austrian Government wished to state their views clearly, and that he should receive despatches on Saturday which would give a full explanation of them. He invited me in the meanwhile to put questions which he would undertake should be plainly answered.

I said that I was ready to accept his challenge, and that I would ask him some questions when he came on Saturday to communicate Count Andrassy's despatches; and I added that I would defer any reply to the invitation to facilitate the meeting of

the Congress by the new formula which his Excellency had just communicated to me, until I should have seen the expected despatches.

Count Beust requested that the invitation might be considered as a strictly confidential communication, and might not even be made known to the German Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 392.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

(No. 225. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, April* 18, 1878.

THE German Ambassador called upon me to-day by appointment. With respect to the negotiations for the withdrawal of the English and Russian forces from the neighbourhood of Constantinople, his Excellency could only state that the Russians had accepted the line through Adrianople proposed by Her Majesty's Government and the principle suggested by Prince Bismarck of compensating by a "start" or proportionate notice to be stipulated beforehand, for the difference between the time required for the voyage by sea from Besika to Constantinople and that required for moving troops from Adrianople to that city. The Russians had only accepted this suggestion in principle, and were, Count Münster said, making inquiries as to the details of the arrangement on the spot.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 393.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 506.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 18, 1878.

I TRANSMIT herewith, for Excellency's information, copies of correspondence* containing suggestions for facilitating telegraphic communication between Constantinople and Western Europe, which formed the subject of your Excellency's telegram No. 332 of the 27th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 394.

Lord Tenterden to Lieutenant-General Sir A. Kemball.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 18, 1878.

I AM directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, recording the services rendered to you during the recent campaign in Asia by Captain Hugh McCalmont, Captain Henry Trotter, and Lieutenant W. H. Maitland Dougall, R.N., and I am to state to you, in reply, that his Lordship has had very great satisfaction in bringing the contents of your letter to the notice of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for War and of the Board of Admiralty.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

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* From Pole Office, March 30; from Admiralty, April 2 and 15.

No. 395.

*Lord Tenterden to Major-General Vivian.**

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 18, 1878.

I AM directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to transmit to you, to be laid before Secretary Colonel Stanley, a copy of a letter received from Lieutenant-General Sir Arnold Kemball,† reporting the services rendered to him during the recent campaign in Asia by the officers whose names are mentioned in the margin.‡

I am to add that Sir A. Kemball's letter has also been communicated to the Board of Admiralty and India Office.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 396.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 459. Most Secret.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April* 8, 1878.

COUNT ZICHY informed me last Monday that he had been directed by his Government, by telegraph, to inform the Porte that Austria-Hungary could not accept the Treaty of San Stefano, and especially that part of it which referred to the formation of a Bulgarian Principality. This new Slav State was, he was instructed to say, dangerous to the very existence of the Turkish Empire, which it was essential to the interests of Austria to maintain as a European Power, and consequently she was prepared to preserve to the Sultan the territory to the south of the Balkans proposed to be included in Bulgaria. Count Zichy added that he had not yet received his full instructions as to the communication which he was to make to the Turkish Government; but that he expected them on the following Friday. He had, however, availed himself of the opportunity that had been afforded to him by an audience of the Sultan to inform His Majesty of the substance of Count Andrassy's telegram. His Majesty had expressed himself greatly pleased with the friendly disposition shown towards him by the Austro-Hungarian Government.

Count Zichy said that he had further asked the Sultan, in the name of his Government, what His Majesty was prepared to do in case Austria was ready to give Turkey moral, or material, help in freeing herself from the conditions imposed upon her by Russia.

His Excellency observed that he did not expect His Majesty to give an immediate answer to a question of so grave a nature. His Majesty, however, at once replied that it was his intention in case a war broke out between Russia and any other Power to maintain strict neutrality; but at the same time to reserve to himself entire freedom of action and to await events.

As Count Zichy made me promise to consider his communication as strictly confidential and private, begging me not to make any official use whatever of it, I did not feel myself at liberty to inform your Lordship of it until I could ascertain something on the subject from some other source. On the following morning the Sultan having requested to see me, informed me of what had passed with the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador. His Majesty's statement corresponded in every respect with what Count Zichy had told me, with the exception that the Sultan said that his Excellency had observed that Austria was ready to support the interests of Turkey, if Turkey would in her turn support those of Austria. His Majesty added that he had asked Count Zichy what the Austrian interests to which he alluded were, but the Ambassador said that he could give no explanation on the subject.

On Friday I saw my Austrian colleague. On my asking him whether he had received the instructions which he was expecting, he admitted that they had reached him, but did not appear disposed to say more on the subject. His manner led me to believe that they had not given him much satisfaction.

* Similar letters were addressed to Admiralty and India Office.
† No. 416.
‡ Captain Hugh McCalmont, 11th Hussars; Captain Henry Trotter, R.E.; and W. H. Maitland Dougall, R.N.

Yesterday Safvet Pasha informed me that Count Zichy had asked to see him on the previous day (Saturday), and had made to him, in pursuance of instructions from Count Andrassy, a formal statement to the following effect: that Austria was desirous of maintaining the Turkish Empire in Europe, as it was essential to her interests to do so. The new Slav State to be formed by Russia out of the European territories of the Sultan, and the additions that were to be made to Servia and Montenegro under the Treaty of San Stefano, would produce territorial changes which would be dangerous to her. She was, therefore, prepared to use her best efforts to obtain for Turkey a large portion of the territory which Russia had included in the new Bulgarian Principality, a rectification of the frontiers assigned by the Treaty to Servia, and a considerable reduction in the limits given to Montenegro. Austria expected some return for the services that she was thus ready to render to Turkey. Under the new arrangements Bosnia would no longer be of any advantage to Turkey. The Porte could derive no revenue from the province for some years to come, and the Turkish Government would be put to a vast expense in compensating the Bosnian Christians who had taken refuge in Austria and elsewhere, and in resettling them in their native districts. Under these circumstances he (Count Zichy) was instructed to propose to the Porte to cede to Austria the Provinces of Bosnia and the Herzegovina when she had obtained from Russia for Turkey the modifications of the Treaty of San Stefano to which he had referred.

Safvet Pasha asked Count Zichy to what part of the territory proposed to be included in the new Bulgarian Principality he referred as that which Austria was prepared to obtain for Turkey, and whether the efforts that Austria stated she was willing to make were to be understood as peaceful efforts at a Congress, or to be made in some other way, or whether they included a war with Russia. To the first question the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador replied that he had no direct information on the subject, but he presumed that the part of the new Bulgaria to which Count Andrassy referred meant some territory in the neighbourhood of Salonica. "But," observed Safvet Pasha, "that would be of little advantage to Turkey if she could not obtain the whole Province of Roumelia to the south of the Balkans." The views of Count Andrassy, my Austrian colleague remarked, might be somewhat in that direction, but he could not say more. As regards the second question, Count Zichy was either unwilling or unable to explain the nature and extent of the efforts of Austria to which Count Andrassy had referred.

Count Zichy further stated that he had been instructed to press the demand that Ada Kaleh should be immediately placed in the possession of Austria, without the demolition of the fortifications. The fortress would be restored to Turkey when the arrangements dependent upon the Treaty of San Stefano were finally concluded, and could then be evacuated in conformity with the terms of that Treaty. Safvet Pasha remarked to the Austrian Ambassador that this was a question which concerned Russia more than Turkey, and that Austria should consequently address herself to Russia with respect to it. Count Zichy replied that Count Ignatieff had been spoken to on the subject at Vienna, and had offered no objection to the island being given over to Austria. However, Safvet Pasha insisted that the Porte could not take the step required of it without first communicating with the Russian Government, and that he could not therefore at that time comply with the demand.

Safvet Pasha told me that he had not given any reply to the proposal of Count Andrassy that Turkey should cede Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria. It was true, his Excellency said, that at the beginning of the war the Porte would not have been unwilling to make some such arrangement with Austria if it could have obtained material aid from her in the war with Russia; but that now the state of affairs was changed, and he could not give an opinion on the subject off-hand.

After the explicit declarations publicly given by Count Zichy, in pursuance of instructions from his Government, that Austria had no intention of annexing Bosnia, it is not surprising that he should have felt some hesitation in communicating to me the substance of the instructions he received last Friday, and which, I cannot but believe, took him by surprise. His feelings and opinions as a Hungarian are entirely opposed to the addition of a considerable Slav population to that already forming part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and, judging from the language he has constantly held to me on this subject, I cannot doubt that he sees in the proposed annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria a serious danger to the interests and liberties of his country.

As the information contained in this despatch comes to me in the most confidential

manner, I venture to express a hope that your Lordship will not allow it to transpire at Vienna that you have received it from me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 397.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 461.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 9, 1878.*

CONSUL SANDWITH, besides writing to me directly with reference to the affairs of Crete, sends me, I believe, copies of his despatches to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on this subject. I have not thought it necessary to inform Lord Derby on every occasion that I have taken action on Mr. Sandwith's communications. I may state generally that I have never failed to bring to the notice of the Porte the statements they contained when they related to the government of the island, or to the conduct of the authorities, and to urge upon the Turkish Ministers, in the strongest terms, the necessity of restraining the license of the irregular troops and of the Mussulman population, of affording the fullest protection to the Christians, and of making such reforms in the administration as they are entitled to demand, and which are necessary for the security of their lives and property. I have pointed out, at the same time, that in the interest of Turkey herself the largest and most liberal concessions should be made to the Christian population. It was mainly through my representations that Costaki Pasha (Adossides), a Christian Cretan gentleman, who had been pointed out to me by Mr. Sandwith as the person best qualified to deal with the grievances of the Christians, was sent to Crete as a Commissioner to inquire into and report upon the subject, and was subsequently appointed Governor-General of the Island. I have done my best to support him here, and to urge upon the Porte the expediency of acting at once and resolutely upon his recommendations.

I will not venture to say that had the Greek Government allowed Costaki Pasha's mission fair play, and had not intrigued to make it a failure, it would have been entirely successful in conciliating the Christian population, in removing the differences that existed between them and the Mussulmans, and in restoring peace and tranquillity to the island; but I cannot but believe, putting aside the statements of the Porte, which some may consider one-sided and untrustworthy, and judging from Mr. Sandwith's reports alone, that Costaki Pasha would have been able to do much in these directions. According to Mr. Sandwith, it is not the desire of the Christians of Crete, certainly of a large majority of them, that the island should be annexed to Greece. They would have been satisfied, at one time, with the loyal execution by the Porte, with certain amendments, of the Organic Law which had been conceded to them. They may now require a more complete "autonomy," whilst still remaining a part of the Turkish Empire. They would, according to Mr. Sandwith, who appears to be a very impartial and intelligent observer, prefer an arrangement of this nature to a connection with Greece, which, from the experience of government in that country, they do not think would contribute to their well-being, prosperity, and real liberty.

It would appear to have been the object of the Greek Government not only to cause trouble and difficulties to the Porte by bringing about an insurrection in the island, but to drive the Christian population into making a demand for annexation to Greece. With those objects the Greek Consul seems to have availed himself of his official position to encourage rebellion and to provide the means for it. Agents, armed bands, money, and munitions of war have been freely allowed to leave Greece for Crete, with the connivance of the Greek Government, and the general direction of the insurrection has been in the hands of its Consul. The facts upon which I found this statement have been fully set forth by Mr. Sandwith in his despatches, and cannot, I fear, admit of question.

In his despatch No. 37 of the 1st instant, addressed to your Lordship, Mr. Sandwith complains of the conduct of Osman Pasha, and of his habits. He will be removed, and is to be replaced, I believe, by Salih Pasha, of whom I have a good report, and who will be accompanied by an English officer, Colonel Briscowe, who holds an appointment in the Turkish gendarmerie.

I have done my best to induce the Porte to govern Crete with justice, and to

perform scrupulously its engagements to the Christian population. It must be confessed, in justice to the Turkish Ministers, that I have found them ready to listen to my representations; and, although, as usual, somewhat late, to take such measures as are necessary to remove the grievances of the Christians. They not unjustly or unreasonably complain that all their efforts to improve the condition of the island and its administration, and to carry out the Organic Law, have been frustrated by the persistent intrigues of the Greek Government and its Consul, whose recall they have in vain endeavoured to obtain. It may remain for Her Majesty's Government, in concert with other European Powers, to recommend the form of government which should hereafter be imposed upon the island to secure complete protection and good government to its Christian, as well as its Mussulman, inhabitants. I would venture to express my hope that the wishes of the population themselves may be impartially ascertained, and that they may not be forced into any political combination which may tend to interfere with their liberties, and may not contribute to their general welfare and prosperity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 398.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 19.)

(No. 461.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April* 9, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch addressed to me by Consul Reade reporting the occupation by force of the British Consulate at Rustchuk by the Russians. Mr. Reade requests me to take such steps as I may consider the case to merit, both as to the offence offered to Her Majesty's Government, and the injury done to himself, but I have no means of making representations on these subjects to any Russian authority. Should your Lordship think proper to take up Mr. Reade's case, it is to St. Petersburgh that such representations should, I presume, be made, if they are to meet with any attention.

Mr. Reade states that amongst the property belonging to Her Majesty's Government seized by the Russians are the oldest part of the archives, which he had been unable to bring away. Her Majesty's Government has, at least, a right to demand that they should be returned. It appears to me that Mr. Reade may also have a claim for compensation for his property which has been destroyed.

Mr. Reade states to me in a private letter that the British Consulate was the only one in Rustchuk forcibly taken possession of by the Russians.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 398.

Consul R. Reade to Mr. Layard.

Varna, April 6, 1878.

SIR,

I REGRET to have to report to your Excellency that the Russian Civil Governor of Rustchuk, General Zolotaroff, on the 2nd instant, took forcible possession of Her Majesty's Consulate at Rustchuk, whilst the British flag was flying thereon, and notwithstanding the protestations of the guards in charge of it; and on establishing them in his Chancellerie the General ordered the Russian flag to be hoisted thereon.

They also took possession of my furniture, some of which was removed to the house of a Russian Major, who is Chief of Police.

I received the foregoing information from the Italian Consul there, in a private letter, and who, finding himself utterly unable to do anything, the Civil Governor having refused to receive a letter I had addressed him, and copy of which is herewith inclosed, went to Bucharest to inform Colonel Mansfield of the matter, in case he could intervene with some superior Russian authority there.

I had previously transmitted a simple letter of protest to be delivered to the Governor only in case the house was taken, copy of which I have also the honour to inclose, but this again was repelled.

The property belonging to Her Majesty's Government consists of the oldest parts

of the archives, which I was unable to bring away, and mine consists of my furniture, library, carriage, and other property.

When a part of my property was about to be taken to the Russian Major's house, one of the guards offered some opposition, and a receipt was offered to him, but on his asking the Italian Consul what he should do he was advised to confine himself to saying, "that he was forced to yield to violence."

It may be proper that I should inform your Excellency that the Consulate of Rustchuk, on the departure of the Consuls in June last, were all left in charge of Cavasses and guards, who were ordered to keep the flags flying daily, so that the officers of the Russian batteries that fired on Rustchuk should be able to know them. All were respected by the Turks, and also by the Russians, up to the 2nd inst.

It now only remains for me to hope that your Excellency will take such steps as you may consider the case to merit, both as to the offence offered to Her Majesty's Government, and the injury done to myself, involved in this gross act of unwarrantable violence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. READE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 398.

Consul Reade's Protest against Occupation by Russians of the British Consulate.

Consulate de Sa Majesté Britannique, pour le Vilayet de Danube,
Varna, le 3 Avril, 1878.

Le Soussigné, Consul de Sa Majesté Britannique pour Rustchuk, ayant appris que l'autorité locale a l'intention de prendre possession de la maison Consulaire Britannique dans cette ville, a l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de son Excellence le Général Commandant-en-chef à Rustchuk que le dit Consulat, sur lequel flotte le pavillon Britannique, qui se trouve dans la charge de Georgi Cassandin Ouveni, et lequel contient de propriété tant du Gouvernement Britannique que du Soussigné, n'a jamais été ni supprimé ni abandonné, ni par le Gouvernement ni par le Soussigné.

Par conséquence, comme le Soussigné peut attendre les ordres de son Gouvernement de retourner à son poste, il a encore l'honneur de prier son Excellence le Commandant de vouloir bien donner des ordres afin que la dite maison Consulaire Britannique soit laissé libre.

(Signé) R. READE.

Consulate de Sa Majesté Britannique, Varna,
le 12 *Mars*, 1878.

Le Soussigné, Consul de Sa Majesté Britannique, a l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de son Excellence le Général Commandant-en-chef à Rustchuk que la maison Consulaire Britannique à Rustchuk, qui se trouvait sous la protection du pavillon Britannique, vient d'être occupé sans avis préalable par les autorités de cette ville, et par conséquence le Soussigné se voit forcé de protester auprès de son Excellence contre ce fait en réservant tous les droits de réclamer en temps et lieu l'indemnité pour les effets et mobiliers appartenant à son Gouvernement, aussi bien que les siens, dont il pose dès aujourd'hui la valeur se levant à la somme de 1,500*l.*

En faisant cette protestation le Soussigné ne peut que se conformer aux avis du Général Zimmerman, qui a trouvé mal à un sujet Britannique qui a été victime de la patrouille Russe à Gabedjih n'a pas protesté immédiatement auprès de l'officier commandant le détachement.

Ce protêt a été fait à Varna ce 12 Mars, 1878, et remis au gardien du Consulat Britannique à Rustchuk pour remettre à son Excellence le Commandant-en-chef en cas de nécessité.

(Signé) R. READE.

No. 399.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 467. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 9, 1878.*

COUNT ZICHY informs me that his Government has been much embarrassed by the entrance into Austrian territory of about 30,000 refugees from Antivari and the surrounding districts in consequence of their occupation by the Montenegrins. These refugees include Catholic Albanians and Mussulmans. They cannot go back to their homes, as their houses, fields, cattle and other property have been seized by the Montenegrins, who are not disposed to surrender them. As the Austrian Government cannot compel them to return, it is under the necessity of supporting them in addition to the large number of fugitives, amounting to above 200,000, who had quitted Bosnia and Herzegovina in consequence of the insurrection and war in those provinces, and had taken refuge in Austria.

Count Zichy said that he had been instructed by his Government to advise the Porte to maintain the positions now held by its troops on the confines of the country in the actual occupation of the Montenegrins, as if those positions were abandoned the Montenegrins would at once push forward and take possession of as much Turkish territory as they were able. Scutari, Podgoritza, and other places might fall into their hands, and there would be a fresh exodus of the Catholic and Mussulman populations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 400.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 469.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 10, 1878.*

I RECEIVED yesterday by the post your Lordship's despatch No. 427 of the 1st instant. In the afternoon I called upon the Prime Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs being absent from the Porte, and read to him your Lordship's despatch, leaving him a copy of it. His Highness received the communication with the highest satisfaction, and requested me to thank your Lordship for it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 401.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 481.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 11, 1878.*

I AM informed that the Russian authorities have recently ordered the "Tehorbadjis," or Christian heads of towns and villages, in Bulgaria and Roumelia, to assemble at Adrianople in order to sign a Petition addressed to the Emperor thanking His Majesty for what he had done for the Bulgarians. A large number of them are said to have refused to do so, and were put into prison and otherwise ill-treated in consequence. One of the principal Christians of Rustchuk, a man well known in the country, having refused to yield to threats, was condemned to be sent to Siberia, and was at Bucharest on his way thither when he was released on account of the effect which his treatment had produced upon public opinion.

This information comes to me from a good source, but I cannot answer for its trustworthiness.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 402.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 482.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 11, 1878.*

WITH reference to the correspondence with Her Majesty's Embassy, relating to direct telegraphic communication between Constantinople, Malta, and England, I have the honour to inclose copy of a Convention concluded between Izzet Effendi, the Director-General of the Ottoman Telegraphs, and the agent of the "Eastern Telegraph Company."

The Sultan, to whom I had an opportunity of speaking a short time ago on this subject, was good enough to give orders in my presence that the arrangement suggested by Her Majesty's Government should be carried out without delay. But although the Convention has been concluded, it requires the approval of the Council of State, to whom it has been submitted. Unfortunately that body is not remarkable for the rapidity of its proceedings. I am doing what I can to hasten them in this instance, but I understand that an opposition against the Convention is being raised by Russia, and that some of the members of the Council of State may have been induced to reject it. I am informed that General Staal, the Director of Russian field telegraphs, has stated that it has been made entirely in the interests of England, and that consequently it was not favourably viewed by Russia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in 402.

Convention.

CONVENTION entre son Excellence Izzet Effendi, Directeur-Général des Télégraphes et Postes Ottomans, agissant au nom du Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman, et MM. W. P. Binney, Directeur Divisionnaire, et Georges Serpos Effendi, Agent, représentants et fondés de pouvoirs de "L'Eastern Telegraph Company, Limited," de Londres, il a été convenu et arrêté ce qui suit :—

ARTICLE I.

Le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman accorde à l'Eastern Telegraph Company, Limited, de Londres, le droit exclusif de poser et d'exploiter pendant une période de cinquante ans des câbles sous-marins entre les points suivants :—

1. De Constantinople à Ténédos.
2. De Ténédos à Salonique, avec faculté d'atterir le premier câble à un ou à plusieurs points des Détroits de Dardanelles.

En outre le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman reconnaît et approuve la pose des câbles ci-après établis :—

1. De Besika à Ténédos.
2. De Ténédos à Chio.
3. De Syra à Candie (Ile de Crête).

Le droit d'atterissement à Syra ayant été déjà obtenu du Gouvernement Hellénique.

Pour la pose de tous ces câbles, le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman payera à l'Eastern Telegraph Company une fois seulement une subvention de 12,000*l.* sterling effectives.

ARTICLE II.

Le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman s'engage à diriger par les lignes de la Compagnie :

1. Toute la correspondance télégraphique internationale en provenance de la Turquie d'Asie pour l'Europe, et celle de l'Europe à destination de la Turquie d'Asie entrant par la frontière Otrante-Vallona.

2. Toutes les dépêches en provenance et à destination des Indes et des pays au delà des Indes échangées par la susdite voie.

En outre des correspondances ci-dessus le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman s'engage de diriger par les susdits câbles autant que possible :—

1. Toutes les autres dépêches internationales de la Turquie d'Europe devant transiter par les frontières de Valona et de Volo.

2. Toutes les dépêches intérieures destinées à suivre les voies de Salonique et de Smyrne.

ARTICLE III.

La Compagnie s'engage de son côté à transmettre par les câbles de Constantinople-Ténédos-Salonique :—

1. Avec demi-taxe toutes les dépêches officielles internationales du Gouvernement Impérial.

2. Et gratuitement toutes les dépêches officielles intérieures jusqu'à concurrence de 18,000 mots par mois, passé ce nombre il sera payé à la Compagnie demi-taxe pour l'excédant.

Toutes les dépêches de service, soit de l'Administration Impériale, soit de la Compagnie, seront transmises en franchise de taxe.

ARTICLE IV.

Ces câbles seront conformes à ceux déjà posés par la Compagnie dans l'Archipel Ottoman et seront composés de trois modèles.

1. Câble d'atterissement.

2. Câble de moyenne profondeur.

3. Câble de grande profondeur.

Chaque mille câble aura une résistance d'isolation minimum de 1,000 megohms par mille marin, et la conductibilité ne dépassera pas le maximum de 12 ohms par mille. La capacité électrostatique sera de 0·3 microfarads par mille. Ces mesures seront prises aussitôt la pose.

ARTICLE V.

Le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman accorde en outre à "l'Eastern Telegraph Company" le droit d'établir une ligne aérienne entre Sitia Candie, Candie Rethymo, Rethymo Canée (Ile de Crète). Cette ligne une fois établie sera cédée au Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman, qui l'exploitera et l'entretiendra à ses propres frais et pour son propre compte. Par suite de l'établissement de cette ligne la Compagnie aura le droit de supprimer ses stations de la Canée, Rethymo, et Sitia, en retirer le personnel et faire relier ses câbles indirects, ayant seulement une station centrale à Candie pour l'exploitation des lignes.

(*a.*) Candie-Alexandrie.

(*b.*) Candie-Zante-Otrante.

(*c.*) Candie-Syra.

(*d.*) Candi-Rhodes (par la ligne terrestre de Sitia).

L'Administration Télégraphique Impériale accordera à la Compagnie toutes les facilités en son pouvoir pour l'établissement de cette ligne aérienne.

Toutefois à la suite d'une interruption, et en cas de nécessité absolue, le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman aura le droit d'avoir recours derechef à l'usage des câbles comme précédemment.

ARTICLE VI.

Le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman s'engage de son côté à prolonger immédiatement et à ses frais la ligne aérienne de Koumkalé jusqu'à la station de la Compagnie à Bésika.

ARTICLE VII.

La taxe afférente au câble Constantinople-Ténédos-Salonique est fixée à 6 fr. à partager en parties égales entre le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman et la Compagnie.

Quant aux taxes afférentes aux autres câbles ci-dessus mentionnés, soit

intérieures, soit internationales, leur quotité et leur partage seront ultérieurement déterminés d'un commun accord entre les deux parties contractantes.

ARTICLE VIII.

La Compagnie s'engage à poser les susdits câbles et à les ouvrir à la correspondance, sauf le cas de force majeure, dans un délai maximum de trois mois à partir du jour de la ratification de la présente Convention.

ARTICLE IX.

La Compagnie aura le droit d'avoir des bureaux télégraphiques à Constantinople, Ténédos, Bésika, Salonique, Candie (Ile de Crète), ainsi qu'aux points d'atterissements dans les Détroits. Ces bureaux seront desservis en langue Turque et en langues étrangères par des employés appartenant à la Compagnie, choisis et payés par elle. Dans chacun de ces bureaux le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman aura le droit, s'il le juge nécessaire, de nommer un fonctionnaire chargé de surveiller la transmission des correspondances. Le service du guichet ainsi que celui de la remise à domicile des dépêches dans les bureaux de Constantinople-Salonique, ainsi qu'aux différentes autres localités où il existe déjà un bureau du Gouvernement Impérial, seront faits par les employés de l'Administration Télégraphique Impériale Ottomane.

ARTICLE X.

Les lignes aériennes, ainsi que les câbles fluvieux ou souterrains destinés à relier les câbles en eux ou aux stations de la Compagnie, seront établis par elle. Elle aura également à sa charge leur entretien et leur réparation, ainsi que l'entretien et la réparation de tous les câbles sous-marins qui font l'objet de la présente Convention.

ARTICLE XI.

Les points d'atterissement des câbles seront choisis d'un commun accord entre le Gouvernement Impérial et la Compagnie, et à cet effet l'Administration Télégraphique Impériale désignera un fonctionnaire muni d'un Firman spécial pour obtenir des autorités locales toute l'assistance nécessaire pendant la pose des câbles, la construction des lignes terrestres et des câble-houses et pour vérifier le parfait fonctionnement de chaque section de ces câbles.

ARTICLE XII.

Dans le cas où les câbles qui font l'objet de la présente Convention ne suffiraient pas pour la transmission des dépêches la Compagnie s'engage à prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires afin d'en augmenter la capacité et le nombre, s'il y a nécessité.

ARTICLE XIII.

La subvention indiquée à l'Article 1, sera payé par la Gouvernement Impérial à la Compagnie, de la manière suivante :—

1. 8,000 livres déposées à la Banque Impériale Ottomane seront payées aussitôt après la pose du câble entre Constantinople et le point choisi par la Compagnie dans les Détroits des Dardanelles.

2. 2,000 livres après la pose et le fonctionnement du câble entre le point d'atterissement de Constantinople et celui de Salonique.

3. 2,000 livres trois mois après le fonctionnement de tous ces cables. En cas de retard dans le paiement des deux dernières échéances le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman sera tenu de payer à la Compagnie de 12 pour cent par an.

ARTICLE XIV.

Si une des sections désignées à l'Article I venait à être interrompue et l'interruption dépassait six mois la concession relative à cette section deviendra nulle et non avenue. La section ainsi interrompue deviendra sans aucune compensation ni indemnité la propriété du Gouvernement Impérial, lequel aura le droit d'en faire tel usage qu'il jugera convenable.

Cependant le délai de six mois sera prolongé à douze mois dans tous les cas où la Compagnie serait obligée pendant les travaux de réparation d'ajouter de nouveaux morceaux de câbles.

ARTICLE XV.

Le matériel des câbles des lignes aériennes et des bureaux nécessaires pour l'établissement, l'exploitation, l'entretien des communications créées par la Compagnie en vertu de la présente Convention sera exempt de tous les droits de douane. Les bâteaux à vapeur de la Compagnie chargé de l'établissement et de l'entretien des communications télégraphiques seront exemptés des droits sanitaires, de phares, et de port.

ARTICLE XVI.

Le Gouvernement Impérial se réserve le droit de concéder des lignes sous-marines à une autre Compagnie, soit pour rejoindre deux points dans les eaux de l'Empire qui ne sont pas déjà reliés entre eux, soit pour relier un point situé dans les eaux de l'Empire avec un point situé dans les eaux d'un autre Gouvernement en dehors des points mentionnés dans la présente Convention, et celle du $\frac{24}{4}$ Novembre, 1870; mais il est tenu de faire connaître au préalable par écrit à "l'Eastern Telegraph Company" les offres et les conditions en vertu desquels cette autre Compagnie propose d'établir de nouvelles lignes, un délai de deux mois est accordé à "l'Eastern Telegraph Company," pour l'acceptation ou le rejet des propositions qui auraient été faites, afin que "l'Eastern Telegraph Company" ait toujours la préférence.

ARTICLE XVII.

La Compagnie s'engage à appliquer à la correspondance télégraphique transmise par les câbles les stipulations et les clauses de la Convention Internationale de Paris, révisée à St. Pétersbourg, ainsi que celle du règlement y annexé, le dressement et l'éclaunge des comptes se fera également suivant les prescriptions de la susdite Convention.

ARTICLE XVIII.

La Compagnie sera soumise à toutes les lois et règlements en vigueur dans l'Empire Ottoman ainsi qu'aux prescriptions de ces lois, par contre le Gouvernement s'engage à donner aide et protection à la Compagnie pour l'établissement et l'entretien de ses câbles, lignes et bureaux.

ARTICLE XIX.

Si pour des motifs de force majeure et entièrement indépendant de la volonté de la Compagnie la pose du câble entre le point d'atterissement dans les Détroits et l'Ténédos ne pourra pas être effectuée, et afin que la ligne Constantinople-Salonique puisse être ouverte à la correspondance, l'Administration Télégraphique Impériale Ottomane s'engage à mettre provisoirement à la disposition de la Compagnie un fil aérien entre le point d'atterissement dans les Détroits et sa station de Bésika.

ARTICLE XX.

Les malentendus qui pourraient survenir entre l'Administration Télégraphique Impériale et la Compagnie par suite de l'exécution des Articles stipulés dans la présente Convention seront jugés à Constantinople par deux arbitres qui seront désignés de part et d'autre; dans le cas où ces arbitres ne tomberaient pas d'accord, le Conseil d'Etat prononcera en dernier ressort.

Fait à Constantinople en double expédition, le $\frac{3\text{ May}}{21\text{ Apr}}$, 1878.

Sous réserve d'acceptation.

(Signé) M. IZZET, *Directeur-Général des Postes et Télégraphes.*
W. P. BINNEY, *Directeur Divisionnaire, Fondé de Pouvoirs de "l'Eastern Telegraph Company, Limited," de Londres.*
G. SERPOS, *Agent, Fondé de Pouvoirs de "l'Eastern Telegraph Company, Limited," de Londres.*

No. 403.

Mr. Erskine to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 30.)

My Lord,

Stockholm, April 15, 1878.

I THINK it right to mention to your Lordship, that just as His Swedish Majesty was starting for Heidelberg, one of the Stockholm papers announced that "for some time past His Majesty had been intending to appoint a Commission to consider the best means of protecting the approaches of our fortresses against hostile fleets, and it is said that the members of a Commission for that purpose were appointed at the Council held on the 12th instant."

Although no mention of this measure has yet appeared in the official paper, I feel no doubt that the statement is true; but I should think there is little prospect of anything being actually done this year towards strengthening the national defences of these coasts, as some time must necessarily elapse before the Commission can decide upon the new works which are to be undertaken; and it is not at all sure that, in the present financial condition of the country, the Diet would care to vote the necessary funds before adjourning next month.

The approaches to Stockholm and Karlskrona are already strongly fortified, or in process of fortification, and I presume, therefore, that the works to be strengthened must be those at Slitö, on the north-east coast of the Island of Gothland, and others in that direction.

As yet neither General Björnstjerna, nor any other official person, has spoken to me as to the policy to be adopted by this country in the event of hostilities between Great Britain and Russia, and I have not thought it necessary to introduce the subject without instructions from your Lordship, because the Swedish Government have already, of their own accord, taken an opportunity of declaring that in case of war, Sweden and Norway will observe the most scrupulous neutrality.

During the Crimean War, the Swedish Government, as your Lordship is, of course, aware, were always ready to display what may be termed a "benevolent neutrality" towards England, or something more, but henceforth, if I am not mistaken, it will be found that these kingdoms may be counted upon to perform their duty as neutrals, but that is all.

I may take this opportunity of informing your Lordship that an article has recently appeared in a paper called the "Fädernesland," charging the King and his Ministers, as well as the upper classes generally, in no measured terms, with partiality for Russia; but the paper in question is little read in respectable circles, and it is habitually so scurrilous and personal in its remarks, that no one attaches much importance to its allusions to political questions of the day. Amongst other improbable statements to be found in this article, is one to the effect that in well-informed quarters it is reported that a short time ago a mixed Swedo-Norwegian Council was suddenly summoned at 6 o'clock one morning, in reference to some mysterious demand on the part of Russia. Such Councils are, it is true, in the habit of meeting from time to time, but there would have been no occasion for summoning it at so unusual an hour, and I altogether disbelieve the truth of the story.

I have, &c.

(Signed) E. M. ERSKINE.

No. 404.

Lord Odo Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 268. Most Confidential.)

My Lord,

Berlin, April 14, 1878.

PRINCE BISMARCK has communicated to me the telegrams exchanged between himself and the German Ambassador in London respecting the friendly suggestions he has made to Her Majesty's Government that the British fleet and the Russian forces should be simultaneously withdrawn from the neighbourhood of Constantinople, with a view to facilitating negotiations.

His Highness told me that the line from Dedeagatch to Adrianople and Medin, proposed by your Lordship to Count Münster, was not thought acceptable at St. Petersburgh, and he had, in consequence, telegraphed again, both to St. Peters-

burgh and to London, to try to bring about an agreement between the two Governments.

I said that it would be impossible for Her Majesty's Government, in view of public feeling, to take a less distance than Adrianople, because Adrianople was considered nearer to Constantinople than Besika Bay, and the railway speedier than the water-way, and the possible impediments from batteries and torpedoes more formidable than any that could be interposed on a railway.

Prince Bismarck replied that the Russian Government had equally to take public feeling and strategy into consideration, but that if a sincere desire for peace really animated both Governments, they would, he hoped, not risk the whole for mere points of detail.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 405.

Lord Odo Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April 19.*)

(No. 270.)
Berlin, April 17, 1878.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship the accompanying despatch which I have received from Lieutenant-Colonel Methuen, Her Majesty's Military Attaché at this Embassy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

Inclosure in No. 405.

Lieutenant-Colonel Methuen to Lord Odo Russell.

(Secret.)
Berlin, April 16, 1878.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform you in a conversation I had this morning with a general officer, whose information has always been reliable, I learnt from him that he yesterday spoke with a surgeon holding a high position in Berlin, and who has just returned from Odessa.

He stated that the Russian army is in a very bad state: the troops are nothing better than untrained recruits; the want of officers is great; that this accounts for the untrained state of the men.

It follows that the artillery is in very bad order, since the men are unable to serve the guns properly.

Further, the army is suffering terribly from typhus fever.

It is the opinion of the surgeon, from what he saw, that the Russian army is in an unfit state to go to war.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PAUL METHUEN, *Lieutenant-Colonel, Military Attaché.*

No. 406.

Lord Lyons to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April 19.*)

(No. 302. Very Confidential.)
Paris, April 18, 1878.

My Lord,

M. WADDINGTON spoke to me yesterday of the possibility that a Congress for the settlement of the Eastern question might still be held.

He said that according to the information which he received from Berlin, Prince Bismarck seemed to be playing the part which he had assigned to himself, that of an honest broker, and to be endeavouring to bring all parties to terms. Whether Prince Bismarck was acting heartily in the matter M. Waddington could not pretend to determine. There were people who supposed that his Highness was doing only just

what was necessary to cover the responsibility of Germany, and that after playing this game for a month or two he might retire, and declare that having endeavoured in vain to bring the parties to an understanding, he must leave them to fight the quarrel out.

At present, however, the appearance was that the Prince was exerting himself sincerely and with some effect to pave the way to a Congress; and this being the case it was, in M. Waddington's opinion, very desirable that the several Powers should at once determine upon the course they would take in such an assembly.

For his own part he was most desirous to come to an understanding with Her Majesty's Government, in the hope that in most questions France and England might act together. He begged me to suggest to your Lordship that a timely interchange of ideas should take place between the two Governments.

Having said so much, M. Waddington proceeded to express, in an unofficial and speculative manner, his own personal opinions on some of the points which would have to be determined by the Congress.

He spoke first of the retrocession to Russia of the part of Bessarabia of which she had been deprived by the Treaty of Paris. The conduct of Russia towards the Roumanians had, he said, been shabby and ungenerous in the extreme, and had given rise to a feeling of indignation throughout Europe. Still the question was in itself one in which Austria was primarily interested; and his answer to the representations which had been made to him by the Roumanians had always been that it was for Austria to take the lead in regard to it. He did not suppose that this was one of the points on which France and England would deem it necessary to come to a breach with Russia. The recovery of the territory in question was a point on which it was believed the Emperor Alexander's heart was set more than on matters of much greater real importance; and means might, no doubt, be found of rendering it compatible with proper securities for the navigation of the Danube.

I asked M. Waddington whether the French engineers had examined with care the exact value of the control over the Danube which would be acquired by Russia if she obtained the frontier line specified in the XIXth Article of the Treaty of San Stefano: that is to say, the thalweg of the Kilia Branch and the Sfareo Stambul mouth. Had it been considered whether Russia would command facilities for impeding the access to the Danube by the Sulina or other channels, and for forming a superior navigable channel, and establishing a port within her own new frontier?

M. Waddington answered that he did not know that any special study of these questions had been made, but that he believed that the freedom of the navigation of the Danube might be secured by extending the jurisdiction of the European Commission higher up the river, the object being (if I understood him rightly) to withdraw from the control of Russia the points at which the various branches which form the Delta diverge from the main stream.

I said that the questions I had suggested appeared to me to be worth examining; although I was also of opinion that the navigation of the Danube was a matter which primarily and chiefly concerned Austria.

M. Waddington then proceeded to speak of the limits of the proposed Principality of Bulgaria. On one point respecting them he personally held a very strong opinion. He could never bring himself to consent to their being extended to the Ægean. He could hardly conceive it possible that France could subscribe to an arrangement which would virtually give Russia a naval station, and, perhaps, a naval arsenal at Kavalla, or some other port in the Mediterranean. He was particularly anxious to learn the opinion of Her Majesty's Government on the question of allowing a Russian fleet to establish itself in the Mediterranean. For his own part, he conceived that the interest of France was most strongly opposed to allowing anything of the kind.

This declaration naturally led M. Waddington to speak of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. This was, he said, a question on which he particularly hoped for united action between France and England. His own view was that the arrangement of 1871, so modified as to suit existing circumstances, was the best; that is to say, he thought that, as a general rule, the Straits should be closed to the ships of war of all nations, but that power should be left to the Sultan to open them in a case of emergency.

I asked him whether there was not a danger that any power left to the Sultan would be exercised under the dictation of Russia; and I suggested for his consideration whether a more effective safeguard against Russian aggression might not be found in giving free access to the Black Sea to the fleets of all nations.

M. Waddington answered that he thought that public opinion in France might be

reconciled either to the closing of the Straits equally to all nations, or to the opening of them equally to all nations. He could understand that access to the Black Sea, and to the Asiatic coast of it in particular, might be of importance to England; but, on the other hand, he thought that the chief interest of France was to exclude the Russian Black Sea fleet from the Mediterranean altogether. As to depriving the Porte of the right to open the Straits to ships of war in an emergency, M. Waddington conceived that if the Sultan was to be left at Constantinople he must be allowed the right to summon the fleet of a friendly Power to his aid in a case of extreme need.

M. Waddington reminded me that in all he had said he was only expressing his own personal views "academically."

He concluded by telling me that he was very desirous to ascertain the sentiments of the Italian Government with regard to preventing the establishment of Russia as a naval Power in the Mediterranean, and he begged me to suggest to your Lordship that it would be more easy for Her Majesty's Government than for the Government of France to elicit the opinion of Italy on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 407.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received April 19.)

Admiralty, April 18, 1878.

Sir,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the annexed copy of a telegram from the Naval Commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure in No. 407.

Admiral Hornby to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Telegraphic.) *Ismid, April 18, 1878, 4·35 P.M.*

YOUR telegraphic communication of 17th received. Have directed purchase of tug accordingly.

Have received from the Ambassador following details of the Russian army in Roumelia. Army threatening Constantinople collecting at San Stefano and its neighbourhood and Tchataldja, 65,000; army corps in front (of) Gallipoli, Keshan, Kadikoi, and Maltgara, 18,000; Rodosto and Silivria (a central position, and where stores can be landed easily), 32,000; Philippopolis and elsewhere, 14,000; total, 129,000 men.

No. 408.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received April 19.)

Admiralty, April 19, 1878.

SECRETARY to the Admiralty presents his compliments to the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and begs to forward a copy of a telegram received to-day from Admiral Hornby, dated 19th April.

Inclosure in No. 408.

Admiral Hornby to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Telegraphic.) *Ismid, April 19, 1878, 1·35 P.M.*

RUSSIAN war steamers have lately been a great deal in the neighbourhood of Prince's Island. My opinion is that they are noting the position of the new telegraph cable with the view of cutting it if war is imminent.

Ambassador is here in the "Hellcon." He was (? informed) last night of change of Turkish Ministry unfavourable to English interests.

No. 409.

M. Cogalniceano to M. Callimaki-Catargi.—(Communicated to the Marquis of Salisbury by M. Callimaki-Catargi, April 19.)

(Télégraphique.) *Le 17 Avril, 1878.*

FAITES connaître au Gouvernement Anglais que le soi-disant retour des troupes Russes par la Roumanie est devenu une véritable occupation, surtout dans la Bessarabie Roumaine. Bucharest est, à la lettre, cerné par un corps d'armée. Les conflits entre les autorités militaires Russes et nos autorités augmentent de plus en plus et prennent un caractère inquiétant pour nos populations et pour nos institutions. Entretenez en le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères et communiquez moi le résultat de vos démarches. Le Gouvernement s'occupe sérieusement de cette affaire et se propose de prendre une décision après avoir consulté la représentation nationale. J'aurai soin de vous tenir au courant de ces événements et de nos décisions.

No. 410.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 383.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 18, 1878.*

SADYK PASHA, Prime Minister; Sheikh-ul-Islam Mollah Bey; Safvet and Kiani Pashas retain their posts; all other Ministers changed, but names will not be known until to-morrow.

Izzet Pasha will probably be appointed Minister of War, and Ibrahim Pasha, late Governor of Trebizond, Minister of Marine.

Upon Embassy Dragoman offering my congratulation to new Prime Minister, his Highness assured him of his sincere sympathies with England; and the Minister for Foreign Affairs subsequently stated that he is prepared to follow entirely the advice of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the insurrection in Thessaly.

Russians have stated their readiness to evacuate Erzeroum, but insist in return upon the immediate cession of Batoum, Shumla, and Varna.

Porte intends to temporize in order, if possible, to gain time, but it fears that in spite of all its efforts an ultimatum may shortly be received.

I amused the views expressed in your telegram of the 16th instant with regard to Bosnia to be communicated to Minister for Foreign Affairs, who consequently informed Count Zichy to-day, on the eve of his departure, that Ada Kaleh would be given up to Austria.

No. 411.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Télégraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Foreign Office, April 19, 1878, 1 A.M.*

PRINCE BISMARCK has been carrying on friendly negotiations with this Government and Russia, having for their object the simultaneous removal of the fleet to Besika and the army to Adrianople and Dédéngatch.

Russia has assented in principle, subject to certain stipulations as to notice to be given by our fleet if it wishes to re-enter.

You should inform Sultan that we can only carry out this project on receiving from him formal undertaking to permit us to re-enter Dardanelles if Russians should return to vicinity of Constantinople.

No. 412.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Foreign Office, April* 19, 1878, 2 A.M.

COUNT MUNSTER informed me Russians had accepted in principle our Adrianople line, subject to proportional notice to be given by our fleet; but were carrying on communications as to details with Constantinople.

No. 413.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 19.)

(No. . Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Ismid, April* 19, 1878.

SULTAN has himself written to me that, although compelled to make a Ministerial change, his line of conduct, as known to me, will be in no way changed. His Majesty expresses a wish to see Mr. Sandison privately to-day.

I am at Ismid, but return early to-morrow morning.

No. 414.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 510. Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 19, 1878.

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Prince Bismarck has been carrying on friendly negotiations with Her Majesty's Government and with that of the Czar, which have had for their object the simultaneous removal of the British fleet from the Sea of Marmora to Besika Bay, and of the Russian troops in the neighbourhood of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles to a line which should follow the railway from Dédéagatch to Adrianople, and thence in a straight line to Midia, on the Black Sea.

Subject to certain stipulations as to the notice to be given by our fleet to the Russian Commanders, in case it should wish to re-enter the Sea of Marmora, the Russian Government have assented in principle to this proposal.

In making the Sultan acquainted with the character of these negotiations, I request that your Excellency will state to His Majesty that, in order to enable Her Majesty's Government to carry out their share in the project, it will be absolutely necessary that they should receive from His Majesty beforehand a formal undertaking that he will permit the British fleet to re-enter the Dardanelles if the Russians should return to the vicinity of Constantinople or that of Gallipoli.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 415.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Taylour Thomson.

(No. 36.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 19, 1878.

YOUR despatch No. 17 of the 14th February has been received and laid before the Queen, and I have to convey to you my approval of the steps which you took to bring to the notice of the Persian Government the ill-treatment to which the Armenian Christians in the Province of Karadagh have been subjected by the tribe of Chilibeanlou.

Her Majesty's Government have learnt with satisfaction that the Persian Government have issued strict injunctions for an inquiry into the circumstances of these outrages.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 416.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Consul Abbott.

(No. 1.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 19, 1878.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 7 of the 20th February last, addressed to my predecessor, and I have to state to you that I approve the step you have taken to call the attention of the Foreign Office Agent at Tabreez to the tortures inflicted by Mahmoud Khan upon the Armenian inhabitants of Karadagh.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 417.

Consul Sanderson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 20.)

(No. 30. Political.)
My Lord, *Galatz, April* 4, 1878.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 20, Political, of the 30th ultimo, on the subject of military movements, I have the honour to report that I have received information that on the 30th March one battery of Russian artillery crossed from Toultcha to Ismail; on the 31st March one battalion of the 141st Russian regiment of infantry with the head-quarter Staff of the regiment arrived at Ismail from Toultcha; and on the 1st April one squadron of dragoons. On this last-mentioned date a battery of artillery left Ismail for Kilia, and there remained at Ismail the following force, viz.:—

Roumanian, 160 Calarashi (cavalry); 200 Dorobanti (infantry).

Russian, 2 battalions infantry (about 1,700); one squadron dragoons; one battery field artillery.

The gun-boat "Stefan ul Mear" left Galatz yesterday; the "Fulgerul" is to-day moving up and down the river; she has passed Galatz twice, the last time towards Ibraïla.

The Russians are still anxious to procure coal; one of their agents stated to-day that if he could only procure forward cargoes, price would not be much object.

A vessel expected to arrive in a few days, the "Olga," of Liverpool, has been chartered to take 450 tons of biscuits to San Stefano for the Russian troops.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PERCY SANDERSON.

A copy of this despatch has been sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

No. 418.

Acting Consul Calvert to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 20.)

(No. 1. Political.)
My Lord, *Adrianople, April* 8, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that since yesterday Russian infantry of the line, said to form part of a body 18,000 strong, have been coming in from Slimnia. The men composing this reinforcement are, for the most part, if not wholly, young recruits. Their ulterior destination is not known.

The number of troops previously in garrison here is estimated at 12,000.

The sickness and mortality among these and the troops further north has been very great; and I am assured that during several weeks the death-rate at Adrianople alone was as high as sixty to eighty a-day. Owing to the sanitary measures adopted of late it has now fallen to ten or fifteen. The prevailing maladies are typhus and typhoid fever.

No steps have been taken so far towards arming the works raised by the Turks under General Bluhm for the defence of this town. On the contrary, as those works were, from the first, left without protection by the Russian military authorities, they

are gradually falling into ruin, the gabions and woodwork being carried away and used for fuel by the troops and townspeople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND CALVERT.

No. 419.

Sir E. Thornton to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 20.)

(No. 91. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Washington, April* 8, 1878.

WITH reference to Lord Derby's despatch No. 40 of the 20th ultimo, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, about three weeks ago, an announcement appeared in a New York newspaper to the effect that Captain Sjemetschkin was coming to the United States to purchase steamers for the Russian Government.

Rear-Admiral Gove Jones took note of it at the time, and has since been making inquiries upon the subject, but as yet without having ascertained any facts with regard to it. Admiral Jones, however, left Washington a few days ago for the purpose of visiting Baltimore, Wilmington, Philadelphia, Mr. Roach's establishment at Chester, New York, and perhaps Boston, at all which places he will make inquiries as to the sale of steamers to, or their construction for, the Russian Government or Russian subjects.

I have also communicated upon the same subject with Her Majesty's Consul-General at New York, and Consuls at Philadelphia and Boston.

On the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of the 5th instant, I addressed to Her Majesty's Consuls in the United States the Circular of which I have the honour to inclose a copy. In acknowledging the receipt of this Circular, Mr. Archibald states that two Russian officers are said to be now in New York, but he has not yet ascertained in what they are engaged. A copy of Mr. Archibald's despatch is inclosed herewith.

I also telegraphed in cypher the substance of your Lordship's telegram to Her Majesty's Consul at San Francisco, and wrote to Admiral Gove Jones, informing him of its contents.

I have the honour to inclose an article from the "Washington Post" of the 4th instant, alluding to a report from St. Petersburgh that citizens of the United States had applied to the Russian Government for letters of marque in the event of war with England. The article erroneously supposes that Russia did not sign the Declaration of Paris, but still dissuades Americans from accepting letters of marque, and adds that there are many other illegal ways of making money which do not involve nearly so great a risk of getting hanged at a yard-arm.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 419.

Circular addressed to Her Majesty's Consuls in the United States.

(Confidential.)
Sir, *Washington, April* 5, 1878.

I BEG to inform you that I have to-day received a telegram from the Marquis of Salisbury to the effect that Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburgh believes that, in the event of war with England, Russians will endeavour to purchase fast steamers in this country for the purpose of preying upon British commerce.

It is added that an American Agent is now in that city charged with the sale of certain steamers now lying in United States' ports as a matter of purely private speculation. It is thought that San Francisco will be the port selected as a base of operations.

I have therefore to request you to be watchful with regard to any sales of such vessels, and to report to me without delay any information which you may obtain. You may be aware that several months ago a rumour was current that the Pacific Mail Steam-ship Company desired to sell their steamers to the Russian Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 419.

Consul-General Archibald to Sir E. Thornton.

(Confidential.)
Sir, *New York, April* 6, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Confidential Circular despatch of the 5th instant, with reference to the probable purchase by Russians in this country (in the event of war) of fast steamers for the purpose of preying on British commerce; and instructing me to be watchful with regard to any sales of such vessels, and to report to you without delay any information on this subject which I may obtain. Also calling my attention to a rumour current some months since that the Pacific Mail Steam-ship Company desired to sell their steamers to the Russian Government.

In reply, I have the honour to state that I shall use my best endeavours to watch the sales of vessels at this port, and to report to you such information as I may obtain in regard to any transfers which may be made to persons for or on account of the Russian Government.

I am informed that two Russian officers are now in this city, but have not as yet ascertained the particular duties with which they are engaged. I have no doubt they are negotiating for supplies of war material and possibly may be inquiring into the practicability of purchasing fast steamers to prey on our commerce, and may be authorized to furnish facilities for the outfit of vessels to be sent from the United States to places where they can be commissioned as privateers.

I have reason to believe that the Pacific Mail Company are still offering their vessels, or some of them, to the Russian Government. But these vessels are, I understand, not so suitable or efficient as others which might be procured by Russian Agents at lower prices.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. M. ARCHIBALD.

Inclosure 3 in No. 419.

Extract from the Washington "Post" of April 4, 1878.

A REPORT comes by cable from St. Petersburgh that the Russian Government has received several requests from citizens of the United States for letters-of-marque in case of hostilities between England and the former. A letter-of-marque is an ancient contrivance, and was outlawed by a European Congress several years ago, along with the abolishment of privateering. From a moral point of view, a ship sailing under letters-of-marque is a little worse than a privateer and a little better than a pirate. Privateering is bad enough, but it has this advantage, that the men who engage in it are subjects or citizens of the country under whose flag they operate, and hence there is some colour of patriotism in their motive. But a letter-of-marque is a ship manned by subjects of a neutral Power, and commissioned by one belligerent to prey upon the commerce of the other. Thus the cupidity which prompts men to sail under letters-of-marque is unrelieved by even the shadow of patriotism which redeems the privateer. We presume there are a great many unemployed cut-throats and bummers of a nautical turn of mind hanging about our seaboard cities who would like to get on board a fast steamer, hoist a Russian flag, and take to the high seas under a letter-of-marque from the Czar, for the purpose of preying upon the rich commerce of the world, which happens to be carried mostly in English bottoms. Such a cruize might be profitable, and it might not. One of its chief discomforts would be the fact that the English navy contains ten or twelve corvettes built of steel, carrying from eight to twelve guns each, and engined to run nineteen or twenty knots an hour. These corvettes will, of course, be on the look-out for letters-of-marque, and what is worse, they will sail under instructions according to the law laid down by the Congress of Brussels, which placed privateers and letters-of-marque on the footing of common pirates, and hence not entitled to the amenities of war. We are not certain whether Russia was a party to that agreement or not, but we believe she was not, and that she has a right to issue letters-of-marque. Still, we would not advise any well-disposed citizen to accept one with a view to preying upon English commerce in the event of war. There are a great many other illegal methods of making money which do not involve half so many risks of getting hanged at a yard-arm.

No. 420.

Consul-General Eldridge to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 20.)

(No. 32. Political.)
My Lord, *Beyrout, April 10, 1878.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 31 of the 4th instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a despatch and its inclosure which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, forwarding a nominal list of persons who might be available to act as interpreters.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

Inclosure in No. 420.

Consul-General Eldridge to Mr. Layard.

Sir, *Beyrout, April 10, 1878.*

WITH reference to my despatch of the 4th instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith a nominal list of persons who might be available to act as interpreters. This list is by no means complete, as there are many other living in various parts of the country who might be included, but who are not known to me. There is also a large number of available young men who are thoroughly acquainted with French, though unable to speak English.

Your Excellency will understand that the ages and qualifications given in this list are only approximate, and I do not undertake that all will be willing to serve, as I have made up the list without consulting them, though I have little doubt at least half would be very glad to offer their services, should they be required.

It may not be unnecessary to mention that all are able to ride on horseback, which is the usual means of locomotion in this country.

I have not mentioned the religious persuasions of the persons included in the list, who belong to the various Christian denominations prevalent in Syria, with the exception of a few who are Druzes, which fact is remarked against their names.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

No. 421.

Consul-General Eldridge to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 20.)

(No. 33. Political. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Beyrout, April 10, 1878.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 24 of the 26th ultimo, reporting on the state of public feeling in Syria, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that since the date of that despatch a considerable change has taken place in consequence of recent telegrams from Europe, and that the possibility and probability of an English occupation of Syria are now freely discussed by all classes of the population.

The general tendency, as far as I can learn, is greatly in favour of such an occupation, and the desire to see it accomplished is strong and almost universal, especially amongst the native Mussulmans, and, in my opinion it could be effected without difficulty or without opposition on the part of the inhabitants, in case it should become necessary to take this step, though the Turkish authorities might possibly make a show of resistance for form's sake.

A force sufficient to garrison the principal places and to maintain order in the country would be all that would be required, provided there is no foreign enemy to oppose the occupation, and I believe a considerable number of men would be ready to volunteer for service under the British flag, should it be desirable to raise auxiliary forces.

The regular militia of Mount Lebanon, consisting of Christian and Druze volunteers, numbers about 800 men, all well drilled, well armed, and well officered; in addition to these there are about 160 men, who are partially drilled and organised, and are attached to the different district Governors as police. There would also

probably be about 1,000 men, at least, who will have served their time and obtained their discharge from the Lebanon militia, the greater part of whom would probably be ready to rejoin, so that a force of about 2,000 well drilled men for police and other duties would be at once available, and could, I believe, be thoroughly relied upon in almost any emergency.

A considerable number of recruits could be raised amongst the Christians and Druzes of the Lebanon, the Moslems of the towns and agricultural districts, the Metualis, and the Ansariyehs who would be attracted by the prospect of regular pay and good treatment.

Altogether I estimate that, if recruiting is judiciously conducted, a force of 20,000 men could be raised in a very short time from the various tribes in Syria, who, with experienced officers to drill and lead them, would soon be converted into effective troops, especially as irregular cavalry.

If Her Majesty's Government contemplate eventually an occupation of Syria, I venture to suggest that one or even two more small vessels of war should be sent to the coast in order that the flag may be more frequently shown in the different ports by way of preparation; should, however, no such intention exist, I consider, for the present at least, that the "Coquette" is sufficient for the protection of British lives and property.

I trust your Lordship will not think that I have exceeded the bounds of discretion or my duty in reporting on these matters. If, however, in your opinion I have done so, I hope my excess of zeal will be forgiven, on account of my devotion to the public service which has induced me to write the present despatch, of which I do not send a copy to Her Majesty's Ambassador, as it would have to pass through a foreign post office, while in forwarding it to London, it will go direct from my office in the usual sealed mail bag to the General Post Office.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

No. 422.

Mr. Vivian to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 20.)

(No. 118. Political. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Cairo, April 10, 1878.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 114 of the 6th instant, the Khedive informs me that the Sultan has consented to waive his demand that the Egyptian troops should leave their arms behind them in Turkey, but His Majesty now asks for their horses.

The troops are beginning to arrive in Egypt, about 15,000 men having already landed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. VIVIAN.

No. 423.

Mr. Vivian to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 20.)

(No. 120. Political. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Cairo, April 13, 1878.*

THE Khedive informed me in confidence to-day that he had been much annoyed at receiving a telegram from Talaat Pasha, his Agent at Constantinople, stating that the Sultan had expressed a desire that the remainder of the Egyptian troops who had not yet embarked for Egypt should remain in Turkey for the present. He could not understand the reason of this demand, and he had telegraphed to his son, Prince Hassan, to endeavour to get the troops away as quickly as possible.

His Highness seems most unwilling, in view of the critical position of affairs in the East, to leave any Egyptian troops shut up in Turkey or at the disposal of the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. VIVIAN.

No. 424.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 20.)

(No. 128.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 15, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship an article from this day's "Journal de St. Pétersbourg," reproducing from the official organ of the Ministry of Finance a circular addressed by the Minister to the Provincial Treasuries, dated 24 March / 5 April, authorizing, at the instigation of the Society for the Protection of Russian Maritime Trade, a public subscription for the acquisition and armament of cruizers. The Governors of provinces are herein instructed to give orders to the Provincial Treasuries to receive such donations and to transmit them to the above-named Society at Moscow—once a month.

The "Cronstadt Messenger" states that the Municipal Council of that town has granted from the Municipal Fund a sum of 3,000 roubles for the purchase of cruizers, and that a further sum of 1,000 roubles had been privately subscribed for the same purpose.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 424.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of April $^{3}/_{5}$, 1878.

"L'INDICATEUR du Ministre des Finances" publie la circulaire suivante, adressée par son Excellence le Ministre des Finances aux Trésoreries Provinciales, en date du 24 Mars, sub No. 27 :—

"La Société d'Encouragement de la Marine de Commerce Russe fait des démarches pour obtenir l'autorisation d'ouvrir une souscription en vue de l'acquisition et de l'armement de croiseurs maritimes. Le Ministre de l'Intérieur a communiqué ce fait par une circulaire aux Gouverneurs de province et demande que des ordres soient donnés pour que les Trésoreries Provinciales reçoivent les dons qui pourront être faits dans ce but et les mettent ensuite à la disposition de la Société précitée. En conséquence, je propose aux Trésoreries Provinciales de l'Etat de donner l'ordre à leurs succursales locales d'accepter les dons qui seront effectués dans ce but et de les expédier une fois par mois à Moscou à l'administration de la Société d'Encouragement de la Marine de Commerce Russe, en prenant sur ces fonds le montant des frais d'envoi à destination."

"Le Messager de Cronstadt" nous apprend que le Conseil Municipal de cette ville a assigné, sur les fonds municipaux, 3,000 roubles pour l'acquisition de croiseurs; une souscription faite séance tenante par les membres du Conseil Municipal a produit en outre une somme de 1,000 roubles. Une liste de souscription circule actuellement dans toutes les administrations de la marine à Cronstadt.

No. 425.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 20.)

(No. 129.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 15, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a semi-official article from the "Agence Russe" of yesterday, stating that communications are still going on between the several Cabinets, and that the good offices of Germany are daily more prominent.

This article further states, in a very conciliatory tone and spirit, "that the *Pro-Memorid* of Prince Gortchakow having established in reality the discussion of the whole Treaty of San Stefano, the principal difficulty to the Congress raised by the Cabinet of London is removed, and that, in fact, nothing is now opposed to its meeting."

It observes that there is not "a single point in your Lordship's Circular of the 1st instant which is not discussed, and Europe is invited to express its opinion on the solution to be adopted.

"If the several Powers will make known their objections or counter-proposals to the Treaty they could be compared, and if a reasonable understanding could be arrived at, a definitive peace could be concluded on that basis. Until then the Treaty of San Stefano remains and must remain for Russia her only basis, for she could scarcely be expected to abandon it without its being replaced by another arrangement, agreed upon in common, and taking account of her legitimate interests and the results, so dearly purchased, of the late war."

This tone would appear to indicate a readiness on the part of Russia to make great concessions with a view to obtain the general sanction of Europe for the definitive conclusion of peace.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 425.

Extract from the "Agence Russe."

St. Pétersbourg, Samedi soir, $^{3}/_{15}$ *Avril*, 1878.

LES pourparlers continuent toujours entre les Cabinets, et les bons offices de l'Allemagne s'affirment chaque jour davantage.

Après la discussion que le Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg a faite, dans son *Pro-Memorid*, des objections de la Circulaire Salisbury à tous les points du Traité de San Stefano, ces objections ne peuvent certainement plus être renouvelées, du moins sous la même forme. En établissant de fait la discussion de tout le Traité, ce *Pro-Memorid* a de plus écarté en réalité la principale difficulté au Congrès soulevée par le Cabinet de Londres. Rien en effet ne s'oppose plus à sa réunion, d'après la théorie même de ce Cabinet, depuis que la discussion de tout le Traité se trouve, non-seulement possible, mais virtuellement déjà commencée. Aussi le "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" a-t-il parfaitement raison de dire ce matin, en répondant au "Times" qui demande que la Russie "soumette" le Traité de San Stefano au Congrès : "On tient donc absolument à rester sourd et aveugle à la fois. . . . . Le *Pro-Memorid* démontre par le fait que le Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg ne se dérobe à aucune discussion. Il fait comme le philosophe qui, pour prouver le mouvement, se lève et marche. Il n'y a pas un seul des points de la dépêche de Lord Salisbury qu'il ne discute et il invite l'Europe à formuler son opinion sur les solutions à adopter. Que celles des Puissances qui ont des objections ou des contre-propositions à opposer au Traité de San Stefano les fassent connaître; on pourra alors comparer, et si une entente raisonnable s'établit, la paix définitive pourra se conclure sur ces bases. D'ici là ce Traité reste et doit rester pour la Russie le seul terrain sur lequel elle puisse se placer, car on ne saurait raisonnablement lui demander de l'abandonner avant qu'il n'ait été remplacé par un autre arrangement arrêté d'un commun accord et tenant compte de ses intérêts légitimes et des résultats, si chèrement payés, de la dernière guerre." A moins, pourtant, que par ces mots "soumettre" et "soumission," que l'on emploi trop souvent pour qu'on n'y prête pas une attention toute particulière, on n'entende un acte qu'aucune Puissance indépendante—l'Angleterre la première—ne saurait admettre. L'Europe, comme Conseil International, est certainement une autorité dont chacun de ses membres doit faire le plus grand cas et à laquelle il doit les plus grands égards; mais cette autorité n'est si haute que parce qu'elle est composée de membres égaux en droits et également indépendants et souverains. Toute atteinte portée à l'un d'eux est donc une atteinte portée à elle-même. Aussi ne demande-t-elle jamais à l'un d'eux que ce qu'il peut consentir, sans abdiquer aucun des droits au maintien desquels ses propres droits à elle et son propre prestige sont intéressés.

Telle est la théorie du droit international.

Telle est également celle qui, nous n'en doutons pas, finira par prévaloir.

No. 426.

Consul-General Stanley to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 20.)

(No. 22. Political.)
My Lord. *Odessa, April* 15, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to report that the military authorities of the Government of Kherson are making preliminary arrangements for forming troops of militia from the reserves of 1877, and, should the number fall short, from those of 1876.

In this Government these troops will consist of 3,057 infantry, with a reserve of 704 men, and half a sotnia of yeomanry cavalry, or 66 men.

They will be dressed as ordinary soldiers, with the exception of the caps, on which for the Christians will be a cross, as in the year 1812, and for the non-Christians a metal plate with the inscription "for Tzar and Fatherland." These troops will only be for the defence of Russian territory.

I presume that the same measures are being taken in other provinces throughout Russia, and the symbol and words written on the caps show that an attempt will be made to give as much as possible a religious and national character to any war which may break out.

Troops are being withdrawn from the Caucasus and moved towards the Austrian frontier and into Roumania. A battery of eight guns attached to the Grenadiers corps recently arrived from Tiflis. This battery had never been in action, and was complete in every detail, forming a marked contrast to a battery which recently arrived from San Stefano, from which caissons, fourgons, and gun-carriages were missing.

I described in my despatch No. 21 the poor appearance of the troops who have returned from San Stefano. Russian military medical men say that all who have crossed the Balkans, except the Guards, are in the same plight, and unfit for further action. It would appear that the Russian soldier, though capable of great things for a short time, has no stamina to resist continued hard work, and that their constitutions soon get undermined by it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

No. 427.

Sir C. Wyke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 20.)

(No. 28.)
My Lord, *Copenhagen, April 17, 1878.*

IN my despatch No. 21 of the 5th instant I reported the remarkable change that had taken place in the tone of the Danish press, which, from having been hitherto very hostile to England, has, on the publication of your Lordship's Circular despatch of the 1st instant, become suddenly favourable to English foreign policy as now directed.

Ever since their war in 1864 against Germany and Austria, in which they were left to fight their own battles alone, we have been accused of allowing the public law of Europe to be violated with impunity, and thus departing from our duty as a Great Power in not maintaining the validity of Treaties concluded mainly for the protection of the weak against the strong.

The fact, therefore, of Her Majesty's Government now having returned to their old policy, by declaring that the Treaty of 1856 must be respected by those Powers which signed it, and cannot be set aside without their concurrence and consent, has produced here the greatest satisfaction; for it is felt that the active participation of Great Britain in the Councils of Europe must be eventually beneficial to the Minor Powers, which, left to their own resources, are not strong enough to defend their rights when encroached upon by their more powerful neighbours.

Just dread is naturally felt by both the people and the Government of Denmark at the possibility of an Anglo-Russian war from the proximity they would be in to the conflict, which would probably then take place in the Baltic between the naval forces of the contending parties.

Every effort would, of course, be made by this Government to maintain their neutrality, which they hope, on account of their weakness, would be respected.

On the whole, however, public opinion seems inclined to express the belief that war is now more likely to be averted by the decided attitude assumed by Her Majesty's Government, as thereby Austria will be encouraged to assert her independence from Russian influence, and that thereby the latter Power will have to recede from a position which, in the event of such a coalition against her, would become untenable. In the meantime, the state of doubt and anxiety existing tends to cripple all commercial enterprise, and seriously affects the foreign trade of the country.

I have heard from many quarters that Danish sympathies have been felt hitherto for Russia as a Christian Power in her war with the infidel, but that if hostilities were

unfortunately to take place between her and Great Britain that then they would be in favour of a free and Constitutional State as opposed to a despotic Power, particularly after the latter's ungrateful conduct to Roumania.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES LENNOX WYKE.

No. 428.

Sir J. Stokes to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 20.)

(No. 3. Political. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Chatham, April 19, 1878.*

IN obedience to Lord Tenterden's despatch of the 16th instant, I have the honour to offer to your Lordship the following observations on certain remarks made by Rear-Admiral Spratt to his Excellency Lord Lyons on the subject of the advantages to be derived by Russia from extending her frontier to the Kilia branch of the Danube.

Rear-Admiral Spratt was employed in Her Majesty's ship "Medina," in 1856 and 1857, in surveying the Danube mouths, and he was at that time in constant communication with me, and furnished me with copies of his surveys, which were the only trustworthy data to which I could get access, when I first entered on my duties as Danube Commissioner in 1856. During Captain Spratt's second visit to the Danube in 1857 we became acquainted, through Mr. Cunningham, Her Majesty's Consul at Galatz, with an apparently accurate Russian survey of the Danube mouths, made in 1830. A comparison between this survey and Captain Spratt's showed a most striking advance of the Kilia sub-delta of the Danube both eastwards and southwards. From 1830 to 1856 the line of 6 foot soundings had advanced southwards one mile, or at the rate of 230 feet yearly; and the 30 foot line had advanced at the rate of 134 feet a year: the eastward advance of both these lines of soundings had been 211 feet per year.

Admiral Spratt apprehends that this advance of the Kilia delta will eventually block up the Sulina, but I conclude from this that he has not seen the more recent surveys made by the Danube Commission in 1871, with very great care. These surveys showed that the Kilia delta had, during the fifteen years from 1856 to 1871, advanced southwards more slowly than during the twenty-six years previous to Captain Spratt's visits in 1856-7,* although its extension eastward had been more rapid. During these fifteen years the advance of the 6 foot line eastward was at the rate of 240 feet, and that of the 30 foot line at 400 feet a-year, whilst these lines advanced southwards respectively only 200 feet and 7 feet a-year. As the 6 foot line is distant 32,000 feet from the Sulina north pier, the Kilia delta is not likely to reach the Sulina for another century or more at its present rate of progress; and this rate is likely to decrease, as the Sturoe Stamboul (the southernmost) branch is silting up, and discharges less and less of the Kilia waters. As the discharge of this branch decreases the matter thrown down to the south also decreases, and in the same proportion the extension of the bank southwards towards the Sulina. I do not, therefore, share Admiral Spratt's apprehensions that the Sulina will be absorbed in the Kilia delta and smothered in its shallows.

Neither can I believe that the Kilia will eventually be the principal or only navigable entrance to the Danube. The direction of its principal branch, the Ochakov, which discharges its immense mass of silt-laden water in the teeth of the prevailing wind, and at a point where the littoral current is feeblest, renders it highly improbable that the class of works which have been so successfully used at the mouth of the Sulina, would prove equally, or even partially so, at this mouth.

The only feasible mode of creating a navigable entrance to the Kilia would be by means of a lateral canal led from the main Kilia branch above Wilkoff, into that Jibriani Bay which Admiral Spratt considers so good an anchorage. It would be presumptuous in me to criticize the opinion of a naval man on the subject of anchorages, but I confess to reading Admiral Spratt's description of this bay as an anchorage with some surprise, remembering that it is exposed to the full force of the prevailing winds.

Prince Charles of Roumania has long cherished the idea of forming a harbour at

* See p. 18 of the second "Memoire" of the Danube Commission, published in 1873 with the second Atlas of Surveys, in the Foreign Office Library.

Jibriani Bay, to be connected with the Danube by a canal, and with Moldo-Bessarabia by a railway. An elaborate design for the realization of this idea was furnished to His Highness nearly ten years ago by Sir Charles Hartley. It contemplated the formation of an inland basin, in which ships would lie safely. Nothing has ever been done in the matter beyond the preparation of the design.

Commercially I believe that the attempt to open this entrance to the Danube would be a failure. If the Sulina ever does become choked up by the Kilia deposits, the commercial world will call for the opening of the St. George's branch, which is 40 miles nearer to the Bosphorus than Jibriani, and the approach to which is not made, as that to Jibriani Bay must be, with a long extent of shifting and dangerous shoals to leeward of a vessel coming from the Bosphorus. As to Admiral Spratt's idea that Russia might create an important naval arsenal in Jibriani Bay, I must say that I look upon it as most unlikely. If the Russian Government wish to expend such an immense sum of money as the formation of this arsenal would require, in placing it within range of bombardment from the sea, they will certainly not be so ill-advised as to plant it in such a spot as Jibriani Bay, when they have the magnificent harbour of Sebastopol, infinitely better adapted for such an arsenal in every way.

On the subject of the XIXth Article of the Treaty of San Stefano I have the honour to remark, that if Russia is allowed to obtain the retrocession to her of Moldo-Bessarabia, she ought only to be allowed as her boundary the *thalweg* of the principal branch of the Kilia, namely, the Ochakov. I may observe that the Roumanians were not allowed the *thalweg* of the river below the Ismail Chatal, but only the water line, no portion of the Delta of the Danube being included in Roumania.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. STOKES.

No. 429.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Marquis of Salisbury by Musurus Pasha, April 20.)

[Not to be published in a Blue Book, or mentioned in Parliament.]

(Confidentielle.)

Le 11 Avril, 1878.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

PAR ma dépêche circulaire du 20 Mars dernier, j'ai eu l'honneur de vous communiquer l'Acte des Préliminaires de la Paix, signé à San Stéfano le 3 du même mois, entre la Sublime Porte et le Gouvernement Impérial de Russie, acte qui a été déjà revêtu de la ratification des deux Souverains.

Les Conditions de Paix qui nous ont été proposées par la Russie ont été longuement et laborieusement discutées entre les Plénipotentiaires des deux Etats, et tous les efforts ont été tentés de notre part pour en atténuer les rigueurs. Ces efforts n'ont pu cependant soustraire notre pays aux plus dures et aux plus pénibles exigences.

Si douloureuses que soient les conditions que nous avons acceptées, l'intention de la Sublime Porte est de les observer et de les exécuter scrupuleusement, et de chercher le remède à ses maux actuels dans le travail de réorganisation administrative, de réforme générale, de relèvement social qui est dans les vœux de notre Auguste Maître et dans les aspirations de la nation tout entière.

Si les Puissances amies, convaincues de la sincérité de nos résolutions, touchées de nos malheurs et pénétrées aussi, peut-être, de l'intérêt que représente pour elles le maintien de l'Empire Ottoman, croyaient devoir employer leur influence naturelle et légitime à obtenir des adoucissements aux Conditions de la Paix que la nécessité nous a contraints d'accepter, et si la Russie, dans un sentiment de modération qui serait peut-être pour elle une heureuse inspiration politique, venait à donner son adhésion à ces adoucissements, la Sublime Porte non-seulement accueillerait comme un bienfait inappréciable les résultats de cette intervention pacifique, mais encore serait disposée à la reconnaître, en donnant des gages irrécusables de sa déférence pour les conseils et volontés de l'Europe.

Je vous prie, M. l'Ambassadeur, de vous inspirer de ces idées générales dans les entretiens que vous pourrez avoir sur cet objet important et délicat avec les Ministres du Gouvernement près duquel vous êtes accrédité.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) SAFVET.

No. 430.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Marquis of Salisbury by Musurus Pasha, April 20.)

[Not to be published in a Blue Book or mentioned in Parliament.]

(Confidentielle.)

Constantinople, le 17 Avril, 1878.

PAR ma dépêche circulaire du 11 de ce mois, No. Spécial 31, j'ai fait connaître à votre Excellence la manière dont le Gouvernement Impérial envisage l'acte des Préliminaires de Paix, signé à San Stéfano.

Parmi les adoucissements que nous désirons voir apporter aux conditions de cet acte se présente en première ligne la question des limites de la nouvelle Principauté Bulgare, dont les confins embrassent la plus grande partie de la Turquie d'Europe, et s'étendent jusqu'aux portes de la capitale. L'existence de la Bulgarie, telle qu'elle a été constituée par l'acte de San Stéfano, détruirait dans son principe la domination Ottomane en Europe, et créerait un état de choses de nature à troubler à tous moments le repos de l'Orient. L'étendue assignée à cette Principauté a aussi pour effet de scinder en deux parties distinctes les possessions du Sultan en Europe et d'en rendre l'administration très difficile, puisqu'il nous serait impossible de communiquer avec les provinces séparées autrement que par la voie de mer. D'ailleurs, les habitants Bulgares des localités englobées dans la nouvelle Principauté se trouvent, par rapport aux autres races, en grande minorité, ce qui constitue une contravention au principe de la majorité des populations, posé dans le Protocole des Bases Générales de Paix. La question capitale pour nous consiste, dès lors, à limiter la Principauté de Bulgarie à la partie comprise entre le Danube et les Balkans. Les dangers que nous redoutons seraient ainsi conjurés en partie, et les communications par terre entre Constantinople et nos Provinces Européennes redeviendraient libres.

A côté de cette question se place celle de l'agrandissement du Monténégro et de la Servie. L'accroissement de territoire accordé au Monténégro triple l'étendue de cette Principauté, dont on connaît les tendances et les velléités belliqueuses. Par l'annexion d'Antivari et de Podgoritza, les confins du Monténégro s'étendront jusqu'à la Boyana et à la ville de Scutari. De là des complications et des conflits continuels. Je crois devoir ajouter à cette occasion que la ville de Podgoritza (bien que annexée au Monténégro comme tombée à l'instar des autres localités entre les mains des Monténégrins par le sort des armes), se trouve à l'heure qu'il est occupée par les troupes Ottomanes.

Quant à la Servie, l'agrandissement qu'elle a obtenu par l'acte de San Stéfano est contraire à l'esprit comme à la lettre des Bases de Paix qui stipulaient une simple rectification de frontières. Les territoires qu'elle acquiert de la sorte, mettraient également une barrière à nos communications avec la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine.

Votre Excellence comprendra, par conséquent, les intérêts qui s'attachent à la modification des conditions des Préliminaires de Paix concernant ces deux Principautés.

Les stipulations relatives à l'indemnité de guerre n'en sont pas moins importantes pour nous. Le montant exigé par la Russie, comparé aux ressources de l'Etat, est en flagrante disproportion.

Les charges que nous avons été forcés d'accepter sont au-dessus de nos moyens. En effet, après avoir perdu ses plus belles positions en Europe, notre malheureux pays va se trouver encore démembré en Asie, et sera privé de ce côté aussi d'une grande partie de ses revenus. Il s'agit donc d'obtenir la suppression totale de l'indemnité pécuniaire. Nous désirerions, en outre, voir apporter une diminution dans les exigences de la Russie en ce qui concerne la cession de frontières en Asie. Nous tenons particulièrement à sauver la ville de Bayazid, boulevard militaire de la Province d'Erzeroum.

Tels sont en traits généraux les principaux adoucissements que réclament les Préliminaires de Paix, signés entre la Sublime Porte et la Russie. En vous communiquant les vues du Gouvernement Impérial à cet égard, mon but est de prier votre Excellence de s'en inspirer dans ses conversations avec les Ministres du Gouvernement auprès duquel elle est accréditée, en ayant toutefois soin de donner avec tout le tact et le savoir faire qui la distingue un caractère essentiellement officieux et confidentiel au langage qu'elle tiendrait à ce sujet.

No. 431.

Sir E. Thornton to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 20.)

(No. 90. Secret.)
(Extract.)
Washington, April 8, 1878.

BRESLIN, who was one of the contrivers of the release of Fenian prisoners in Australia, is said to have stated that the report that a Russian naval officer was in New York for the purpose of purchasing steamers for the Russian Government to be used as transports was founded on truth.

Inclosure in No. 431.

Acting Consul Crump to Sir E. Thornton.

(Secret.)
Sir,
Philadelphia, April 5, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to report to you sundry statements and general remarks made in this city recently with reference to the rather more than usual activity of late among the Fenian organizations in this country and Ireland. It is not likely that much importance will be attached to the general statements made by the persons hereinafter named, but I have nevertheless considered it advisable that they should be reported to you.

General E. F. Millin, a prominent member of the V. C. and F. B., and believed to be the chairman of the Military Board, and who is also a local editor of the "New York Herald," has affirmed to my informant that there is as great a desire on the part of the Russian Government to aid and abet the Irish Nationalists in an insurrection as the Nationalists are to receive Russian aid; that the Russian Minister at Washington gave a letter of introduction to Dr. William Carroll of this city, the American representative of the R. D. (Revolutionary Directory) to Government officials at St. Petersburgh, that Dr. Carroll conveyed the letter to the so-called "Provincial Government of Ireland," and subsequently he was detailed with two other members of the R. D. (one of whom was an Australian representative) to St. Petersburgh, where they were well received and buoyed with prospects of succour in the event of an open rebellion in Ireland. General Millin was enthusiastic with regard to the delegation's reception at St. Petersburgh, and he predicted the success of the Nationalists in the event of a war with Russia and an outbreak in Ireland.

John J. Breslin, John Devoy (of New York) and others predicted to members of the V. C. and F. B. in this city, March 18th, at a ball given in aid of the skirmishing fund, that before five years rolled around Ireland would be free or her sons exterminated. General Millin, on the same occasion, hoped that before another St. Patrick's Day came, the earnest patriots would be face to face with the Saxon invader.

General Breslin, at a meeting of a D. in this city, stated that if England engaged in a war with Russia there would be transportation for more men than could be obtained in this country for Ireland.

Breslin, James McDermott, Peter H. Foye, Reverend Father Brehoney (of the Penna Coal regions), William Francis Rountree and Joseph E. Kenns (my informant) met at the residence of Major James Monaghan in this city for an interchange of views. Breslin stated that the report published that a Russian naval officer was in New York for the purpose of purchasing steamers for the Russian Government to be used as transports, was founded on truth. It was also stated that Dr. Carroll is still in Ireland, and it is not known when he will return. He is endeavouring to persuade the Presbyterians in Ireland to aid the Nationalists. One Johnson, an ex-M.P. for Belfast, and at one time an Orangeman, has gone over to the Nationalists, on condition that the Roman Catholic Priesthood are not allowed to dictate to the organization in their attempts to gain independence. Dr. Carroll has been in Paris endeavouring to settle a difficulty between Stephens and the organization at home. Stephens claims the Presidency of the Directory, and declines a seat in it. The Directory have determined to repudiate Stephens altogether, if he persists in striving for the Presidency. Money From the F. B. Circles and the V. C. Camps in this city has been sent to the headquarters, New York, weekly, of late.

March 26th, a communication was received at the various camps from the F. C. (Executive Council), calling in all the money in the hands of the trustees of camps, as it was wanted at once.

In a circle of the F. B., Friday, 29th March, Mr. McIntyre, county delegate of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, stated in a communication, that three divisions within his jurisdiction had resolved to send 20 per cent. of all their funds to O'Donovan Rossa. This movement to obtain from the Ancient Order of Hibernians extends all over the country.

Mr. O'Donovan Rossa is reported to be indulging of late, to excess, in drink, and he has been warned that if he does not reform, his services as a leader will be dispensed with.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE CRUMP.

No. 432.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

(Telegraphic.)
Foreign Office, April 20, 1878, 11·45 A.M.

COUNT MUNSTER asked me on 18th, whether Her Majesty's Government would be willing to enter into a Congress when the matter of the withdrawal of the English and Russian forces from the neighbourhood of Constantinople was arranged. I said that if Russia would lay the whole Treaty of San Stefano before the Congress, England would be ready to enter into it at once. But if Russia declined this mode of action, Her Majesty's Government did not think that any advantage would be gained by attempting any intermediate form of words for the purpose of producing an appearance of agreement. It was of no use, I said, to go into Congress while the ideas of the principal persons engaged were so divergent that a hostile conclusion of it was almost inevitable. It would be much better in the interests of peace that steps should be taken, with the advice and assistance of a friendly Power like Germany, to ascertain how far it was possible for Russia and England to agree upon essential points by unofficial and confidential negotiation, than to aggravate their differences by the publicity attending the discussions of a Congress.

Count Münster expressed his concurrence in this view.

No. 433.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord A. Loftus.

(Telegraphic.)
Foreign Office, April 20, 1878, 4·48 P.M.

YOU may inform Colonel Wellesley that Her Majesty's Government approve the language he has held to the Emperor of Russia, as reported in your telegram No. 96 of the 17th instant.

No. 434.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.)
Foreign Office, April 20, 1878, 6·15 P.M.

IN Consul Reade's despatch to you dated Varna, the 2nd March, he states that General Salih Pasha, and Nejib Bey, the Kaimakam, are responsible for the Djuma massacre.

I have to request that your Excellency will inform me if these are the same two men that are mentioned in your telegram No. 308, of the 11th instant, as having been sent to Crete.

No. 435.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.)
(Secret.)
Foreign Office, April 20, 1878.

I ASKED Count Beust to-day whether Austria would agree with England not to accept a Bulgaria that should overstep a certain frontier line to the south to be agreed

between us, and whether Count Andrassy would make a proposal for such delimitation. He encouraged the idea, and promised to put the questions, to which he anticipated a favourable answer. It is very desirable that Count Andrassy should agree, and that the line should be the Balkans. South of the Balkans to be a Turkish province under institutions similar to Lebanon or Crete, or those proposed at the Conference.

If we make this demand together, I believe it will be accepted. If not, the settlement may be indefinitely delayed.

No. 436.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 512.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 20, 1878.

MR. CONSUL READE, in his despatch to you dated Varna, March 2nd, states that the two persons who were responsible for the massacre at Djuma were General Salih Pasha and Nejib Bey, the Kaimakam.

I have to request your Excellency to inform me whether these are the same two men as are mentioned in your telegraphic despatch to me, No. 368, of the 11th instant, as having been sent to Crete.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 437.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 272. Secret.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 20, 1878.

IN conversation with Count Beust to-day, I asked his Excellency whether Austria would come to an agreement with England, not to consent to any proposal for a Bulgaria whose southern frontier should extend beyond a line to be agreed upon between the two Governments, and, if so, whether Count Andrassy would be prepared to suggest what should be the boundary line in question.

The idea was well received by Count Beust, who undertook to make the necessary inquiries of his Government, and assured that he anticipated a favourable reply.

I wish now to point out to your Excellency how very desirable it is that Count Andrassy should consent to this arrangement, and that the line agreed upon by the two Powers should be the Balkans, the country south of which should be a Turkish province, with institutions such as those of Lebanon or Crete, or those proposed at the Conference of Constantinople.

Should this demand be made jointly by Austria and England, it would probably be accepted, but if not, a settlement of the question may be indefinitely delayed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 438.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

(No. 228.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, April* 20, 1878.

AT an interview which I had with Count Münster on the 18th instant, his Excellency inquired whether Her Majesty's Government would be willing to take part in a Congress so soon as an understanding should have been come to as regards the withdrawal of the English and Russian forces from the neighbourhood of Constantinople.

I replied that if Russia would lay before the Congress the whole of the Treaty of San Stefano, England would be ready to enter it at once; but that if Russia should refuse her consent to this mode of action, Her Majesty's Government were of opinion that no advantage would be gained by adopting any intermediate form of words which, under existing circumstances, could only produce an appearance of agreement. I observed that it would be useless to go into Congress as long as the ideas of the principal persons who took part in it were so divergent from each other as to render a hostile conclusion of it almost unavoidable. In the interests of peace, I added, it would

be far better that measures should be taken, with the assistance and counsel of a friendly State like Germany, in order to ascertain how far it might be possible for England and Russia to come to an understanding upon essential points by means of confidential and unofficial negotiations, than that their differences should be aggravated by the publicity which could not fail to attend the deliberations of a Congress.

Count Münster concurred in the views which I had thus expressed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 439.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 286.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, April* 20, 1878.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram of the 17th instant, giving the substance of what had passed that day at an interview between the Emperor of Russia and Colonel Wellesley; and I request that you will inform Colonel Wellesley that I approve the language he used in replying to His Majesty's observations on that occasion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 440.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 288.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, April* 20, 1878.

COUNT SCHOUVALOFF called upon me to-day, and in the course of conversation expressed a hope that, if the German Government should decline to take any part, or any further part, in the negotiations for a Congress, Her Majesty's Government would not on that account consider them as broken off.

I pressed upon his Excellency the consideration, from which he did not dissent, that to enter a Congress with the probability of retiring from it would be to aggravate seriously the chances of war, and that the best hope of coming to an agreement was to be found in a more accurate apprehension on both sides of the essential points on which each side was inclined to insist or to give way.

Count Schouvaloff also admitted that negotiations through a third friendly Power like Germany were more likely to succeed than direct negotiations, because either side might be more ready to agree to concessions when urged by a third Power than when proposed directly by the other.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 441.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury:—(Received April 21.)

(No. 385. Most Secret.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, April 20, 1878.

FOLLOWING is a report made to me by Mr. Sandison of the Sultan's communication to him:—

"At the interview which Mr. Sandison had with the Sultan this morning, His Majesty said he wished you distinctly to understand change of Ministry has not been dictated by political reasons, but solely by a desire to possess one upon which he could rely, and which would be uninfluenced by the fatal intrigues which had hitherto prevented his Cabinet from acting in harmony and carrying out his wishes.

"He had with this view dismissed many persons belonging to his own household whom he suspected of interference, and he felt sure that his new Ministers would follow policy of England, and conform to views of Her Majesty's Government, in which he placed so much confidence.

"He said that his sole desire was to assure the amelioration of his subjects, and

the members of his Government, such as they were, must be men ready to sacrifice personal feeling, and bring to the work a combination of patriotism, energy, and disinterested exertion.

"He said that although Said Pasha had ceased to be his Minister, he still continued in enjoyment of His Majesty's full confidence, and he intends to employ him in all confidential communications with you.

"His Majesty concluded by saying that he has confidential information of a Russian plan of operations for an army of 60,000 men to occupy all the strategical positions round Constantinople in four hours; and he bitterly complained that whilst Russians were maturing their plan and constructing military roads, he was forbidden continuation of his works of defence.

"His Majesty fully recognized importance of the position of Kavak, and stated that he feared no successful encroachment in that direction, provided Turkish troops receive previous timely notice of the Russian movements. His Majesty has dismissed his late ex-Secretary Said Pasha. The fact of Safvet Pasha and the other (?), Said Pasha, remaining, gives assurance there is no change at present in Sultan's feeling towards England."

No. 442.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 21.)

(No. 386.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 20, 1878.*

FOLLOWING telegram has been received from Consul Blunt, dated Volo:—

"Consul Merlin has come from Athens with instructions from English Minister to act conjointly with me to make equitable terms of arrangement between Ottoman authorities and insurgent chiefs for pacification.

"As these very important negotiations will require our whole attention in order to prevent further attack at the last requiring our visiting Larissa, Karditza, and other places, I would suggest that Assistant-Judge Burrell should be sent here to carry on the inquiry legally, especially as the proceedings (are) further protracted and involved by 'Times' correspondent Gallenga, who is also here. Not sent to Foreign Office.

"Porte has promised to give orders to its troops not to attack insurgents, and to remain on the defensive. I fear that Gallenga's presence will add difficulties. It is much to be regretted that he has been sent to Volo."

No. 443.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 21.)

(No. 387. Most Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 20, 1878.*

COUNT ZICHY, before leaving Constantinople, urged most strongly upon the new Prime Minister the cession of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but again received a refusal. I had fully expected that it would be denied at Vienna that this demand had been made.

No. 444.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 21.)

(No. 388. Most Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 20, 1878.*

MENTION in the House of Commons of confidential Circular referred to in my telegram No. 370 has, I fear, done much harm, as it may prevent my obtaining important information here. It is very desirable that confidential communications should not be made public. Musurus Pasha has been told to deny that any such Circular will be sent.

No. 445.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 21.)

(No. 98.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April 21, 1878.*

COLONEL WELLESLEY reports following:—

"Russians have or will shortly have about 600,000 men between Pruth and Sea of Marmora; of these about 420,000 are effective combatants, distributed as follows:—about 140,000 between Pruth and Danube; the same between Danube and Balkans, and the same between Balkans and Constantinople. These figures are rather over than under. General state of army south of Balkans unfavourable, though better. Cavalry, artillery, and train have only half regulation number of horses.

"Military administration in complete disorder. Todleben's mission is to reorganize and prepare defensive positions.

"Health of army in Asia extremely bad. Great care should be taken in present negotiations to prevent possible taking of Boulair lines by *coup de main* at outbreak of war. All preparations will be made to do so, and Russians are capable, in order to attain such an end, of breaking any agreement. Direct negotiations are being carried on between Russia and Turkey for neutral zone. Should Russians withdraw from Constantinople, Russia will doubtless endeavour to include Tchekmedjie lines to prevent Turks re-occupying that position."

No. 446.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 21.)

(No. 99.)
(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, April 21, 1878.*

GREAT activity going on in regard to cruizers. Three reserve corps of sailors, amounting to about 3,000 men, are being formed, in addition to nine already existing—two for Cronstadt, one for Nicolaiff. As the existing nine suffice fully for navy, additional three are no doubt intended for cruizers.

No. 447.

Consul Sanderson to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 21.)

(Telegraphic.) *Galatz, April 21, 1878.*

TOTAL number of Russian troops crossed from Toultcha to Ismail up to the night of the 18th instant:—8,000 infantry of the 7th corps, about 4,000 cavalry attached to 14th corps d'armée, either two or three field batteries.

No. 448.

Consul-General Stanley to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 21.)

(Telegraphic.) *Odessa, April 21, 1878.*

I AM told and believe that steam-vessel "Alexander" sails hence to-morrow with torpedoes; destination, Bosphorus or Burgas.

No. 449.

Mr. Wyndham to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 21.)

(Telegraphic.) *Athens, April 21, 1878.*

GREEK Chargé d'Affaires has been instructed to represent to your Lordship that Turkish provinces in insurrection desire annexation to Greece, and that there can be no guarantee for their security and good government so long as they are under the rule or suzerainty of the Porte, and that unless they are annexed to Greece, the

Hellenic Kingdom will be menaced by a grave crisis, and that efforts of England to prevent absorption of Greek populations in a Slav State will be ineffectual.

I learn from an authorized source that this representation on the part of the Greek Government has been dictated by the force of public opinion.

No. 450.

Acting Consul Lyall to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 5. Consular.)
My Lord, *Tiflis, April 3, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Lordship's information, that not only is a force consisting of a division (12,000 men) of regular infantry, with artillery and cavalry (details of latter arms uncertain) marching or about to march, as before reported, from Krasnovodsk, on the east shore of the Caspian, towards Merv, but that a force, stated at 30,000 men, which would be about two divisions, with artillery and cavalry, is said to be rapidly preparing in Tashkend (Central Asia) with the same object, i.e., of converging on Afghanistan.

The comparatively open manner in which these preparations are talked about, makes it, of course, possible that their object is more to alarm our Government by a demonstration in that direction than anything else. Still I have thought it right to acquaint your Lordship.

The anti-English feeling is very strong, and war confidently expected. The Shah of Persia is said to be going first to St. Petersburgh, with a view to effecting an exchange of territory, said to be contemplated, namely, that of a strip along the Attrek, for the recently annexed Turkish Province of Bayazid. This, it is said, will enable the Russians to march troops at any time towards Merv without overstepping their own limits, and avoiding the Desert.

Ten mountain batteries, with ammunition, &c., are preparing in the arsenal here, said to be for reinforcing the Merv expedition.

The Grand Duke Michael, previous to leaving for St. Petersburgh on the 31st ultimo, addressed his rifle regiment, and observed "that if he returned within three weeks war was certain, if he remained at Court there would be peace." There are 5,000 men, infantry, artillery, and cavalry, in and about Poti.

Batoum has not yet been ceded to the Russians, and the surrounding mountaineers refuse, it is said, to submit and lay down their arms, but this is probably because the Turks still retain the families of the principal Chiefs as hostages at Trebizond.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WALTER TSCHUDI LYALL.

No. 451.

Acting Consul Lyall to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 7.)
My Lord, *Tiflis, April 5, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Lordship's information, that artillery is being forwarded from this place to Poti. It is said to be contemplated, in case of hostilities breaking out with the British Government, immediately to occupy Trebizond.

A fire broke out in the arsenal here three days ago, which has destroyed the workshops and done damage to the extent of 500,000 roubles. Great complaints are made by the peasantry, especially by the German colonists, of the injustice and bad faith shown them by the Government in allowing them to be grossly swindled by the contractors, commissariat agents, and army officers in charge of transport trains, &c., who have embezzled in all cases half the sums allowed by the Government as payment for hire of the waggons, horses, and other carriage impressed from these villagers, many of whom have been nearly ruined, as in addition to not receiving payment, their horses have been killed by hard work and starvation, and the waggons broken and destroyed.

Much discontent exists on this account, also as to the forced billetting of wounded

soldiers, sick, &c., in the villages, many of whom are suffering from typhus, and have infected the families of the country people with whom they are lodged.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WALTER TSCHUDI LYALL.

No. 452.

Vice-Consul Gardner to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 6.)
My Lord, *Poti, April 5, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to report the arrival at Poti of 600 wounded soldiers from Tiflis, for shipment to Odessa.

Steamers belonging to the Russian Steam Navigation Company arrive daily, and have commenced the embarkation of the first detachments of two divisions (the 17th and 24th) of the Army of the Caucasus, together with four batteries, ammunition waggons, horses, and equipments. Their destination is said to be Odessa.

Forty thousand walnut gun-stocks are in course of shipment at Poti for the arsenal at Tula.

Several small companies of recruits have arrived at Poti lately. They receive new uniform and equipment, and are drilled hard to replace the wounded in short battalions.

In the absence of Mr. G. T. Ricketts, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, Tiflis, I forward this and all future despatches direct, until Mr. Ricketts returns to Tiflis.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOMAS GARDNER.

No. 453.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 208.)
My Lord,

Vienna, April 7, 1878.

I AM told, upon authority which I believe to be trustworthy, that at the audience of General Ignatieff with the Emperor His Majesty gave him little reason to hope to succeed in his object of coming to an understanding with this country without the participation of Her Majesty's Government.

I am assured that His Majesty intimated very plainly that he was aware of a blunder having been committed at the time of the Berlin Memorandum, in trying to settle the Turkish difficulty without the concurrence of Great Britain, and that he did not intend again to fall into a similar mistake.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 454.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 302. Confidential.)
My Lord,

Vienna, April 9, 1878.

THE Duc de Chartres, who was spending a few days at Vienna, dined three days ago with the Emperor, when the French Ambassador, who had been asked to meet him, had some conversation with His Majesty, which he has mentioned to me in confidence.

His Majesty spoke to him of your Lordship's Circular despatch of the 1st April in terms expressive of general satisfaction, saying that it had in his eyes two especial merits.

The one was that it gave a full and fair exposition of the judgment formed by Her Majesty's Government upon the Treaty of San Stefano, and the other was that it dwelt upon the manner in which that Treaty affected European rather than exclusively British interests.

The Emperor seems, however, to have qualified these remarks by some intimation of a doubt of the ultimate views and objects of Her Majesty's Government, which he said he did not clearly understand, for the importance attached by them to matters of detail was difficult to reconcile with a wish to arrive at an amicable solution of the difficulties of the present situation.

I observed to my colleague that His Majesty's remark appeared little called for, as Her Majesty's Government had never raised a difficulty about anything that could properly be called a matter of detail. They had required to be assured upon a fundamental principle as a preliminary to taking part in a Congress, which could with no propriety be designated as a question of detail or as one of secondary importance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 455.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 303. Confidential.)
Vienna, April 10, 1878.
My Lord,

THE irritation shown by the Russian Government at the opposition offered by the Roumanians to the proposed cession of Bessarabia must be admitted to be natural, if before the war some sort of tacit understanding on the subject was arrived at between the two Governments, as there was always every reason to believe.

M. Bratiano was supposed, when at Livadia, to have given the Emperor Alexander reason to expect that he would not oppose His Majesty's wish to recover that portion of his former dominions, and Baron Orczy declares his conviction that the public rumour of such acquiescence was not without foundation.

The French Ambassador has also told me that he was able, many months ago, to satisfy himself of the existence of such an understanding.

While M. Cogalniceano, the Roumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs was at Vienna, the Marquis de Vogüé made to him some allusion to the probability that Russia would call for the retrocession of Bessarabia, but the Roumanian Minister, far from declaring that such a demand could never be acceded to, merely observed that in such a case an ample compensation would have to be found for the Principality.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 456.

Sir Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 301.)
Vienna, April 10, 1878.
My Lord,

M. Balatchano, the Roumanian Agent, called upon me this afternoon and thanked me for having communicated to your Lordship the information he had given me of the language used by Prince Gortchakow to Prince Ghika, about the cession of Bessarabia, and the right of passage for the Russian troops through Roumania for two years.

The publication of this information by Her Majesty's Government had produced the best effect, and had excited throughout Europe a feeling of indignation against Russia for her manner of treating an ally from whom she had received valuable assistance, but, he added, he had incurred such serious displeasure at St. Petersburgh for having given me the information, that, as he was assured, the Russian Government were urging Prince Charles to recall him from Vienna.

I expressed my regret to M. Balatchano if the publication of the information he had given to me should lead to any personal inconvenience to himself, but he repeated that he was far from viewing it with regret, and if M. Cogalniceano acquiesced in Prince Gortchakow's demand with respect to him, he would return to Bucharest certain of the approbation of the whole body of his countrymen, which would be more than a compensation for the loss of a post upon which he set no store.

I inquired of M. Balatchano whether the Austrian Government had given him any intimation of the light in which they regarded the demand for the retrocession of

Bessarabia, and he said that they had expressed no opinion to him whatever on the subject, but had exhibited some surprise at being told that the Principality would not voluntarily submit to it.

It may perhaps not be amiss at the present moment to recall to recollection that the demand upon Russia for the cession of the portion of Bessarabia, which was united to Moldavia by the Treaty of 1856, originated with the Austrian Government themselves, who, after the fall of Sebastopol, perceived the advantages they might reap from the successes of the allies, and included that condition in the ultimatum sent from hence to St. Petersburgh.

By the Imperial Government of that day it was considered an object of primary Austrian interest, to provide for the security of the navigation of the Danube, by removing Russia from a position that gave her the command of the navigation of the River, which it had been her constant policy to impede.

When I expressed to Baron Orczy some surprise that so little importance seemed now to be attached to the maintenance of an arrangement which had formerly been regarded as so essential to the interests of this country, that it was prepared to join the allies in the war with Russia, if she refused to cede the territory in question, his Excellency only observed that he thought that of all the provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano, there was none upon which it would be so difficult to induce the Emperor Alexander to yield, as that which restored Bessarabia to his Empire. His Majesty, Baron Orczy believes, regards this as a point of honour; and he would probably give way upon all the questions connected with Bulgaria rather than renounce it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 457.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 305. Confidential.)
Vienna, April 12, 1878.
My Lord,

M. BRATIANO returned here last night from Berlin, and proceeds to Bucharest to-morrow morning.

He tells me that if he had expected to hear any encouraging words from Prince Bismarck he would have been disappointed, but he had gone to Berlin without any such expectation, and only with the intention of making the German Government fully acquainted with the resolution of Prince Charles and his Government upon the question of the cession of Bessarabia.

Prince Bismarck, he says, afforded him little opportunity of speaking, but gave him a severe lecture on the folly of displeasing a powerful neighbour like Russia, whose ill-will it would be dangerous for the Principality to provoke, and he made an insinuation, which M. Bratiano strenuously contradicted, that Prince Charles and his Government had always been aware that the sacrifice of Bessarabia would have to be made.

Prince Bismarck seems to have suggested that the proper question to examine is whether the compensation offered for it is sufficient, and as Count Andrassy has already shown himself inclined to advocate an extension of the territory south of the Danube to be given in exchange, it is not impossible that there may be some understanding between the two Governments on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 458.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 308.)
Vienna, April 15, 1878.
My Lord,

ALTHOUGH upon first perceiving that the Austrian Government were likely to endeavour to induce the Porte to cede Bosnia and the Herzegovina I thought that it would be advisable to recommend a compliance with the demand, I believe that Her

Majesty's Government, in considering that they could not, with propriety, take the initiative in urging it, probably came to the more correct conclusion.

My opinion, however, remains unchanged as regards the inexpediency of the demand being met by the Porte by an unqualified refusal.

I entertain little doubt that the occupation, or rather the annexation of the province by Austria, must ultimately take place, and the object of the Porte should be to obtain some material compensation in return.

Should the restriction of the proposed new frontier of Montenegro be put forward as a compensation it would be not only insufficient, but, in reality, wholly illusory, for if the Herzegovina and the tract lying between the two Principalities are made over to Austria, it is she and not Turkey who would gain by curtailing the proposed Montenegrin extension on that side.

If, again, the exclusion from the new Bulgaria of some of its western districts is pointed to as an inducement for the Porte to agree to the Austrian demand, that likewise amounts to nothing, for we know that Austria, for her own interest, has already declared that a rectification must be made in that direction.

The Porte would, however, in my opinion, do well to let the Austrian Government understand that it would not be disinclined to entertain their demand in return for a pledge to support a proposal by which the Balkans should be made the limit of the Bulgarian Principality.

The attitude of the Imperial Government is not calculated to inspire confidence.

A few days before the arrival here of General Ignatieff Count Andrassy said to me that if the Turkish Empire in Europe was to be maintained, it was indispensable that the Bulgarian Principality should not extend to the south of the Balkans, on its eastern half at least; but in the amendments to the Treaty of San Stefano, upon which he told the General he must insist, he receded so far from the opinion he had expressed to me, as to leave within the proposed Principality the port of Burgas on the Black Sea, as well as Philippopolis and the coast of the Ægean.

Even throughout the confidential negotiations with Her Majesty's Government, which began nearly a year ago, the Austrian Government have shone a determination not to close the door against an understanding with Russia, of which the annexation of Bosnia was to form the basis.

Pretexts were continually found to avoid coming to a definite agreement, or taking any action which should fairly commit this country to resist further Russian encroachments.

It was always intimated that a more convenient season would arrive for meeting dangers regarded as still distant.

The signature of a Protocol binding the British and Austrian Governments together, under certain eventualities, was objected to for reasons which might be plausible, but which were no doubt far from being the principal causes of hesitation in taking a decisive step, and a "parallel but independent action" was insisted upon instead of the concerted action advocated by Her Majesty's Government.

The suggestion of Her Majesty's Government, before the Russian army crossed the Balkans, that Great Britain and Austria should provide against a Russian occupation of Constantinople, was rejected on the plea that the danger was not imminent, and that the further the Russian armies advanced to the south the more completely would they be at the mercy of our two Governments.

The negotiations with Her Majesty's Government were of the most strictly confidential character; and, although views and opinions have been exchanged, there has been nothing which the Austrian Government would regard as preventing them from coming to a direct understanding with Russia.

Although I do not suspect the existence of a secret understanding with Russia, it is not from any exaggerated confidence in Austria that I believe it would be wise for the Porte to listen to the demand for the cession of Bosnia, but rather that a result which I look upon as inevitable should be brought about in the least objectionable manner.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 459.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 310. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, April 16, 1878.*

YOUR Lordship has stated that Count Beust, in several interviews with you, has made no allusion to the negotiations carried on at Constantinople by Count Zichy for the cession of Bosnia to Austria, and upon my speaking yesterday to Baron Orczy of a Reuter's telegram in which they were mentioned, his Excellency showed no greater disposition to be communicative on the subject.

It is probable that Count Andrassy might have been more open had I been able to see him, but the reserve with which the Under-Secretaries are necessarily obliged to speak renders it unsatisfactory to have to transact so much business with them, instead of with the Minister, who is difficult of access.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 460.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 314. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, April 17, 1878.*

WHEN Count Andrassy called upon me this afternoon he said that Baron Orczy had not been in a position to reply satisfactorily to the question I had put to him two days ago respecting the truth of a newspaper report of negotiations by Count Zichy to obtain the cession of Bosnia and the Herzegovina from the Porte.

He had desired Count Beust to inform your Lordship fully of the views of the Imperial Government on that question, and also of the steps that had been taken at Constantinople by Count Zichy, who had been instructed to try to obtain the assent of the Porte to the occupation of the Province, but not to its cession, as had been affirmed in the papers, which he had, therefore, caused to be contradicted.

He did not demur to a remark that I made upon the apparent identity of the words "occupation" and "annexation," as the one was avowedly to be the precursor of the other.

His Excellency went at some length into the arguments he had before used to prove that the annexation could not be avoided, dwelling especially on the fact that there were still in Austria some 180,000 Bosnian refugees, for whose maintenance a heavy expenditure was going on, but could not be continued after the definite conclusion of peace. These people would then have to go back to their homes, and their return would be the signal for the breaking out of fresh troubles, fomented by the Servians and Montenegrins.

The Turkish authorities would be unable either to protect them from outrage or to maintain order; the old agrarian grievances would be revived with increased virulence, a state of things making an Austrian intervention indispensable would ensue, and the Bosnian question would be found as far from settlement as ever.

Looking forward to this contingency, and being satisfied that the question would have ultimately to be solved by Bosnia being made over to Austria, Count Andrassy wished the arrangement to be made in the manner that would be best for Turkey, which would evidently be by procuring the previous consent of the Porte.

It was far from improbable that Austria might be involved in war with Russia, and it would be an unfortunate complication if, on account of the necessity of occupying Bosnia, she had to appear at the same time as an enemy of Turkey.

Count Andrassy had directed Count Zichy to bring the above considerations verbally and confidentially before the Sultan and his Prime Minister, in the hopes of arriving at an amicable understanding, which would be for the advantage of Turkey; but these friendly overtures seemed to have been misunderstood, and it was supposed that there had been an attempt to exercise a pressure upon the Porte, which was not the case.

From the whole tenour of Count Andrassy's language, it may, I think, be assumed that his decision in regard to the annexation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina

may be regarded as final, but, at the same time, that he is not acting in concert with, or upon any understanding with Russia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 461.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 316.)
My Lord, *Vienna, April 17, 1878.*

THE Roumanian Agent has communicated to the Austrian Government a telegram from Bucharest, reporting the increase that is being made in the Russian troops in the Principality, especially in the Bessarabian portion, which is stated to be entirely in their hands, although the civil authorities have not yet been interfered with. A report that the Russian forces are being concentrated in the neighbourhood of Bucharest and in other parts has attracted the serious attention of the Austrian Government, who have sent officers to obtain information on the numbers, position, and condition of these troops.

Count Andrassy says that although this concentration has been represented to him as having been caused by the hostile attitude of Great Britain, which may make it necessary to send more troops towards Constantinople, he is quite aware that it is in fact directed against Austria. It has, therefore, a threatening aspect, against which it will probably be necessary for this country to provide, by placing troops upon its own frontier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 462.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 318.)
My Lord, *Vienna, April 18, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship a report that I have received from Major Gonne, upon the value of the Austrian army as an ally in war.

Count Andrassy spoke to me yesterday of the doubt which had been raised as to whether the Slav troops could be trusted if there was a rupture with Russia.

It had, he said, produced a most painful impression upon the Emperor, who knew how entirely unfounded the suspicion was.

I do not clearly gather whether the concluding sentence of the report is intended to convey the opinion of Major Gonne himself, or of the officers of the Austrian army, that nothing but a violent disarmament of the Roumanians by Russia would force a mobilization, but neither party are possessed of the knowledge requisite for forming any opinion on a question which depends purely upon political considerations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 462.

Major Gonne to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Vienna, April 18, 1878.*

OF all people, perhaps Austrians are the most sensitive in questions touching individual or national honour.

Before the English papers reached Vienna last week, the Chief of the Staff represented to me that the officers of the Austrian army were aggrieved by the remarks of Lord Derby in the House of Lords. Later, in the War Office, I was asked by my friends whether the English people thought that "a mixture of races and diversity of interest constituted a reproach against the army." The late Minister for Foreign Affairs touched a tender spot in the consciences of the army administrators which gave to his strictures a pungency only perceptible to the bureaucrats of

Vienna. I am in a position to state that the unpleasantness of feeling subsided as suddenly as it arose after subsequent explanation in Parliament, and the moment may not be ill-chosen to investigate once more the actual value of Austria as an ally.

After 1866 the Austrians gave way to a despondency engendered by a tradition of defeat. Baron Kuhn, as War Minister and a successful soldier, undertook to remodel and reorganize the strength of the Empire, and it is worthy of note that Kuhn was a soldier of fortune, who had obtained his rank on his individual merit. The radical reforms introduced were so unpalatable to the existing officer class, that the greater part of the upper class of the population surrendered their birthright as leaders of troops to what would be called the middle class if three classes existed. I may be better understood by stating that the officers of the army became essentially democratic, and as the sons of historic families declined to compete with the people in an educational rivalry, time-honoured names became scarce in the Army List. In the cavalry at this moment the greater number of the "old set" will be found, whilst in the ordnance corps and staff the uppermost class is but sparsely represented.

It was doubtless unjust to throw the blame of this result on Kuhn; the nobles were driven out of the army, first by want of success, secondly by the work required at the hands of an officer in the present day, thirdly by educational lists, and lastly by the abolition of costly uniforms.

Baron Kuhn was removed, but still the sons of the best families escape their army service by passing to the reserve after the one year volunteer course; and it is the exception and not the rule to meet an Austrian officer in the "salons" of Vienna.

The administrators of the army urge with great reason, that the Austrian army of to-day cannot be judged by the reader of history. Austria will enter her next campaign with new leaders, a new drill, and a modern armament. Her machinery for mobilization is unfried, and any criticism as to the military value of the nation in arms can only be grounded on mere theory.

On former occasions I have quoted some of the misgivings of thoughtful men, and they all centre on the Slav question. If the whole of Austria shared the sympathy of the Hungarians, in other words, if the object of the war could be rendered universally popular, the rulers of the land could impart motion to the machinery of war without fear of serious friction; but the deadly hatred known to exist between the Slavs under Hungarian rule and their law-givers must of necessity cause anxiety.

Last year I expressed an opinion, which I see no reason to change, that the battalions of the active army removed from home influence lose their individuality and become soldiers of the Empire. If the Austrians gained primary successes, the population, more or less tampered with by Slav agitators, would also, in all human probability, remain true to the national colours; but the two-fold difficulty will be, first to get the reservists to take up arms in a cause which they have not at heart, and secondly, to maintain discipline in case of defeat. As far as I can ascertain, no fears are entertained as regards the Bohemian Slavs; the Poles will, of course, fight well against Russia, but the dangerous subjects are under the rule of Hungary, viz., the Servians and a portion of the Croatians. I repeat, however, all is theory; still the military authorities seem so averse to war in the present crisis that I consider it my duty to point out possible weakness in a nation which boasts of the power of placing over a million soldiers in the field.

Staff officers tell me that there is very little chance of Austria being induced to make an alliance and declare war; she will show greater wisdom by bringing her overwhelming numerical strength either as a threat, or, if necessary, an action, against Russia at a decisive moment.

Count Andrassy the other day used the expression to a friend of mine, "The British have pushed things so far that they may be said to have burnt their ships, and must fight if there is no Conference."

The opinion of the army at the moment is that Austria may drift into a war, but at the present moment nothing but a violent disarmament of the Roumanians by Russia would force a mobilization.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOS. S. GONNE, *Major, 17th Lancers, Military Attaché.*

No. 463.

Consul-General White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 39. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, April 5, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that on inquiry I find that the different movements of Servian troops reported in various newspapers, in telegrams dated Belgrade, during the past month are incorrect, and I am assured by persons in authority that the Servian army continues to occupy the positions assigned to it as a line of demarcation by the armistice between the belligerents.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 464.

Consul-General White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 41. Political. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, April 6, 1878.*

IT has come to my knowledge that the language of Russian Agents is one of complaint at the effect produced on the Cabinet of Vienna by the recent attitude of Her Majesty's Government.

It is asserted that, owing to this cause, the Austro-Hungarian Government has become more firm, and has increased what the Russians are pleased to call its pretensions, thus rendering the chances of a direct and separate understanding of the two neighbouring Empires on this question much less probable.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 465.

Consul-General White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 43. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, April 7, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the dispute between Roumania and Russia, which is becoming extremely bitter on both sides, is attracting much attention here.

Hitherto the Cabinet of Vienna has appeared rather lukewarm on the subject of this contention, and has shown little disposition to encourage Prince Charles or his Government in their highly honourable resistance to the proposed arrangement by which they are to be deprived by Russia of the territory given them by the Powers in 1856.

Russian partisans have been sneering at the course pursued by the Roumanians; but should this course be persevered in and produce an armed conflict of the native army with that of Russia, and should Prince Charles of Roumania be thus forced to withdraw under protest on neutral territory, it is almost impossible to admit that Austria could at the present juncture view with indifference an exclusively Russian occupation of Roumania; and it is probable that such an event would compel the Imperial Cabinet to assume a more decisive action, however reluctant such a course has hitherto been to the Imperial Court.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 466.

Consul-General White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 44. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, April 9, 1878.*

THE situation in this Principality continues exactly the same as it was a few weeks ago, but it may be useful to explain how it happens that the telegrams forwarded from here to English and Continental journals, according to which the Servians are represented as extremely dissatisfied at the results of the Peace of San Stefano, and as manifesting an anti-Russian feeling in consequence of such disappointment.

At the time of the opening of hostilities last autumn, it was my duty to report to Her Majesty's Government that the prospect of another war was by no means acceptable to the Servian people, and that, although I did not anticipate any disturbances or resistance owing to its renewal, the Prince and his Government would have to take upon themselves the exclusive responsibility for that act.

Since the war has terminated, the people of this Principality have had to realize some of the painful consequences of both the wars of 1876 and 1877, the proximity of the scenes of carnage and desolation with which they have become connected by the advance of their own militia have brought home to them different cattle epidemics, and the growing dangers of a still worse kind of pestilence.

The principal wealth of Servia consists in the stock of cattle and pigs, and any diminution of either of these may affect for many years the prosperity of the entire community.

Oxen are almost exclusively employed not only for field-labour in this country, but likewise for country carts, and for the transport of goods and provisions, as also for the army.

The dangers of propagating contagion amongst cattle are thus far greater than in countries where horses are more generally employed for the above purposes.

It appears, moreover, that many of the farmers were unable to cultivate the average acreage in the autumns of 1876 and 1877, and in the spring of 1877, and this has occasioned a deficient crop, and is likely to produce a similar result next harvest.

Scarcity has made itself felt in many districts, and corn and maize have to be imported largely from Hungary and Wallachia, a most unusual occurrence for this agricultural land.

Under these and similar privations it would be easy to foment discontent amongst the country folk, but this would be much more likely directed against their present rulers than against the powerful Czar or his Empire.

The mass of the people are, I daresay, tolerably indifferent to the exact limits which have been assigned to Servian acquisitions by the negotiations at San Stefano, though it would be no doubt comparatively easy to stir up disaffection amongst them in their present temper.

The literati or politicians of Belgrade, and especially those who all along looked with suspicion on the acts of the present Ministers, are naturally prone to make the most of the disappointment and vexation occasioned by incorporating Servian-speaking districts with Bulgaria, and even the present Ministers are not blind to the fatal consequences which must accrue to Servia by the unusual extension and importance given to this last production of Muscovite statecraft.

The Ministers and their immediate adherents see this perfectly well, and if they could be quite sure that any agitation on the subject of the inadequate satisfaction given by the Preliminary Treaty to their national hopes and aspirations could be kept by them within proper limits, and not turn against themselves in the end, they would most readily favour it.

As it is, however, they prefer keeping all public opinion at Belgrade within their gripe, and forbidding the slightest manifestation on any public question by continuing to enforce martial law, and the temporary suspension of a free press.

It is not impossible that Government agents have not been altogether strangers to the prompting of the transmission of anti-Russian telegrams for foreign journals from Belgrade, but except in private conversation no such grievance has found hitherto means to gain adherents beyond the walls of this city.

Moreover, it would be incorrect to say that any feeling of disappointment that may be rankling in the breasts of patriots is with every one of these hostile to Russia; in some of them, no doubt there is still lurking a hope that some means may

be found to soften the heart of the Czar, and induce his Government to modify the limits assigned to Bulgaria, in the Preliminary Treaty, in favour of Servia, whilst even those who are not altogether pro-Russian, do not contemplate any breach with that Power, but would be pleased to see their successive disappointments placed prominently forward before Western public opinion and contribute to obtain for their national cause more active support in quarters that are not Slav.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 467.

Consul-General White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 45. Political. Confidential.)
Belgrade, April 9, 1878.
My Lord,

IN my previous despatch of this day I have avoided speaking of the Prince of this country when making observations on the present state of feeling in Servia, but I may mention, confidentially, for your Lordship's information, that His Highness continues as strongly Russian as ever.

His predecessors, and more particularly those of his own family, have generally tried to secure real advantages for their country by means of a policy which enabled them to check the too exclusive and too arrogant dictation of Russia by means of intimate relations with other Powers.

Unlike these other Rulers of the Obrenovitch family, Prince Milan has, since October 1875, put himself entirely in the hands of Russia, and places exclusive reliance on a Russian Protectorate. Some of the public men of Servia, perhaps even some of his own present Ministers, would not object to occasional departures from so persistent a sacrifice of national self-reliance, and these disparities of views may now and then cause differences between the Prince and M. Ristitch, but hitherto His Highness has always carried his point, and should at any time any calamity befall him in consequence of his devotion to the Czar, he will be able to retire into private life with a strong claim on Imperial favour and Russian gratitude.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 468.

Consul-General White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 47. Political.)
Belgrade, April 12, 1878.
My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the prospect of separate negotiations being carried on between Russia and other Powers singly is viewed with considerable alarm in Servia.

It is supposed here that Russia is desirous of initiating negotiations of this kind, and that if she were to succeed in this the general European interests which have been upheld in your Lordship's published despatch of the 1st instant might easily be lost sight of, and Great Britain would be then invited to follow the example supposed to have been set by Austria, and to come forward with her own, or possibly with a rival scheme, for the settlement of the Balkanic Peninsula.

Should Her Majesty's Government feel disposed to comply to some extent with this persistent wish on the part of Russia, the anxiety of Prince Milan would be easily accounted for.

It is feared here that Russia would probably seek to satisfy Austria first and secure the neutrality of that Power, and that for that purpose Servia would be sacrificed to save, if possible, some of the clauses referring to Bulgaria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 469.

Consul-General White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 48. Political.)
My Lord,
Belgrade, April 14, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that both the Prince of Servia and his Foreign Minister, M. Ristitch, assure me in a most positive manner that there are no negotiations going on between them and Russia on the subject of the future attitude of this Principality in case of hostilities breaking out between that Empire and some other European Power. I have been likewise told by His Highness and by his Minister that they are most desirous to abstain from participating in any new war.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 470.

Consul-General White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 49. Political.)
My Lord,
Belgrade, April 15, 1878.

THIS Government deny any knowledge of the reported negotiations between the Courts of St. Petersburgh and Vienna, even as regards the position which this Principality is to occupy with regard to Austria when it is recognized as an independent State.

From a private and generally reliable source I gather, however, what follows:

The intention of Prince Milan to send M. Ristitch to the Congress with a Memorandum for presentation to the Delegates of the Great Powers on the subject of Servian demands having been known at St. Petersburgh a hint was given here that previous to such a step being taken it would be necessary to make some offer of distinct commercial advantages to be secured to Austria, and M. Ristitch is supposed to have drawn up a special Memorandum for that Court which he intended to communicate to Count Andrassy personally on his way through Vienna to Berlin.

The departure of M. Ristitch was delayed in consequence of instructions received from Russia, and after the failure of the mission of General Count Ignatieff became known at St. Petersburgh further instructions were sent here to postpone every kind of communication to Austria or to any other Power until such time as any steps of the kind should be approved by the Power which assumes to herself the exclusive right of settling affairs in the Balkanic Peninsula.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 471.

Consul-General White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 50. Political.)
My Lord,
Belgrade, April 15, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that Prince Milan sent a special delegate (M. Matitch) to Rome a few weeks ago for the purpose of congratulating the King of Italy on His Majesty's accession, and that this gentleman has just returned from his mission and appears highly satisfied with his reception.

I should not have reported this circumstance to your Lordship, but this is the first instance in which the Prince of this country has thought fit to take part in those courtesies usual between Sovereigns of independent States.

I may take this opportunity of mentioning that great reliance is placed in Servia on Italian sympathies, and that sanguine hopes are indulged in, that the Government of Italy will feel disposed to exert any influence it may possess in a European Conference in favour of Servian national hopes and aspirations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 472.

Consul-General White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 51. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, April* 16, 1878.

THIS Government has been desirous to dispose of the Ottoman prisoners now in this country, and after an exchange of a few against some Servian ones detained in Salonica had been effected, through the intervention of the Austrian Government, it was hoped that some arrangement might be made by which the others could be restored to Turkey, but the consent of the Russian military authorities could not be obtained to any such proposal, and it has been abandoned for the present.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 473.

Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 52. Political. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Bucharest, April* 9, 1878.

IT would appear that within the last few days Baron Stuart, the Russian Agent and Consul-General, has, in compliance with instructions from St. Petersburgh, made use of somewhat threatening language to Prince Charles in person concerning the future of the Roumanian army, in the event of Russia being engaged in further hostilities, and the word "disarmament" was distinctly pronounced.

It is understood that Prince Charles replied that nothing would induce him to disarm an army which had deserved well of its country, and received the merited eulogium of everybody who had been in a position to be cognisant of its conduct during the late campaign, &c.

As your Lordship is aware, the feeling in this country (but I do not necessarily say of the Government) is entirely opposed to any further alliance with Russia, and I am assured on all sides that the tendency of the army is entirely in accord with public opinion upon the subject. Still, however, were disarmament the alternative, it is probable that even action in concert with the Russian army might be considered preferable.

I have also been informed that this army, even if ordered, would refuse to march with the Russians, a statement to which I attach no importance. For an army to refuse to obey the orders of the legitimate authority requires a preconcerted organization of resistance, which I have every reason to believe does not exist in the Roumanian army.

Were Austrian armies already in this country the question might perhaps be different, but long before such a contingency could become a reality the Russian military Commanders would of course take measures either to render the Roumanian forces inactive or to place them in such a position that they must necessarily form an integral part of the Russian army.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 474.

Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 54. Political.)
My Lord, *Bucharest, April* 10, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship to-day by telegraph that communications are said to have been made to the Legislative Bodies, at a secret session, by M. Cogalniceano, similar to those made by him to the Roumanian Agent at Vienna.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 475.

Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 58. Political.)
My Lord, *Bucharest, April* 12, 1878.

I TELEGRAPHED to your Lordship this day, that I am informed that a special delegate is to arrive from St. Petersburgh this evening at Bucharest, to negotiate a fresh Convention with the Government of Prince Charles.

I imagine that there is no doubt that the above refers to the Treaty of San Stefano, in respect of the occupation of Roumania and passage of troops.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 476.

Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 66. Political. Very Confidential.)
My Lord, *Bucharest, April* 16, 1878.

THE marked bad feeling which has for months been entertained between the Russians and Roumanians is gradually mounting to a state of mutual exasperation which can scarcely remain at its present state of tension without some deplorable result to this country and its institutions.

On the one hand, the Roumanian public men, the whole of the press, and indeed more especially the Government organ, the "Romanulu," and above all the two Chambers, are doing their utmost to imbitter the relations between the two nationalities; the Chamber is about to press upon the Government a fresh Circular, addressed to the Powers, concerning the Russian occupation. Now, whatever be the intention with regard to the future, a regular occupation in the strict sense of the word does not at present exist, and these demonstrations are somewhat premature.

There is no doubt, in my mind, that Prince Jon Ghika, M. Sturdza, and those most anti-Russian in their feelings, are putting in movement all this agitation, with the distinct object of inviting a Russian occupation. They desire to place Roumania in a position of martyrdom in the eyes of Europe, and imagine that, should Russia station a very imposing force in these Principalities, Austria might be tempted to ask for explanations, and that Roumanian agitation might thus become the cause of dissention, if not of a rupture between Austria and Russia.

The old scheme of removing the Prince, the Chambers, and Government from Bucharest to either Targovesti or Crajova is again much discussed, while the concentration of the Roumanian army west of the Aluta is undoubtedly another expression of hostile feeling.

For some time (as I have already had the honour to report), the Roumanian Cabinet was thoroughly disposed to come to terms with Russia, regarding the Bessarabian question; that period is, however, in my opinion, come to an end, and neither the Prince nor his Ministers could now run counter to the very violent agitation which has taken possession of the Roumanian mind.

The general arrogance of the Russian authorities in this country has increased in proportion with the exasperation of the Roumanians; and the high-handed manner in which the Russians now carry on their relations with the Roumanian authorities has come to a pitch which is becoming perfectly intolerable. As a specimen of the above, I may quote an incident which occurred no later than last Friday, the 12th, on which occasion the Russian officials, who have taken entire charge of the railway, refused to permit several waggons to start for Slatina, laden with ammunition for the Roumanian troops.

The Roumanian Under-Secretary for War insisted on the waggons being despatched, when the Russian Commandant telegraphed up the line to stop the train, but the message arrived too late, and the waggons proceeded to their destination.

The above is a trifling matter, but will give your Lordship an idea of the state of matters now existing in this country.

The question of disarming the Roumanian army is much discussed, as well as that of an occupation; but I am unable to ascertain anything in the way of trustworthy information upon these subjects.

M. Bratiano, I believe, returns to-night, when public rumour says it will be decided whether the Government is to be temporarily removed from Bucharest.

It is understood that M. Bratiano experienced much reserve at Vienna, while, as your Lordship is aware, at Berlin he met with no encouragement to continue this diplomatic campaign against Russia.

There is no doubt that the Roumanian Government have pushed their anti-Russian demonstration much too far; their first protestation against the retrocession of Bessarabia amply met the circumstance, and their subsequent activity has been prompted in the main by the desire to acquire and maintain popularity in the country, but whatever their motive, the Government is now powerless in the hands of the Chamber, and under the pressure of public opinion; whilst it is much to be apprehended that Russia may adopt a violent line of policy, and virtually upset the Government of Prince Charles in the major portion of these Principalities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 477.

Colonel Maude to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 10. Political.)
Warsaw, April 16, 1878.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Lordship's information, that, since my cypher telegram to your Lordship of the 13th instant, I have ascertained, from a source which I consider entirely reliable, the following details respecting the troops at present in the Kingdom of Poland.

There are 90 battalions of infantry, 66 squadrons of cavalry, and nearly 15,000 of other arms of the service. This would bring the nominal effective strength up to nearly 118,000 men of all arms.

Of this number a considerable portion are recruits; many of them are Tartars who do not speak the Russian language.

All my informants repeat what I have telegraphed to your Lordship, namely, that there is at present no concentration of troops on the Austrian frontier of the Kingdom of Poland.

On the other hand, I was informed, on the 14th instant, that, within the last four or five days, orders have been received in Warsaw, to put all the main roads in thorough repair, especially those which lead towards the Austrian frontier.

I have heard also that there is some concentration of troops in the neighbourhood of Kiev.

I hope shortly to be in possession of fuller details with regard to this latter point.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS C. MAUDE.

No. 478.

Lord Odo Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 273. Confidential.)
Berlin, April 17, 1878.

My Lord,

BOTH my Austrian and French colleagues have spoken to me of Prince Bismarck's proposal to Her Majesty's Government, and to the Russian Government, for the simultaneous withdrawal to equal distances from Constantinople of the English fleet and the Russian army, with a view to facilitating negotiations. Their information appeared to be derived from Russian sources, for Herr von Bülow has repeatedly assured me that he has not mentioned Prince Bismarck's proposal to any foreign Representative in Berlin.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

P.S.—Since writing the above my French colleague has read me a telegram from

the French Ambassador in London, M. d'Harcourt, giving an account of Count Münster's communications to your Lordship on the subject of Prince Bismarck's proposals.

O. R.

No. 479.

Lord Odo Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 274. Secret.)
Berlin, April 18, 1878.

My Lord,

THE French Ambassador called on me to tell me, in strict confidence, that M. Waddington had informed him of his conversation with Mr. Adams (No. 302, Secret, of the 31st March, 1878) respecting a telegram from Paris which I was supposed to have communicated to the German Emperor, to Prince Bismarck, and to other persons, on the subject of the sympathies of the French Government for the policy of Her Majesty's Government.

M. de St. Vallier said that he merely wished to explain that he was at a loss to make out the origin of the report, because he had never communicated any such report to Paris, and he could only suppose that M. Waddington must have been led to speak to Mr. Adams in consequence of some communication from Prince Hohenlohe.

I replied that I was equally at a loss to make out the origin of the report, because I had made no communication whatever, either private or official, respecting French sympathies or French policy to the Emperor, Prince Bismarck, or any one else in Berlin.

The subject then dropped, and we spoke of other things.

By to-day's messenger I received your Lordship's despatch No. 218 of the 17th instant, on this subject, to which my despatch No. 249 of the 6th instant was, in fact, an anticipated reply.

I do not wonder that the report, whoever it came from, should have so "much disturbed" M. Waddington, because it seemed calculated to disturb the bargain he had made with the German and Russian Governments in regard to the proposed Congress.

Your Lordship will recollect that the French Government had agreed to attend the Congress, and Prince Bismarck's Preliminary Conference, on condition that neither Egypt nor the Holy Places should form part of the discussion; and in return for that concession, it was understood that the French Government should give their support to Germany and Russia in other matters.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 480.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 389.)
(Telegraphic.)
Constantinople, April 22, 1878.

MR. CALVERT informs me from Adrianople that large numbers of guns are being forwarded from that place southward. The garrison has been much reduced. Russians endeavouring but without success to enlist native Christians.

Military chest is empty; large sums owing to the contractors unpaid; and troops and Commissariat in arrears. Much sickness prevailing. Four thousand sick, and average deaths sixty a day.

The insurrection among Pomaks in Mount Rhodope and other parts is taking more serious dimensions, and Russians have been compelled to send very large force against them, according to Mr. Calvert above 25,000 men, and have already experienced considerable loss.

Insurrection attributed by Mr. Calvert to intolerance towards Russian-Bulgarian *régime*.

No. 481.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 390.)
(Telegraphic.)
Constantinople, April 21, 1878.

PORTE would be grateful to Her Majesty's Government if they would ascertain from the British member of the Danube Commission what is the balance now due to Turkey in the chest. It is believed to be a considerable sum, and the Porte wishes, after setting aside the amount which it is bound by the Treaty of San Stefano to apply to the reopening of navigation of river, &c., to use the balance for supporting the Mussulman fugitives whom they will be unable to supply even with bread.

No. 482.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 391. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.)
Constantinople, April 22, 1878.

RUSSIANS have again demanded peremptorily the surrender of Shumla, Varna, and Batoum, and have threatened force. Sultan is very anxious to have advice of Her Majesty's Government as to course he should pursue. I have seen draft of proposed answer to Russian demand. It points out that the term for the evacuation of those places is not defined by the Preliminary Treaty, but that it depends upon general arrangements for forming the new Bulgarian Principality, for the cession of Turkish territory in Asia to Russia, and for the evacuation of Turkish territory by her, and that those arrangements are evidently intended to be made after the definitive Treaty has been signed. These arguments appear to me good, but if Russia carries out her menace of using force, should the Turks resist by force, or surrender places of so much importance to us in case of war as Varna and Batoum?

No. 483.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 392.)
(Telegraphic.)
Constantinople, April 22, 1878.

DURING past week Adrianople Railway has conveyed more than 10,000 Russian infantry from Philippopolis, Sophia, and villages round Adrianople; 70 to 100 cannon, many of them 6-inch siege-guns, large quantities of ammunition and stores, artillery-horses and waggons, have been brought down to Hadem-keui and Chataldja, where there is a great accumulation of warlike material.

Among ammunition brought down were several large boxes containing, it is believed, some kind of mining machine, or torpedo.

Russian engineers are surveying country between railway at Brandli and Rodosto.

No. 484.

Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Secret.)
Bucharest, April 22, 1878.

THE depôts and regimental military chests, and various other permanent military departments of Roumanian army, are being despatched as fast as possible into Little Wallachia.

Prince Charles starts for Crajova Thursday, ostensibly for making inspections.

No. 485.

Mr. Wyndham to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Very Confidential.)
Athens, April 22, 1878.

I LEARNT yesterday evening from excellent authority, through an authorized source, that according to information received from Constantinople, Russian policy is predominant at the Palace, and that the last Ministerial changes, in which that policy predominates, have been effected with the view of inspiring greater confidence to Russia.

No. 486.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22, 4 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.)
Rome, April 22, 1878, 2·30 P.M.

THE report of the Austrian Government having asked Porte to cede Bosnia and Herzegovina having reached Count Corti last week from Constantinople, his Excellency made inquiries on the subject through Count de Robilant, who reported that he had been assured by M. Orczy that there was no truth in it. He was informed that Count Zichy had made a communication respecting repatriation of refugees. Count Corti, who is opposed to raising any difficulties with Austria on this question, rejoices at this information as calculated to strengthen his hands in the Cabinet.

No. 487.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 111.)
(Telegraphic.)
Vienna, April 22, 1878.

I COMMUNICATED yesterday the substance of your Lordship's telegram of the 20th to Count Andrassy by letter requesting to see him to-day.

On account of being obliged to go to the Emperor and other engagements he asked me not to come till to-morrow.

I saw Baron Calice, but he was not authorized to express any opinion on your proposal for an agreement about the limits of Bulgaria, and I suspect Count Andrassy to have put off seeing me because he did not want to be pressed for an answer till he had ascertained the Emperor's views.

No. 488.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.)
Foreign Office, April 22, 1878.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 388 of the 20th instant, I have to state to your Excellency that my knowledge that the Porte was about to send a Confidential Circular to its Representatives abroad was derived, not in the first instance from you, but from Reuter, who gave the contents nearly in the terms of the despatch handed to me by Musurus Pasha on Saturday last.

No. 489.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 112. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)
Vienna, April 22, 1878.

THE despatch which I told your Lordship was to be sent to Count Beust about views of Austro-Hungarian Government respecting Bosnia was not forwarded till last night.

It is entirely confidential, and not for communication to any other Government, but the Austrian Government wish without reserve to make the friendly Cabinet of St. James acquainted with their views.

It contains a Memorandum developing at length the considerations which I have reported as having convinced the Austrian Government of the necessity of incorporating Bosnia.

When Baron Calice read it to me I objected that many of the arguments intended to show that the Porte would not be able to provide for the tranquillity of Bosnia were founded on assumption that the Treaty of San Stefano was to be maintained as regards the limit of Bulgaria, and I observed that Her Majesty's Government and the Porte would probably both be inclined to look more favourably on the proposal if they knew Austria to be firm upon that point.

No. 490.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 23.)

(No. 438.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 18, 1878.*

WITH reference to the inclosure marked 2 in my despatch No. 363 of the 27th ultimo, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the "Golos" of the 12th instant, the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg," and other journals, publish a statement to the effect that the Emperor has authorized his Imperial Highness the Cesarewitch to accept the presidency of the chief Committee formed by the Moscow Society for the Protection of Russian Maritime Trade, to obtain subscriptions for the purchase of a volunteer fleet.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 491.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 23.)

(No. 440.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 18, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a Memorandum by Mr. Michell of the opinions expressed by the St. Petersburgh press respecting Prince Gortchakow's Circular of the 9th instant, on which the "Golos" bestows unqualified praise, which the more violent "Novaia Vremia," "Russki Mir," and "St. Petersburgh Gazette" consider too moderate, and of which the "Exchange Gazette," from that very moderation, approves.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 491.

Opinions of the Russian Press on Prince Gortchakow's Circular.

THE "Golos" of the 31st March / 12th April, 1878, is of the following opinion on this subject:—

"The answer of the Russian Chancellor to Lord Salisbury's despatch represents a State document fully consistent with the dignity of such a nation as Russia, and is a calm and sensible review of the insolent and groundless accusations brought forward by England. The Memoir which accompanies the Circular to the Representatives of Russia at the Courts of the Great Powers does not leave a single point of Lord Salisbury's despatch unanswered.

. . . "The Circular of the Imperial Chancellor is a complete political programme. In it everything is said; nothing is withheld. Europe now sees what Russia is striving for; her objects are clear to everybody. We must consider this as Russia's last word: 'C'est à prendre ou à laisser,' as the French say.

"One breathes more freely and feels easier after reading the answer of the

Russian Chancellor to the English despatch. All doubts are dispelled; all apprehensions are removed. As at the commencement of the struggle, so at the present time, Russia firmly yet dispassionately defends her rights, and loudly proclaims her historical mission. The position she occupies is one morally unassailable. England is faced by the champion of justice and right, to assault whom will be equivalent to declaring herself the defender of deceit and despotism. If the St. James' Cabinet still thinks it possible to induce the English nation to play such a part, that is a matter for its own consideration."

The "Novoe Vremia" of the 31st March / 12th April, 1878, says:—

"We expected that the Russian answer to Lord Salisbury's hostile criticism of the San Stefano Treaty would have contained severe animadversions on the policy pursued by the British Government, as also an exposition of the true objects pursued by the Russian Government in the East.

"We neither find one nor the other in Prince Gortchakow's Circular. It comprises, so to say, a formal repudiation of those charges which Lord Salisbury has brought against Russia, and consists entirely of negations, rejoinders, and explanations, and leaves the impression as though Russia was striving to justify herself before England. We consider Russia to be a sufficiently strong and self-contained Empire, not alone for carrying out her own policy, but likewise powerful enough to proclaim the same aloud.

". . . It seems to us that it would be far better to declare openly the object of Russian policy in the East, which, although infringing on some unimportant English interests, is not opposed to the interests of Europe generally, and, what is still more important, serves to benefit the whole of mankind."

The "Russki Mir" of the 31st March / 12th April, 1878, says:—

"The moderate tone of the document published this day does not apparently coincide with the unmistakably hostile tenor of the last English official declaration, nor with the provocative tone of the speeches made by the English Ministers. Such warlike challenges we answer with calm and logical reasoning, and under existing circumstances this moderation would have proved far more effectual if we had succeeded in a timely occupation of the Bosphorus as a counterpoise to the position taken up by the English in the Dardanelles."

The "St. Petersburgh Gazette" of the 31st March / 12th April, 1878, reviews Prince Gortchakow's Circular thus:—

"The Circular of Prince Gortchakow, while elucidating misunderstandings, questions, doubts, and oversights in Lord Salisbury's Circular, does not sufficiently bring out in relief that great task which Russia has executed in the campaign of 1877-78. Russia has no need to be ashamed before Europe that she has founded a new Christian Empire, Bulgaria, in the Balkan Peninsula, and founded it not on falsehood, seizure, and deceit, but on the blood of her best sons. Russia need not disguise before England or Europe the fact that her victory over Turkey transforms the Black Sea into a Russian lake, as Lord Beaconsfield very happily expressed himself last Monday, and that Russia is prepared to defend this acquisition at all hazards. If the Persian Gulf and Suez Canal are for England questions of existence, to guard which she is prepared at once to declare war, in a like manner the Russian lake of the Black Sea is our inalienable acquisition, and Russia will not surrender it. Security for security; concession for concession; no other agreement is possible. Prince Gortchakow's Circular has, out of diffidence perhaps, passed over in silence the firm position occupied by Russia in the Balkan peninsula, but such diffidence does not satisfy the national spirit of our Empire."

The "Exchange Gazette" of the same date says:—

"We consider that this document can serve as a guarantee not alone for the maintenance of a general European peace, but must remove in many that suspicion which so generally prevails in Europe of Russia's self-interested policy and of her plans of aggression.

"The Circular fully establishes the fact that Russia does not entertain those Panslavistic ideas which serve as a bugbear to Europe, and which unfortunately are not unfrequently to be found among our Slavophil warriors.

"That which Russia has done for Greece and Moldo-Wallachia, she wishes to do for the other Christian population of the Balkan peninsula.

"It may be that the sacrifices made by Russia in attaining her objects were of

too great a magnitude, but then she declares that her purpose was sincere; that her objects must become European objects, and should be supported by universal sympathy and co-operation."

No. 492.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 23.)

(Telegraphic.) *Bucharest, April 22, 1878.*

FOLLOWING from Captain Ross:—

"Roumanian army by divisions at Kalafat, Craiova, Severin, and near San Esti, latter division being drawn to the right of Aluta, near to Slatina.

"Total force about 40,000 men, in good condition as far as clothing and artillery, but deficient in transport.

"Ammunition columns are with their divisions. The grand depôt is being moved westward from Bucharest. Not much illness; no typhus. The Aluta line and Little Wallachia is very defensible from a military point of view.

"Russian strength here appears to be much exaggerated. Details by letter."

No. 493.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 23.)

(No. 393. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 22, 1878.*

I HAVE had very satisfactory interview with Prime Minister. He professes himself ready to meet wishes of Her Majesty's Government in all respects. He promises to give orders to troops in Thessaly to suspend hostilities if not attacked by Greek bands, and not to pursue them if driven back across the Greek frontier. The irregulars will be removed as fast as possible.

Consuls Blunt and Merlin have gone together to Arnyvo and Cardiza, and I trust that means will now be found to put a stop to hostilities in Thessaly.

No. 494.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 23.)

(No. 394.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 22, 1878.*

VICE-CONSUL at Trebizond telegraphs that (Laz) Delegates from Batoum have declared to him intention of their people not to surrender that place, but, putting themselves under British protection, to defend it to the last.

They ask for answer to telegram sent requesting Her Majesty's Government to extend to them that protection. I have told Vice-Consul not to encourage Lazs to enter upon hostilities against Russians, and to explain to them that I cannot give them British protection, but that I will communicate answer from Her Majesty's Government when received.

No. 495.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 23.)

(No. 395.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 22, 1878.*

WITH respect to your telegram of 20th instant Sali Pasha is the same who was in command in Bulgaria. I have not yet been able to ascertain about Nejib Bey. Your Lordship will find by Mr. Rendel's despatch, inclosed in my despatch, No. 416, that he had been entirely misinformed as to occurrences at Ojuma, and that he exculpates both those officers, of whom he speaks highly. I have made inquiries about Sali Pasha, and received very good account of him.

No. 496.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 23.)

(No. 113.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April 23, 1878.*

COUNT ANDRASSY objects to make a formal stipulation with Her Majesty's Government with reference to limits of Bulgaria, unless it is combined with stipulations concerning other questions that will have to be considered.

1. The period fixed for Russian occupation of Bulgaria must be reduced to six (?) months.

2. That Roumania shall not be practically occupied by the passage of Russian troops, which must be bound to return home by sea.

3. That the frontiers of Montenegro shall not be advanced as proposed on side of Servia.

4. Antivari and the country round to the Boyana must not be annexed to Montenegro. It must either be left to Turkey or given to Austria.

5. The acceptance of Austrian views with regard to Bosnia.

These provisions must, Count Andrassy says, be embodied in any agreement to be come to between Austria and England.

No. 497.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 23.)

(No. 114. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, April 23, 1878.*

COUNT ANDRASSY told me to-day that he had just settled with the Emperor that the Austrian army must be mobilized; for although it cannot be done until question whether there is or is not to be a Congress is decided, in either case mobilization must be resorted to.

The credit voted is not sufficient to keep army on footing for more than three months, and as soon as a Congress is decided on the mobilization would take place, in order to give weight to the Austrian views advanced at it.

If, on the contrary, the idea of a Congress is abandoned, mobilization must equally take place, to prepare for the emergencies that must follow.

Count Andrassy had not mentioned this to anyone but myself, and the Ministers themselves were not yet informed of the Emperor's decision.

No. 498.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 23.)

(No. 26.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, April 23, 1878.*

WITH reference to my telegram of 17th instant, No. 23, I am informed that two American captains met Russian officers in Naples, that two American steamers supposed to be lying in Rhodes or Cyprus have been chartered. Part of officers are bound to Alexandria direct, by Brindisi. The Colonel goes with the rest to the Pireus, and thence to Alexandria. They have several German (?) passports, and also American passes. None will appear as Russian. Lindermann and Plessenorg, fictitious German names, and Clark, Wilson, and Marlinworth among Americans.

No. 499.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 23, 1878.*

WITH reference to your telegram No. 381 of the 20th instant, in case your Excellency has not sent Mr. Bidwell to Volo, I am disposed to recommend that he should go there, but will leave the decision with you.

No. 500.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Télégraphie.)
(Secret.)

Foreign Office, April 23, 1878.

YOUR telegram No. 301, Secret, of yesterday has been received.

Judging of the case in Porte's interest only, I should advise holding Batoum, &c., as long as possible. It is very unlikely Russians will use force, and if they do Porte will gain more in the effect upon the opinion of Europe than it will lose by forfeiting the present precarious favour of Russia. But do not lead Porte to believe either that Her Majesty's Government can send material help in time, or are prepared to declare war upon this particular point.

No. 501.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Wyndham.[a]

(Télégraphie.)

Foreign Office, April 23, 1878.

IT is reported that a Russian Colonel and Major, and eleven other officers of lower rank, all of the Engineers, were to leave Naples yesterday for the Piræus in French boat, intending to proceed to Suez, and re-enter Russia by Persia.

I request that you will endeavour to obtain any particulars you may be able to procure as to their movements and intentions.

No. 502.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Consul Sanderson.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 23, 1878, 6·50 P.M.

I HAVE received the following telegram [from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople:—

"Porte would be grateful to Her Majesty's Government, if they would ascertain from the British member of the Danube Commission, what is the balance now due to Turkey in the chest. It is believed to be a considerable sum, and the Porte wishes, after setting aside the amount which it is bound by the Treaty of San Stefano to apply to the re-opening of navigation of the river, &c., to use the balance for supporting the Mussulman fugitives, whom they will be unable to supply even with bread."

I have to instruct you to apply to Colonel Siborne for information on this matter, and to report the result by telegraph.

No. 503.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 23, *at night.*)

(No. 115.)
(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, April 23, 1878.

IN discussing your Lordship's proposal that the country south of the Balkans should be placed under arrangement similar to that of Crete or the Lebanon, or such as was proposed at the Constantinople Conference, Count Andrassy said he entirely dissented from its expediency. His opinion was that the Porte should be as much as possible strengthened in the territory still left to it, and it would be injuriously weakened and embarrassed by an arrangement which might work, in a peculiarly-situated district like the Lebanon, but which must break down in a province surrounded by kindred and intriguing populations. I told him that establishment of a system which should give some security for a fair administration was absolutely indispensable, and that public opinion in England would not allow Her Majesty's Government to support re-establishment of Turkish authority over the Province without control.

I reminded him that the Porte itself had admitted that the last projects of the Conference might in the main, and with two or three exceptions, be adopted, without

[a] A similar telegram was sent to Mr. Vivian.

injury to it, and there was, in my opinion, no reason why some very nearly of the same nature should not now be adopted, without entailing any serious weakening of the Turkish Empire.

I personally agree with Count Andrassy in believing that neither Crete nor Lebanon system would be found to work well.

No. 504.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 515.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, April 23, 1878.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 386 of the 20th instant, in which you made me acquainted with the suggestion you had received from Mr. Consul Blunt that Mr. Burrell, the Assistant Judge of the Supreme Consular Court at Constantinople, should be sent to Volo, to carry on legally the inquiry now being conducted by a Joint Commission at that place, during the time that Messrs. Blunt and Merlin are visiting other places in the neighbourhood.

In reply, I informed your Excellency by telegraph, this day, that, so far as I could judge, I was of opinion that it might be advisable to act upon Mr. Blunt's recommendation, in case your Excellency had not already done so, but that I left it with you to decide as you might judge most expedient.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 505.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 517. Secret.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, April 23, 1878.

YOUR telegram No. 301, Secret, of the 22nd instant has been received and laid before the Queen.

In it you state that the Sultan wishes to have the advice of Her Majesty's Government as to the course which His Majesty should pursue in consequence of a peremptory demand, accompanied by threats of force, from the Russians for the surrender of Shumla, Varna, and Batoum.

In reply, I have to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government, judging of the case in the interest of the Porte only, would advise it to hold Batoum and the other places named in your telegram as long as possible.

It is very unlikely that the Russians will use force in order to obtain possession of them; but should they do so, the Porte will gain more in the effect produced thereby upon the opinion of Europe than it will lose by forfeiting the present precarious favour of Russia.

Your Excellency will, however, be careful not to lead the Porte to believe either that Her Majesty's Government would be able to send material help in time, or that they are prepared to declare war upon this particular point.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 506.

Vice-Consul Biliotti to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received April* 24.)

(No. 30. Political.)
My Lord,

Trebizond, April 2, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to report that I have transmitted yesterday the following telegram to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople:—

"Twelve Turkish battalions, 7,000 men, are about to embark at Batoum for Constantinople, on board four transports arrived Friday last, and two others expected shortly."

The Turkish forces which will remain at Batoum after the departure of these

twelve battalions, are fifteen battalions of regulars numbering about 9,000 men, and 15,000 irregulars, of whom hardly 2,000 are Zeibecks and other foreign volunteers who are expected to be sent back to their respective countries.

With the exception of 3,000 men who are stationed at Harhana, between Astwin and Livannah, all the Turkish forces are in and round Batoum and Likindjir.

Besides the 8,000 or 9,000 Russian troops along the Tsolok, there are about 2,500 at Harhana, 1,000 at Ardanush, 2,500 at Ardahan, and a body of between 2,000 and 3,000 Cossacks on the side of Olti.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ALFRED BILIOTTI.

No. 507.

Vice-Consul Biliotti to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 40. Political.)
Trebizond, April 2, 1878.

My Lord,

IN the last letters which I have received from Erzeroum, it was stated that there was now a Turkish Governor of the town as well as a Russian, but no further details are given me on the subject.

The town is represented to be most orderly; no conflicts worth speaking of had taken place between the Russians and the Turks.

The former were doing their utmost to improve the sanitary condition of the place, an epidemic of typhus fever having broken out among their troops. Two hundred per day is the number given of deaths in and round Erzeroum on the Russian sick and wounded, of whom there are about 4,000 only in the town.

The mortality among the officers was terrible; eight Generals have already died of typhus.

Troops were continually coming in from the villages to take the place of those which were sent home.

On the 24th there were about 15,000 Russians at Erzeroum, all told; and it was expected that in the event of Great Britain declaring war to Russia, the 40th division which was there would march immediately to Trebizond.

However, letters of the 28th ultimo mention that 40,000 men of the army in Asia had been ordered to the Danube, and that a number of the troops in and round Erzeroum were to make part of this contingent, which a heavy fall of snow had prevented to depart.

Loris Melikoff left Erzeroum for Tiflis, *viâ* Kars, on the 26th ultimo.

Telegraphic communication has been opened the same day between this and Erzeroum.

The Koords are reported to continue their depredations in the district of Chinis, and to have lately carried away sixteen girls from the largest village of the plain.

The Russian authorities at Erzeroum, when spoken of these outrages, answered that it was for the Turks to keep the Koords in order.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ALFRED BILIOTTI.

No. 508.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 15. Political.)
Canea, Crete, April 13, 1878.

My Lord,

THERE has been more desultory fighting during the week which has just elapsed, without anybody professing to know for certain what was its object, or who were the aggressors. The soldiers have been but little concerned in these trifling encounters, which are carried on between the so-called Bashi-Bazouks and the insurgents. Their only result is to beget a great deal of hate and ill-feeling between the combatants, which it is their true interest to prevent. I entertain great hopes that Nejib Pasha, who, Mr. Layard informs me, has just been appointed to the chief command in Crete,

in the room of Osman Nouri Pasha, will keep a firm hand on the irregular troops, whose deeds bring such disgrace on the Ottoman arms.

Costaki Pasha returned yesterday from a visit to Rethymo, Candia, and Sitia, the latter place being at the extreme east of Crete, and is the only district where Christian and Mussulman continue to live together, unconcerned at what is passing further west. His Excellency confirms what I have all along asserted, that the bulk of the population is totally averse from insurrectionary projects, and desires nothing so ardently as to be able to return to their usual occupations, but at the same time he acknowledges that they are bent on obtaining a radical reform of the administration. They are too practical a people, if not subjected to pressure from without, to reject reasonable terms of accommodation for the sake of the dream of annexation to Greece, which they would gladly see realized indeed, but are not disposed to fight for. They see with dismay that another calamity is in store for them, from the threatened failure of the grain crops, owing to long-continued drought, no rain having fallen for nearly six weeks. Neither is there any alleviation in the sufferings of the Moslem fugitives in the garrison towns. Those sufferings, indeed, must continue to increase in intensity while the present situation lasts, and may give rise to serious outbreaks of disorder unless the Porte is advised to afford the people relief in the shape of a free distribution of grain, there being apparently some difficulty in realizing the gift spoken of in my despatch No. 43 of the 7th instant.

I am happy to be able to report that the number of victims who met with their death at Kaxara, near Rethymo, was, as I anticipated in my despatch No. 42, greatly overstated. It seems that the band of Moslems fell upon a flock of sheep and killed six out of the seven persons guarding them, the seventh escaping with a hand lopped off, and with a severe wound in the neck, from which he is not expected to recover. The first impression created by the report of the Consular Agent was that there had been an indiscriminate massacre of defenceless villagers, whereas these shepherds were armed, and succeeded in wounding three of their assailants, so that the affair could not be characterized as a massacre, a word now in use among Levantines to describe any form of killing, whether of one or many. The person who instigated the Moslems of Rethymo to make the raid is a certain Dervish Effendi, President of the Court of First Instance, who has been implicated in every disorder and intrigue that has been connected in Rethymo or Candia (where he formerly held the same office) any time the last seven years, and I have had occasion to denounce his proceedings to every successive Governor during that period. Yet such is the influence enjoyed with the authorities by these local Beys, that it is only now that Costaki Pasha has felt himself constrained to banish him the island. As a natural result of the incursion made by these marauders, the Christians have retaliated by driving off a flock of 200 or 300 sheep belonging to some Moslems. A party of the latter have also been guilty of disinterring corpses in a Christian churchyard just outside Rethymo, smashing the skulls and scattering the bones. Hitherto I have not heard of the Christians practising this revolting form of hatred.

The "Panhellenion" has made several successful runs of late, profiting by the enforced inactivity of the Turkish cruizers, which were short of fuel. The latter have now, however, received a good supply of coal, more than 2,000 tons having been delivered in Suda Bay, and yesterday two ironclads and two corvettes put to sea, where their presence will make the blockade-runners more circumspect indeed, without, however, deterring them from pursuing their trade.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

No. 509.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 46. Political.)
Canea, Crete, April 16, 1878.

My Lord,

Your Lordship is aware, from several previous reports, that the corps of gendarmes in Crete has been, during many years, in arrears of pay. The evil has been increasing in intensity since the outbreak of the late war, so that, at the present time, some of the zaptiehs have more than thirty months' salary owing them. They have at times too been put on short rations, which never consist of anything better than dry bread, and the discontent caused by this treatment has been further heightened by

their Commander, who was one of themselves, an Albanian, having been dismissed and a Cretan Mussulman put in his stead. It was also the intention to appoint Cretans with the rank of Major to replace two other Albanians. All these circumstances combined have conspired to bring the ill-humour of the men to a climax, which yesterday displayed itself by their gathering in a mosque to the number of 700, and swearing with the solemnity of an oath to be true to each other in the step they were about to take. They then repaired in a body to their new Commander, and demanded respectfully, but firmly, their arrears of pay. Of course there could be but one answer to this demand, viz., that at present there was no money to pay them, and the men, refusing to be satisfied with the promise so often given, that the Government would soon satisfy their claims, they went to renew their demand before the Vali, who refered them to Osman Nouri Pasha, the Commander-in-chief. That officer begged them to wait patiently till Friday, when a satisfactory answer would be given them. They have agreed accordingly to wait till Friday, the 19th instant, but refuse to receive their rations in the interval, which they have clubbed together to supply the means of buying for themselves.

It cannot be a subject for surprise that the zaptiehs should have taken this step, as I could not have believed that any body of men who had been subjected to the harsh treatment which they have uniformly received for many years should have remained so long faithful to their duty. The Government cannot, of course, fulfil its contract with them to the full, but perhaps they may tide over the present difficulty by borrowing enough money on the spot to pay the men three months' salary.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

No. 510.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 47. Political.)

My Lord, *Canea, Crete, April 16, 1878.*

THE Vali yesterday received a telegram from the Mutessarif of Rethymo, reporting a massacre of Mussulmans by Christians, of a peculiarly atrocious nature. The following is the telegram nearly word for word:—

"Sixteen unarmed Mussulmans, who had wandered outside the lines separating the Government from the insurgent territory, near Rethymo, for the purpose of gathering wild herbs, were attacked by the insurgents, who cut off the heads, noses, ears, and hands, of nine of these unfortunates, wounded one with bullets, and kept one alive as a prisoner.

"The dead bodies of the mutilated persons having been carried into Rethymo, about 300 Mussulmans assembled at the Konak of the Mutessarif, insisting that the bodies be examined in the presence of the Consular Agents, and of the members of the local Courts of Law. An examination of the bodies having been made, they were afterwards buried, and the crowd dispersed, energetic measures having been taken to preserve order. Three of the sixteen Mussulmans attacked have disppeared, and nobody knows what has become of them."

The steamer from Rethymo having just come in, I have received a report from Mr. Consular Agent Trifilli, on this melancholy occurrence. He relates that seventeen Mussulmans had been set upon by Christians, who despatched five with their knives, killed four with guns, wounded two, and that six had disappeared, who, however, returned to town the following day, one of them being a boy, who states that the attack was made by the relatives of the Christians who had been killed a fortnight before, as reported in my despatch No. 42. Mr. Trifilli makes no mention in his report of any act of mutilation, and I have questioned persons who have just come from Rethymo, who declare that no one was mutilated, but that the bodies were covered with wounds.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

No. 511.

Consul Kirby Green to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 31. Political.)

My Lord, *Scutari, April 12, 1878.*

IT is only within the last three days that I have obtained a knowledge of the Preliminary Treaty of San Stefano, through the receipt of the Parliamentary Papers, "Turkey, Nos. 22 and 23 (1878)," and I hasten to place before your Lordship a few remarks which have suggested themselves to me concerning the territorial changes which are enumerated in the 1st Article of the Treaty, and which touch Montenegro and its neighbours.

During the past two years I have constantly advocated certain modifications of frontier in favour of the Principality, with a view to putting "an end to the perpetual conflicts between Turkey and Montenegro," but a perusal of Article 1, which commences with this quotation, confirms the assertion that the Eastern question was to be left for yet a while with all its sores in a running state. (See despatch, Political, No. 92, of the 19th July, 1877.)

The new territory stipulated for triples the size of the Principality, and augments in the same ratio its inhabitants, making in the aggregate a population of 300,000 souls.

Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Mostar is in a better position than I am to judge the new northern frontier, which, however, I believe, only engulfs Slav populations; but I have no hesitation in stating that the eastern and southern lines have been drawn with a complete disregard for ethnical relations and a full knowledge that they will not terminate the perpetual conflicts complained of, whether the Turkish authority disappears or not from these regions.

It would be inexpedient to wish to restore to North Albania the territory conquered by Montenegro since November last on the western side of Lake Scutari, and which includes the towns of Antivari and Dulcigno, together with a coast line extending from the Austrian frontier to the mouth of the River Boyana.

The majority of its population is Slav, and although two-thirds of it are Mahommedan, and the remainder only Orthodox and Roman Catholic, still the probability is that, now that the Turkish power has been discredited, religious ties will not prove sufficiently strong to prevent the ultimate blending of the whole of the annexed Slavs with the Montenegrins.

The 3,000 inhabitants of Dulcigno are pure Albanians and nearly all Mahommedans; but, as it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line on the borders of different nationalities, the natural frontier offered by the Boyana in that direction can hardly be dispensed with to favour the Dulcignotes.

Hitherto it has been understood that Austria and Italy have opposed the possession of sea-coast by Montenegro, lest, through Russian assistance, an important maritime stronghold should be created in the Adriatic; but, now with the outlets in the Mediterranean obtainable through the new Principality of Bulgaria, it is not likely that Russia will attempt to form an open roadstead or an exposed beach into naval stations.

Austrian opposition to the Montenegrin possession of Antivari, therefore, resolves itself into the wish to retain the power of blockade over the Principality now held through Cattaro, and to keep open a highway into Albania through its frontier fortress of Catel Lastua.

Italian objections, if they still exist, are really based on the wish to force Montenegro to seek aggrandisement northwards, and consequently to exercise all its energies into being a constant danger for Austria.

These are hardly sufficient reasons in an epoch of the progress of nationalities to oppose what may be called the legitimate extension of Montenegro, when it can also be supported on other grounds.

Up to the present time Montenegro has been kept by its position entirely under the influence of Russia and Austria; the first supporting it against Turkey, the second humouring it to please the Dalmatians.

Its advance to the shores of the Mediterranean brings it in contact with what is really Europe. The possession of a sea-coast by any but first-rate naval Powers is a guarantee of good conduct to the rest of the world. When no hostile fleets can issue from the Baltic or the Black Sea, none of any consequence can collect or take refuge at Antivari. The Prince of Montenegro will henceforth be amenable to advice from

all sides, whilst in a commercial sense, as his Principality can only furnish raw products, it must buy its manufactures abroad, and the cheapest and largest markets will necessarily receive its custom.

The possibility of Servia to obtain through the enlarged Montenegro, as well as through Bulgaria, access to Western Europe without the necessity of an Austro-Hungarian bridge, is not to the interest of many to oppose.

The blot in the line of frontier affecting the districts on the right bank of the Boyana is what does not appear on the Annex to Article I, but which is perpetrated by the text of the Article itself.

It is stated, the line "will cross the Lake of Scutari to the Boyana, the thalweg of which it will follow as far as the sea."

The height of Tarabosh thus becomes Montenegrin territory, and the town of Scutari also, to all intents and purposes, for the mountain commands it as completely as an acropolis of any ancient town. If the demarcation line drawn by the recent Commission could be retained (see Political, No. 30 of the 11th March, 1878), the objection would cease to exist.

In my despatch No. 76 of the 23rd October, 1876, I pointed out the frontier which ought to be conceded to Montenegro on the eastern side of Lake Scutari. This despatch having appeared in last year's Parliamentary Papers has been brought under the notice of all the competent authorities in these regions, and it has been generally admitted that is has followed most correctly the course which here separates the Slavs from the Albanians.

The frontier now fixed by Treaty is not only arbitrary to a degree, but is calculated to endow North Albania with the weakness inherent to a house divided against itself.

The Porte has handed over, by a stroke of the pen, to Montenegro some of the most influential and hardy of the Roman Catholic Albanian mountain tribes. The Skrelli, the Clementi, the Hoti, the Triepsci, and others, are now by Treaty Montenegrins.

The barrier which might and ought to have been raised against Slav encroachment is thus broken through.

Russian roubles will for a moment buy the needy and money-loving clansmen into submission, and then subtly-fermented jealousies and religious animosities will hand over these tribes one by one for punishment and consequent effacement to the unrelenting authority which aspires to being a duodecimo copy of the Muscovite autocracy.

Montenegro on the western side is now within rifle-shot of Scutari, and to the north the frontier is distant but about twelve miles. The exclusive navigation of the Boyana is lost; the port of Antivari is gone; the small mercantile fleet of Duleigno has hoisted the Montenegrin flag; and the market of Podgoritza, which was but a branch of the bazaar of Scutari, will now supply itself direct through Montenegrin ports and water-ways.

Commercially speaking, the existence of Scutari has been crushed. If it is ever to burst into life again, it must plot and hope to be annexed, and develop into the capital of the now dominant Principality.

The new territory which is acquired towards the east and north-east, including the town of Goussinié, is peopled by a population originally Albanian, but now rapidly blending into Slav, and offering a fair warning of what will be the fate of the Albanian nationality after a period of closer contact with Montenegro. The Mahommedan religion still predominates, but as most of the inhabitants adopted it, even within recent times, in order to be favoured by the Turks, it is not improbable that similar reasons may induce them by degrees to revert to Christianity.

It is computed that the new territory, commencing from the Austrian frontier on the sea-coast to Roshaj, comprises a population of 77,000, divided as follows:—30,000 Mahommedans (mostly Slavs), 23,000 Orthodox Slavs, and 24,000 Albanian Roman Catholics.

The latter are to be found almost entirely on the mountains rising from the plain to the south of the River Sem, and forming an integral part of the highland communities, which from times immemorial have enjoyed the privileges and liberty which have left North Albania a province, but nominally governed by strangers.

Now, however, another step in advance is being effected by the Slavs who, by their Slavization of Albanian Illyria and Albanian Mœsia, have proved too well their aptitude to assimilate to themselves the more ancient race.

A different creed to the Slav here adds force to the capacity to re-ist, and from

No. 511*.

Pro-Memoriâ communicated to the Marquis of Salisbury by Count Menabrea, April 24.

LE Consul de Sa Majesté le Roi à la Canée vient d'appeler l'attention du Gouvernement du Roi—

(*a.*) Sur une lettre de l'Assemblée Crétoise, en date du 27 Mars dernier, faisant remarquer que le Gouvernement Ottoman, ayant retiré ses troupes des provinces (à l'exception des places fortifiées), a laissé le pays dans l'anarchie.

(*b.*) Sur le Décret, en date du 14 Mars dernier (vieux style), de la susdite Assemblée par lequel on constitue une Administration Provisoire pour la sauvegarde de l'ordre et de la sûreté publique.

(*c.*) Sur la lettre de cette Administration Provisoire, en date du 31 Mars, adressée aux Consuls des Puissances, relativement aux conflits du 25 Février, 1878, entre les Crétois et les troupes Ottomanes, et sur la déclaration de l'Administration Crétoise réclamant l'intervention immédiate des Grandes Puissances.

(*d.*) Sur la proclamation, en date du 22 Février, du Gouverneur-Général du Crète témoignant, de son côté, des conditions peu satisfaisantes de l'île.

En cet état de choses, et d'après le désir manifesté par son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le Roi d'Italie, l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté à Londres a l'honneur de s'adresser à la bienveillance bien connue de son Excellence le Marquis de Salisbury, en le priant de vouloir bien lui donner quelques informations sur les dispositions du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine relativement à l'opportunité de faire des démarches à Constantinople afin d'éviter une collision entre les Crétois et les troupes Ottomanes, en tant que les prétentions des Crétois se borneraient aux demandes déjà présentées à la Sublime Porte pour une plus stricte application du Règlement Organique.

35, *Queen's Gate, S.W., Londres, le 19 Avril*, 1878.

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this, supported by benevolent watchfulness from Western Christendom, might easily be evolved a small State which would naturally become a rocky barrier upon which the Slav waves may break for centuries, as have the Ottoman against the crags of Montenegro.

To hope to support further Albania from Constantinople is useless. The Turkish rule here was one of prestige. This has disappeared, and it is only the antagonism of the Roman Catholic to the Orthodox faith which is momentarily keeping the North Albanian beam from leaning towards Montenegro. Material interests by the loss of the trade of Scutari, hate of Islam, and the admiration of success, are weighing heavily in favour of the new candidate. Austrian and Italian jealousies are also leaving the latter a clear field. A short term of neglect; a few violent but fruitless struggles led by the Latin clergy; and then the Montenegrin Slav will have spread over North Albania and met the Bulgarian Slav on the Black Drin, and helped him to crush the last powerful Albanian fraction in the hitherto semi-independent district of Dibra.

In venturing to place the foregoing observations before your Lordship, I have thought it unnecessary to take into consideration the third paragraph of Article I of the Treaty. If an European Commission is to be charged with the definitive delimitation of the frontiers, a sponge will be passed over the first portions of the stipulations, and a prior understanding will have been arrived at, whether the North Albanians are to have a future of their own or not.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 512.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Marquis of Salisbury by Musurus Pasha, April 24.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Constantinople, le 11 Avril*, 1878.

J'AI l'honneur de vous transmettre, ci-jointe, la traduction de la Proclamation que la Sublime Porte vient d'adresser aux habitants du Vilayet de Janina.

Je n'ai pas besoin d'appeler votre attention sur le caractère de cet acte important qui témoigne une fois de plus des sentiments d'indulgence et de bienveillance dont est animé le Gouvernement Impérial envers ces populations. L'Europe impartiale pourra juger, après cette nouvelle tentative d'apaisement, sur qui doit retomber la responsabilité de la continuation de l'état de choses en Épire.

Je vous prie, M. l'Ambassadeur, de faire de cette Proclamation tel usage que vous jugerez convenable pour éclairer l'opinion publique et le jugement du Cabinet de St. James.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) SAFVET.

Inclosure in No. 512.

Proclamation addressed to the Inhabitants of the Vilayet of Janina.

Habitants du Vilayet de Janina!

DES hommes pervers qui se sont mis à la tête de bandes indisciplinées essaient, depuis quelque temps, d'envahir votre patrie et d'entraîner par des excitations coupables les habitants paisibles dans la voie de l'insubordination et de la révolte. Ils ont pensé que l'Empire se trouvant engagé dans une grande guerre ne serait pas à même de vous défendre contre leurs convoitises et qu'ils pourraient mettre à profit les événements malheureux qui ont troublé d'autres provinces pour tromper l'opinion publique et réaliser ainsi des ambitions et des projets inavouables.

Cependant, même au milieu des plus graves préoccupations, le Gouvernement Impérial n'avait rien négligé pour garantir la sécurité de votre province, et leurs tentatives insurrectionnelles se sont brisées devant la valeur et le dévouement de nos troupes et de nos populations.

Maintenant, la paix est conclue; cet événement, en même temps qu'il permet au Gouvernement Impérial de disposer de toutes les forces militaires de l'Empire pour assurer l'ordre public, a rendu impossibles ces erreurs et ces égarements sur lesquels

les fauteurs de troubles n'ait cru pouvoir compter. Vous pouvez donc vous reposer sans aucune crainte et sans aucune inquiétude sur l'appui puissant et décisif que les autorités Impériales prêteront dans votre province aussi à la cause de la justice et de la légalité.

Mais que personne d'entre vous ne pense avoir rempli jusqu'au bout son devoir envers son Souverain et sa patrie s'il ne s'efforce aussi d'éclairer ses concitoyens sur leurs véritables intérêts et de dissiper les doutes qu'on essaie d'élever sur les intentions paternelles de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan et de son Gouvernement. Soyez et demeurez convaincus que nul ne connaît mieux que le Gouvernement Impérial les lacunes administratives dont vous avez eu à vous plaindre, que nul ne sent plus que lui la nécessité de mettre à exécution des réformes de nature à contribuer à votre bonheur et à votre développement moral et matériel.

Les faits ont dû déjà vous avoir démontré que Sa Majesté était toute disposée à introduire dans toutes les branches du service administratif de l'Empire les réformes les plus radicales et les plus libérales. La guerre dans laquelle le pays s'est trouvé engagé a empêché, il est vrai, que ces réformes fussent immédiatement mises en pratique, et même les sacrifices que cette situation malheureuse a imposés à tous les sujets de l'Empire ont pesé très lourdement sur eux.

Mais ces épreuves douloureuses sont arrivées à leur terme. Et les réformes proclamées solennellement par Sa Majesté constituent la loi fondamentale de la réalisation de laquelle l'Etat attend son salut.

Des engagements internationaux sont venus donner tout récemment encore à ces obligations plus de force. L'administration de votre province va être réorganisée de manière à ne vous laisser rien à envier aux autres provinces de l'Empire; cette réorganisation doit avoir pour base l'égalité civile et politique la plus complète, la participation de la population à l'administration du pays sans distinction de culte, de langue ni de nationalité, la décentralisation de tous les services dans la mesure dans laquelle cette décentralisation peut s'effectuer sans nuire à l'unité de l'Etat, la réforme de l'organisation judiciaire et des lois civiles et pénales de façon à offrir toutes les garanties de justice et d'impartialité, le respect du culte, de la langue, des mœurs et des habitudes de chacun de vous, la régularisation des impôts et du mode de leur perception.

Toutes ces réformes, le Gouvernement Impérial est décidé à les inaugurer sans retard, et le seul obstacle que pourraient rencontrer ses intentions bienveillantes serait l'état de désordre dans lequel on essaie de vous plonger. Vous savez tout cela, et vous êtes convaincus que nul mieux que le Gouvernement Impérial ne pourrait vous assurer les éléments de prospérité et de développement après lesquels vous aspirez et qu'il est disposé plus que jamais aujourd'hui de seconder de tous ses efforts. C'est pourquoi vous tous, habitants du vilayet de Janina, à quelque classe et à quelque confession que vous appartenez, Musulmans et Chrétiens, ne vous laissez pas séduire par des mensonges et par des paroles inefficaces et impuissantes, demeurez fidèles à la voix de votre Souverain et de votre Gouvernement, appliquez-vous à rejeter hors de chez vous ces étrangers et ces rebelles qui attentent aujourd'hui à votre repos, à votre sécurité et à votre honneur, et qui accumulent chez vous des ruines sous le prétexte de vous conduire à la liberté. Placez votre confiance dans votre Gouvernement légitime et cette confiance ne sera pas trompée.

No. 513.

Saïvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Marquis of Salisbury by Musurus Pasha, April 24.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 20 Avril*, 1878.

LE changement de Ministère qui vient d'avoir lieu n'a été motivé par aucune considération politique. Il a été provoqué par une divergence d'opinion survenue entre le Souverain et Ahmed Véfyk Pacha, à la suite de laquelle ce dernier a donné sa démission.

No. 514.

Saféet Pâsha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Marquis of Salisbury by Musurus Pasha, April 24.)

(Confidentiello.)
(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 20 Avril*, 1878.

REÇU télégramme spécial No. 196.

Mes deux dépêches y mentionnées ne sont pas destinées à être communiquées à Lord Salisbury. En vous les expédiant, mon but a été de vous faire connaître la manière de voir du Gouvernement Impérial dans la question des Préliminaires de Paix, et de vous tracer en même temps le langage que vous auriez, le cas échéant, à tenir à ce sujet. Votre Excellence voudra bien donc ne pas faire un autre usage de ces dépêches.

No. 515.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received April 24.)

My Lord, *Admiralty, April 23*, 1878.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a copy of a letter from the commanding officer of Her Majesty's ship "Condor" reporting on state of affairs at Rodosto, at which place the "Condor" called when proceeding from Ismid to Gallipoli.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure in No. 515.

Commander Day to Rear-Admiral Sir J. Commerell.

Sir, *"Condor," at Gallipoli, April 2*, 1878.

IN compliance with orders received from the Commander-in-chief, I left Ismid on the 31st March, arriving at Rodosto next morning. Mr. Dussi, British Vice-Consul, came on board. By him I was informed that there were no torpedoes of any sort at Rodosto. He also informed me that there were in the town about 4,000 cavalry and two regiments of infantry; that the Russians had a strong force in the neighbouring villages scattered through the country; that they were badly off for food, and had very little fodder for horses. The total number in and about this place he calculated at about 80,000. Prince Alderberg was in command, though not now present, having gone to San Stefano.

2. I landed, and personally inspected the whole town and the country close round. There is not a gun of any kind in position; in fact, the only guns I saw were seven field-pieces on the left of the town from the sea, and three on the right; they were quite exposed and close to the beach, evidently not intended to be used in their present position.

3. I could see no torpedoes, nor anything that in any way resembled one, nor any means of firing them. There are only a few ordinary native trading boats; nothing whatever in the shape of a torpedo-boat, nor any that could be used efficiently as such.

4. I am also informed that many of the troops are suffering from typhus fever and diarrhœa, several deaths occurring daily. I am of opinion that the Russians are making no offensive or defensive preparations in or near Rodosto.

5. I left that place at 9 last evening, and now have to report my arrival at this anchorage.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. DAY.

No. 516.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received April 24.)

My Lord, *Admiralty, April 23, 1878.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a general letter, dated the 9th instant, from Vice-Admiral Hornby, reporting the proceedings of the Mediterranean Squadron, and I am to request that this letter (which is in original) may be returned.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 516.

Vice-Admiral Hornby to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Extract.) *"Alexandra," at Ismid, April 9, 1878.*

THE report of the "Ruby's" proceedings at Volo, where she was detached to assist the fugitives, was forwarded to their Lordships on the 1st instant, in my submission No. 417. At the special request of his Excellency Her Majesty's Ambassador, this vessel has been ordered to hold herself in readiness on Thursday next to take a Commissioner from the Dardanelles to Volo to inquire into the circumstances attending the death of Mr. Ogle, "Times" correspondent.* As soon as her services can be dispensed with, she will return to her present station.

The "Falcon" has reinforced the senior officer in the Gulf of Xeros, but is at the present moment at Volo, assisting the refugee families, in pursuance of their Lordships' telegraphic instructions of the 6th instant, to send a second vessel, if possible, to be placed at the disposal of Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Athens.

The "Wizard" is employed assisting the fugitives near Volo and Mount Olympus, in accordance with the wishes of Mr. Wyndham. I have just received telegraphic information of her arrival at the Pireus this morning, with Mr. Ogle's body.

Inclosure 2 in No. 516.

The Admiral Superintendent at Malta to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Telegraphic.) *Malta, April 23, 1878, 4 P.M.*

"SALAMIS" sailed Monday afternoon for Besika Bay.

Commander "Rapid," Corfu, has sent me following telegram:—"Consul informs me has received information torpedoes laid down Prevesa, also buoys have been removed by Turkish authorities."

No. 517.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received April 24.)

My Lord, *Admiralty, April 23, 1878.*

I HAVE received and laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of the 18th instant, forwarding a Report from Sir Arnold Kemball of the services rendered to him by Lieutenant W. H. M. Dougall, R.N., during the recent campaign in Asia, and I am to state that my Lords have received this Report with [illegible].

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

* Mr. Layard has since informed me that he has appointed Consul Blunt to perform this duty.

No. 518.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received April 24.)

My Lord,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the annexed copy of telegrams from Commander-in-Chief on China station—

No. 8, dated 24th April, and one not numbered, dated the 24th April, telegraphed by the Commanding Officer of Her Majesty's ship "Sylvia," from Shanghae. *Admiralty, April 24, 1878.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 518.

The Commander-in-chief on the China Station to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Telegraphic.) *Hioyo, April 24, 1878, 2·10 P.M.*

THIS morning found as expected, Russian Rear-Admiral, three ships.

Telegraphic communication has just been repaired.

Inclosure 2 in No. 518.

The Commander of the "Sylvia" to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Telegraphic.) *Shanghae, April 24, 1878, 8·10 A.M.*

TELEGRAPH from Commander-in-chief, Yokohama. Russian squadron left, destination unknown, probably for the southward. War rumours here. Attack meditated on Hong Kong. I am leaving for Nagasaki.

No. 519.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 397.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 24, 1878.*

I HAVE received following telegram from Consul Blunt, dated yesterday:—

"Just come from meeting insurgent chiefs, interview hopeful. They require a week for communication with other chiefs; delegates from principal bands will meet near Karditza next week. They hope hostilities will be suspended till then. We shall suggest (?) this (?) to Redjib Pasha, as it will assist object of our mission. They seem willing to withdraw into Greece, provided general and unconditional amnesty is granted, and carried out under proper supervision, but they hope and expect by so doing, and by accepting English advice, their cause will not be injured, and will be considered by Congress. We made no promises. Please telegraph Volo what assurance we (may ?) give."

What answer shall I give him?

No. 520.

Consul Sanderson to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 24.)

(Telegraphic.) *Galatz, April 21, 1878.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of 23rd instant, British Commissioner of Danube asks me to say:—

The sum due to Porte amounts to 1,310,965 fr. As I reported in my Report of the 16th March, repayment is not obligatory before 1883. The cost of the reopening of navigation is 15,000 fr. We are unable to make further payments at present. I will report further by letter.

No. 521.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 24.)

(Telegraphic.) *Bucharest, April 24, 1878.*

FOLLOWING is from Captain Gill:—

"Russian troops at Galatz, 2,000 infantry reserves; Reni, 2,000 infantry and 1 battery of artillery; Ibraila, 700; Jassy, 700 (all reserves). Between Ismail and Bolgrad that half of 7th Corps that was attached to Zimmerman, namely, 36th Division—8,000 infantry, 3 batteries of artillery, 400 sanitary staff, 3,900 cavalry (not belonging to 7th, but were attached to the Commander.) At Tulteba, 2,000 infantry, 1,500 Cossacks, 900 lancers. No railway from Ismail to Bolgrad. Troops cross in 3 steam-lighters, that hold about 800 each. Railway to Bolgrad open only for military purposes. Russian gauge very badly laid; not much use, but practicable.

"At Ismail masses of stores ready to close navigation at a moment's notice.

"Zimmerman's head-quarters remain at present unknown."

No. 522.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 24, 1878, 4 P.M.*

HER Majesty's Government approve your language respecting annexation of Bosnia, reported in your telegram No. 112 of 22nd.

No. 523.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Wyndham.

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Foreign Office, April 24, 1878, 4·45 P.M.*

WITH reference to your telegram of the 22nd instant, marked Very Confidential, according to the information which reached Her Majesty's Government from other sources, they have reason to believe that the recent Ministerial changes at Constantinople do not indicate a change in the policy of the Ottoman Government.

No. 524.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 24, 1878, 4·45 P.M.*

I HAVE received the following telegrams from Sir A. Paget dated the 17th and 23rd instants:—

[See Nos. 383 and 498.]

Keep Her Majesty's Representatives at Rome, Athens, and Egypt informed of any telegrams you may address to me, respecting the movements of these Russian officers.

No. 524*.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir A. Paget.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 24, 1878, 5·10 P.M.*

KEEP Her Majesty's Representatives at Constantinople, Athens, and Egypt informed of any further telegrams you may send to me respecting the movements of the Russian officers spoken of in your telegram of yesterday's date.

No. 525.

*The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Wyndham.**

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 24, 1878, 6 P.M.*

WITH reference to my telegram of yesterday, I have received the following telegram from Sir A. Paget, dated 23rd instant:—

[See No. 498.]

Keep Her Majesty's Representatives at Constantinople, Rome, and Egypt, informed of any telegrams which you may send to me respecting the movements of these Russian officers.

No. 526.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 24, 1878.*

WITH reference to my telegram of 19th instant, have you communicated with Sultan as to plan for withdrawal of forces?

Formal undertaking of Sultan to permit us to re-enter Dardanelles, should apply to return of Russians to vicinity of Bulaïr lines, as well as vicinity of Constantinople.

No. 527.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 518.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 24, 1878.*

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch No. 468 of the 9th instant, I have to convey to your Excellency the approval of Her Majesty's Government of the steps which you have taken in order to obtain full information with regard to the circumstances under which Mr. Ogle, the "Times" correspondent, met with his death near Volo.

I have at the same time to request that your Excellency will be good enough to state to the Turkish Prime Minister that Her Majesty's Government have learnt with great satisfaction the formal assurances which were given to you by Ahmed Vefyk Pasha that a strict investigation should be made with a view to the discovery and to the condign punishment of those by whom the head was severed from Mr. Ogle's body.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 528.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 519.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 24, 1878.*

YOUR Excellency's despatch No. 461 of the 9th instant has been received and laid before the Queen; and I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the advice, as reported therein, which has been offered by your Excellency to the Porte on the policy which they should pursue with a view to the better government of the Island of Crete.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

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* Also to Mr. Vivian.

No. 529.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 290.)
My Lord,— *Foreign Office, April 24, 1878.*

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople,* inclosing a copy of a despatch which he has received from Mr. Consul Reade, who reports that the British Consulate at Rustchuk was forcibly occupied on the 2nd instant by the Russian Civil Governor of that town, General Zolotaroff, whilst the British flag was flying thereon, that property belonging to Her Majesty's Government, and which consists of a portion of the Consular archives, as well as Mr. Reade's private effects, were removed thence to the house of a Russian Major who is Chief of Police, and that the Russian General ordered the Russian flag to be hoisted over the British Consulate on establishing his Chancellerie there.

I have to instruct your Excellency to bring this matter to the notice of the Russian Government, accompanied by a request that an inquiry may be instituted by them into the circumstances narrated by Mr. Consul Reade.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 530.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

(No. 234.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, April 24, 1878.*

COUNT MUNSTER stated to me to-day that no progress had been made with the negotiations for the withdrawal of the Russian and British forces from the neighbourhood of Constantinople. The delay is said to be partly owing to the absence of Prince Bismarck from Berlin, and partly to the undecided nature of the answers received from St. Petersburgh.

Count Münster observed that the long notice of intention to return, which the Russian Government required for their army at Adrianople, with a view to a common advance to the evacuated positions on the part of the forces of the two nations, was clearly now applicable to an advance from Dédéagatch to the Bulair lines. His Excellency therefore suggested, though he did not say that the suggestion came from his Government, that when the notice had been once given, the British fleet should be at liberty to advance as far as Gallipoli, but that it should not go beyond that point until the time allotted for the stipulated "start" should have elapsed.

I informed his Excellency that I assented to this suggestion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 531.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Wyndham.

(No. 103. Secret.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 24, 1878.*

IN reply to your telegram of the 22nd instant, marked Very Confidential, in which you stated that you had learnt on good authority that the last Ministerial changes at Constantinople have been effected with the view of inspiring greater confidence to Russia, I have to inform you that according to information which has reached Her Majesty's Government from other sources, they have reason to believe that the changes in question do not indicate a change in the policy of the Ottoman Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

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* No. 398.

No. 532.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Colonel Mansfield.

(No. 26.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 24, 1878.*

M. CALLIMAKI CATARGI called upon me to place in my hands copies of the papers inclosed, and to state that the state of things was becoming more and more threatening in Roumania, that Russia had fully occupied Bessarabia, and that a Corps d'Armée was surrounding Bucharest, that at any moment the Government might be compelled to move to Little Wallachia, whither the army had been already sent.

He came to express a hope that Roumania might be represented in the Congress in order to state her own case; that she was determined not to yield to Russia, but to allow herself rather to be despoiled.

I assured him that Her Majesty's Government were most desirous that the integrity of the Roumanian territory should not be violated, and would do what was in their power to secure that due attention should be given at the Congress to the representations of Roumania.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 533.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir A. Paget.

(No 192 B.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 24, 1878.*

I HAVE caused your telegrams of the 17th and 23rd instant respecting the movements of the party of Russians officers who had been recently staying in Rome to be repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Constantinople, Athens, and Egypt; and I have to request you to keep Mr. Layard, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Vivian informed of the purport of any further telegrams you may have occasion to address to me and the movements of these officers.

I have addressed a similar instruction to Her Majesty's Representatives mentioned above as regards yourself.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 534.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 25.)

(No. 398. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 24, 1878.*

WITH reference to your telegram of 19th instant, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs have authorized Mr. Sandison to state to me formally and categorically that if after the conclusion of negotiations now pending between British and Russian Governments for the simultaneous withdrawal of the Russian army to Adrianople and Prive Agatch, and of the British fleet to Besika, the Russians should, under any pretext whatsoever, advance on Constantinople; and that if in that case Her Majesty's Government should ask Porte's permission to allow British fleet to enter Sea of Marmora, Porte pledges itself from this moment, in the name of His Majesty the Sultan, to grant permission in question. Sadyk Pasha added, should I have occasion to see Sultan one of these days, His Majesty will be ready to confirm to me the above statements.

Prime Minister would rather not put his declaration in writing lest it should come to knowledge of Russians, and begs earnestly that it may be kept a secret. Will your Lordship be good enough to inform me whether the Sultan's confirmation to me will be satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government.

No. 535.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 25.)

(No. 399.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 24, 1878.*

CAPTAIN FIFE telegraphs to-day from Gallipoli as follows:—

"Telegram last night states that Fundukjie village, in Haskeui district, burnt by Russians and Bulgarians; 1,000 Turkish inhabitants attacked Russians and beat them, at last capturing, it is said, six cannon. Russians advancing in two columns against Sultangere, which 2,000 Turkish inhabitants prepare to defend. I send despatch by steamer to-day."

No. 536.

Mr. Wyndham to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 25.)

(Telegraphic.) *Athens, April 24, 1878.*

FOLLOWING telegram from Consuls Blunt and Merlin dated yesterday:—

"Just returned from meeting of insurgent Chiefs near Xonia. Interview hopiful. They require a few days for communication with other Chiefs. Delegates from principal bands will meet us near Carlitza early next week; they hope hostilities will be suspended, meanwhile we shall suggest this to military authorities to assist object of our mission; they seem disposed to withdraw into Greece provided amnesty is granted and carried out under proper supervision; but they expect and hope that by thus following advice of England their cause will not be injured, but will be taken into consideration by the Congress. Have made no promises. Telegraph to Volo what assurances we may give."

I have answered as follows:—

"I have forwarded your telegram to Foreign Office and have asked what assurances you may give; in the meantime Turkish Prime Minister has assured Her Majesty's Ambassador that he will suspend hostilities if the bands do not attack. Beg Turkish authorities and insurgent Chiefs to await answer from Her Majesty's Government."

I have shown Consul's telegram to Prime Minister. He is anxious with reference to assurances that Her Majesty's Government should state clearly that if insurrection ceases they will bring forward at a Congress or elsewhere the cause of the provinces as if they were still in insurrection, and that their cause will not suffer by listening to the advice of England. By their cause as mentioned by Consuls, Prime Minister thinks that the insurgents mean that England should put forward and support their demand for annexation to Greece. With regard to amnesty he says the insurgents do not put much faith in Turkey, but if it is granted and carried out under joint supervision of English and Greek Consuls, which supervision should continue till definitive solution has been arrived at, they will be satisfied. His Excellency stated that if above assurances can be given by Her Majesty's Government, the Greek Government will use all endeavours to stop insurrection, but if not, he fears that Greek Government will not be listened to by the insurgents.

No. 537.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 25.)

(No. 400.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 25, 1878.*

PORTE has proposed to Russians to send Joint Commission to endeavour to put a stop to hostilities in Mount Rhodope and adjacent districts.

One of the Turkish Commissioners will probably be Wassa Effendi, an Albanian Christian. Porte states that rising of Mussulmans is in self defence, and is owing to outrages committed by Cossacks and Bulgarians, who have destroyed Mahommedan villages and massacred some of their inhabitants in districts beyond line of demarcation of the Armistice.

No. 538.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 25.)

(No. 401. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 25, 1878.*

WITH reference to your telegram of yesterday, it is most important to our interests at this moment that we should not be suspected of encouraging Greece to expect annexation of Turkish provinces, and that Mr. Wyndham should be most cautious in this matter. There is already a suspicion here that England is meditating a further dismemberment of the Empire, and if Russian party succeed in persuading Sultan that such is the case we might find ourselves in serious difficulties. It is by no means certain that those provinces desire annexation to Greece. I venture to think that the question is one that can only be decided after careful and impartial examination, and not by the force of Greek public opinion.

No. 539.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 25, 1878.*

IN answer to your telegram No. 397 of the 24th instant, you may instruct Mr. Blunt to assure the insurgent Chiefs that the Hellenic cause will not be injured by their acceding to English advice; that England will make every endeavour to secure Greece full and favourable hearing at Congress.

No. 540.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 25, 1878, 11·45 P.M.*

COUNT MÜNSTER informed me to-day that negotiations for withdrawal had stopped. Prince Bismarck had informed Russia that the conditions with reference, I believe, to the start to be given were too unfavourable to be forwarded by him to us. He, therefore, declined to go on. Count Münster did not know whether Russians would ask him to renew his good offices, or instruct Schouvaloff to continue negotiation here. I expressed earnest hope they might be renewed by Prince Bismarck.

Count Münster further said Prince Bismarck fully agreed with me, it was of no use going into Congress until some understanding was established on chief points, and that it would be better established by negotiations through Berlin than directly; and that he would not be unwilling to undertake the task if asked by Russians.

No. 541.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received April 25.)

Sir,

Admiralty, April 24, 1878.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the annexed copy of a telegram from Rear-Admiral Commerell, at Gallipoli, dated the 24th April.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure in No. 541.

Rear-Admiral Commerell to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Telegraphic.) *Gallipoli, April* 24, 1878, 2·7 P.M.

CIVIL Pasha, Gallipoli, has shown me a telegram, dated 23rd, reporting that in consequence of outrages by Cossacks at villages in ( ) of Hazkioi, west of Adrianople, Mahommedan refugees have risen and captured six Russian guns. Fighting still continues. Have informed Commander-in-chief.

No. 542.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 282.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 25, 1878.

I HAVE to acknowledge your despatch No. 312 of the 17th instant, reporting your interview with Count Andrassy on the same day, and to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve the language employed by your Excellency on that occasion.

The extension of the territory of the present Hellenic Kingdom is not, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, among the most urgent of the questions which will come before the Powers for consideration. On many grounds it is of high importance that the Greek populations which still exist in European Turkey should, as far possible, be protected from absorption into a Slav State. But this object can probably be attained by other methods than by extending the territory of the Hellenic Kingdom. In examining questions of territorial readjustment it is of more immediate interest to consider, in the first place, the means by which sufficient political strength can be reserved to the Government of Constantinople to prevent it from falling into a condition of absolute vassalage to Russia. The limitation, within proper bounds, of the new Slav State, the formation of which is contemplated in the Treaty of San Stefano, may possibly in itself suffice to attain this end. It is not, however, until this object has been adequately secured that the question of the extension of the Greek Kingdom can be entertained; but Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to deny that, if it should be satisfactorily attained, either by the limitation of the Slav State or by other means, considerable advantage would result from any arrangement which would strengthen the resources of the Kingdom of Greece.

Your Excellency is authorized to speak in this sense to Count Andrassy.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 543.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

(No. 236.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, April* 25, 1878.

COUNT MÜNSTER informed me to-day that the negotiations for the simultaneous withdrawal of the Russian forces and the British fleet from the neighbourhood of Constantinople had ceased. Prince Bismarck had informed the Russian Government that the conditions upon which they insisted with reference, as I understood, to the start to be given to the Russian troops in case of return were so unfavourable to England that he could not undertake to forward them to Her Majesty's Government.

Count Münster said that he did not know whether the Russian Government would endeavour to induce Prince Bismarck to renew his good offices, or whether they would instruct Count Schouvaloff to negotiate directly with me.

I expressed the earnest hope that, if the negotiations were to be continued, it might be indirectly through the German Government.

His Excellency then said that Prince Bismarck fully agreed in the remark which I made in my conversation of the 18th, recorded in my despatch No. 225 of the 20th instant, that it would be useless to go into Congress until some understanding should exist between the principal Powers upon the chief points in issue, and that an

agreement would be more likely to be arrived at between England and Russia through the assistance and counsel of Germany than through direct negotiations or the public deliberations of a Congress. He added that his Highness would be prepared to undertake this office if he should be asked to do so by the Russian Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 544.

The Marquis of Salisbury to General Menabrea.

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Foreign Office, April* 25, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 15th instant, inclosing two *Pro-Memoriâ*, referring to the question (1st.) of arrears due on account of the Lebanon Subsidy from the Imperial Turkish revenues; and (2nd.) to that of the non-execution of the judgments of the Egyptian Tribunals against the Khedive's estate and Daïra.

In regard to the first of these matters, Her Majesty's Government agree with that of Italy that it would be highly desirable that the payments of the subsidy should be duly kept up; and they will express this opinion to the Porte through Her Majesty's Ambassador, although they fear that, under the circumstances of the moment, any such representation will be of but little avail.

Her Majesty's Government are glad to learn, both from the reference in your Excellency's *Pro-Memoriâ*, and from accounts which they have received from Her Majesty's Consul-General in Syria, that, notwithstanding the recent course of events in the rest of Turkey, the affairs of the Lebanon have hitherto been prosperous.

In regard to the proposal for joint action of the Agents of the Powers in Egypt to secure the exemption of the Courts in the matters above referred to, to which reference is made in the second of the *Pro-Memoriâ* in your Excellency's note, I have the honour to observe to your Excellency that, as appears by a report from Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, dated the 29th ultimo, a collective protest on this subject had been addressed to the Egyptian Government by himself and his colleagues, who are now awaiting a reply to their representation; and Her Majesty's Government have learnt with satisfaction that M. de Martino, the Italian Agent, is acting with Her Majesty's Representative in this matter.

I have, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 545.

Acting Consul Calvert to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 26.)

(No. 5. Political.)

My Lord, *Adrianople, April* 16, 1878.

WITH reference to my despatch to your Lordship No. 3 of the 10th instant, I have the honour to report that an encounter between the Turkish guerillas and the Russian troops has taken place under the following circumstances.

On the 14th instant a party of armed Bulgarians from the villages near Mustafa-pasha and Tehirmen made an attempt to reach the Turkish village of Sel-bükrüm (the Sülbükür of the maps), situated on the spurs of the Rhodope Mountains, in order to plunder it, and the rich farmstead of one Izzet Aga. The inhabitants of Sel-bükrüm and the neighbouring Turkish villages opposed the advance of the Bulgarians, and a combat ensued. The Bulgarians were soon joined by a detachment of 200 Cossacks, but the combined force was finally repulsed with the loss of eight Cossacks and three horses killed, and one officer missing. The Russian troops have fallen back on Mustafa-pasha, and it is said they represent that a force of 5,000 or 6,000 men will be required to enforce obedience to Russian authority in those parts. The number of guerillas in that section of the mountains is believed to be 3,000 or 4,000, having their head-quarters at the village of Baladir-Yatadjak.

The attitude of the Turkish mountaineers appears to be defensive, and to have for its object to resist any attempt to penetrate the highlands which separate

Macedonia and the eastern parts of Thrace from the provinces occupied by the Russians.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND CALVERT.

No. 546.

Consul Sir C. Sebright to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 26.)

(No. 16. Consular.)
My Lord, *Corfu, April 22, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to report that on the 20th instant I received information by telegraph from the Vice-Consul at Santa Maura that torpedoes had been laid down off Prevesa, and that the buoys which marked the channel through the dangerous reefs leading to that harbour had been removed by the Turkish authorities.

2. By the mail of the same day I communicated the above information to the Vice-Consuls for the southern islands as per inclosed circular.

3. Not being furnished with a copy of the naval cypher, I have had to request Commander Fitzgerald, of Her Majesty's ship "Rapid," at present in port, to forward a notice by telegram to the Naval Commander-in-chief at Malta to the same effect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES SEBRIGHT.

Inclosure in No. 546.

Circular addressed to the Vice-Consuls at Cephalonia and Zante.

Sir, *Corfu, April 20, 1878.*

FOR the information of the masters of British ships touching at your port, I hereby intimate to you that, according to a report received this morning from the Vice-Consulate of Santa Maura, torpedoes have been laid down by the Ottoman authorities off the port of Prevesa, and that the buoys which marked the passage leading to that harbour have been removed.

I remain, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES SEBRIGHT.

No. 547.

Lord Odo Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 26.)

(No. 9. Consular.)
My Lord, *Berlin, April 24, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship copy of a despatch received this day from Her Majesty's Consul at Hamburg, forwarding a report from Mr. Vice-Consul Kruse as to the sale of the "Frisia," a large trans-Atlantic steamer, to the Russian Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 547.

Consul Annesley to Lord Odo Russell.

My Lord, *Hamburg, April 23, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of a letter I have just received from Mr. Vice-Consul Kruse at Kiel, reporting the alleged sale of one or more of the steamers of the Hamburg and American Company to the Russian Government.

Nothing is known of the matter here, and it is impossible to ascertain whether

the sale has taken place or not. On this account I have not reported it to the Foreign Office, but think it my duty to communicate it to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE ANNESLEY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 547.

Vice-Consul Kruse to Consul Annesley.

Sir, *Kiel, April 22, 1878.*

I UNDERSTAND that the steamer "Frisia," of the Hamburg New York Line, has been bought by the Russian Government, and sailed under the American flag with a partially Russian crew to a Russian Baltic port. She had a full cargo, the contents of which are not known. All is clad in such mystery that report may exaggerate the matter, but the report tends to the point that this swift steamer is intended, if war should break out, as a privateer. One or two other ships of the same line are said to have become the property of the Russian Government. I beg to report on this matter with every reserve as to truth. The pilot who brought her to a Russian port is a Kiel master.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHR. KRUSE.

No. 548.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 26.)

(No. 402.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 25, 1878.*

MR. BURRELL'S state of health prevents him going to Volo. Consul-General Fawcett is ready to go if you consider it absolutely necessary. (Mr. Blunt?) says that as there is great acrimony of feeling with regard to the inquiry about Ogle's death, and Galenga is at Volo, he is very anxious, in order to succeed in his political mission, that the inquiry should be carried on by some other person who can deal with the matter judicially.

No. 549.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 26.)

(No. 403. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 25, 1878.*

I AM authorized to state that in case of Russians advancing towards Bulair, permission will be given to British fleet to pass Dardanelles.

No. 550.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 26.)

(No. 404.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 25, 1878.*

I HAVE received following from Consul Blunt, dated Volo, yesterday:—

"Will leave Friday for Larissa, reach Karditza Sunday, and reach insurgent chiefs Monday. Arrangements made with Rejib Pasha for temporary cessation of fighting pending our negotiations with the insurgent chiefs. As our negotiations are likely to succeed, I would suggest that Province of Thessaly be raised into vilayet, independent of Janina, and Rejib Pasha enjoys confidence of the Christian and Mahommedan inhabitants, knows country well, is of a conciliatory disposition, and is very energetic; and these arrangements would be agreeable to the Christians, and would largely contribute towards pacification of the country."

I will bring Consul Blunt's suggestion to the notice of the Porte.

No. 551.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 26.)

(No. 405.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 25, 1878.*

MR. CALVERT writes yesterday from Adrianople, that the movement of Mussulmans in Rhodope Mountains is assuming most serious proportions. On the 18th Russians lost in an engagement 400, including 130 men and 11 officers killed. Great apprehension is felt at Adrianople, and precautions are taken against attack. The insurgents are advancing upon Philippopoli, driving the Bulgarians before them, killing those that fall into their hands.

No. 552.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 26.)

(No. 407.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 26, 1878.*

IN consequence of sanitary condition of Constantinople, which threatens to lead to epidemic and to quarantine prejudicial to commerce, Consular Body met and have proposed to Heads of Missions that 2 per cent. should be added temporarily to the Custom duties levied at Constantinople under the name of octroi, to be received by a joint Turkish and European Commission, and to be applied in aiding the Porte to remove refugees, who are stated to amount now to above 160,000. At a meeting of Heads of Missions held to-day it was decided to ask authority of our respective Governments to this proposal, and at the same time to make joint representations to Porte for immediate removal of the refugees.

The Russians are placing insurmountable objections in way of their return to European provinces, and it is proposed that those who will not go to Asia should be placed for the present under tents or in wooden huts at a distance from the city. Will your Excellency inform me whether I can agree to proposal of Consuls? All my colleagues are ready to consent, but some have telegraphed to their Governments for authority to do so.

No. 553.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 26.)

(No. 406.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 26, 1878.*

GRAND DUKE is making difficulties about return of the Turkish prisoners, alleging, among other excuses, that roads in south of Russia are not practicable.

Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs requests me, through your Excellency, to ascertain, through Her Majesty's Consuls at Odessa and Kertch, whether such is the case.

No. 554.

Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 26.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Secret.) *Bucharest, April 26, 1878.*

THERE is an impression that Prince Charles, under pressure from Berlin, may perhaps dismiss his present Ministers.

No. 555.

Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 26.)

(Telegraphic.) *Bucharest, April 26, 1878.*

FOLLOWING received from Galatz:—

"Military movements since my despatch No. 36. Arrival at Galatz of 2,500 Russian Engineers, and 3 squadrons Roumanian cavalry. At Ibraila 2,000 Russian infantry, 400 cavalry, 2 batteries. At Reni 1,500 infantry."

No. 556.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 26, 1878, 12 45 A.M.*

IN answer to your telegram No. 398, Secret, of the 24th instant, you should write down the promise made to you in the form of a despatch to me, read it to the Sultan and ask if he approves.

We shall be satisfied with your statement of his approval.'

No. 557.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 26, 1878.*

IN answer to your telegram No. 401, Secret, of yesterday, I have to refer your Excellency to my previous telegram of yesterday and of this day, from which you will have gathered that Her Majesty's Government have promised to do what is in their power to obtain full and favourable hearing for Greece at Congress, but they have declined to make any pledge as to the view which Powers in Congress may take of proposals for territorial re-adjustment.

No. 558.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 26, 1878.*

COUNT BEUST to-day appeared to believe that you were counselling Porte against permitting occupation of Bosnia. I told him that that was not the case, but that you had carefully abstained from giving any advice in a matter in which England could not properly interfere.

With this assurance he was satisfied.

No. 559.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 26, 1878.*

IN reply to your telegram No. 402 of yesterday, I think that, if it can possibly be managed, Consul-General Fawcett should be sent to Volo.

No. 560.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.)
(Secret.) *Foreign Office, April 26, 1878, 7·15 P.M.*

THE following answer from Russia as to the withdrawal of fleet and army has been handed to me by Count Münster:—

"I have the honour to inform your Excellency, by command of His Majesty the Emperor, that the positions occupied by the Imperial troops in the neighbourhood of Constantinople have only been taken up as a result of the entry of the British fleet into the Sea of Marmora.

"Since the proposal is made to us to adopt the principle of a simultaneous withdrawal, in order to prevent the possibility of accidental collisions, we give our adhesion to it, but we must, in the first place, come to an understanding with the Porte as to the extension of the neutral zone and other measures concerning our military positions."

The latter clause indicates proceedings with which you are probably acquainted. Do not place any impediment in the way of these negotiations without consulting me, but let me hear all you know about them.

No. 561.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Wyndham.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April* 26, 1878.

WITH reference to your telegram of the 24th instant reporting information sent to you by Consuls Blunt and Merlin and your conversation with Greek Prime Minister, Her Majesty's Government do not believe that the Hellenic cause will suffer in the estimation of Congress by the retirement of the insurgent bands, but they undertake to state explicitly to Congress that the pacification is due to their interposition, but for which struggle would have been continued. They cannot pledge beforehand decision at which Powers in Congress may arrive on any question of territorial readjustment.

No. 562.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April* 26, 1878.

COUNT MÜNSTER read me this morning a telegram from Berlin, inclosing the following answer from Russia:—

(Translation.)

"I have the honour to inform your Excellency, by command of His Majesty the Emperor, that the positions occupied by the Imperial troops in the neighbourhood of Constantinople have only been taken up as a result of the entry of the British fleet into the Sea of Marmora. Since the proposal is made to us to adopt the principle of a simultaneous withdrawal, in order to prevent the possibility of accidental collisions, we give our adhesion to it, but we must, in the first place, come to an understanding with the Porte as to the extension of the neutral zone and other measures concerning our military positions."

Count Münster then read to me from the telegram that according to the Russian proposal the notice for the return of the English fleet to the Sea of Marmora was to be six days. He informed me quite confidentially that Prince Bismarck had intended to have proposed three days, and he insisted specially that in forwarding the Russian proposal the Germans accepted no kind of responsibility for it, but merely transmitted it. I stated that I would consult my colleagues before giving any reply. Count Münster has also repeated that Bismarck was of opinion with me that no advantage was to be expected from a Congress unless the withdrawal of the troops and some understanding as to the essential points were first agreed upon.

No. 563.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April* 26, 1878.

A SHIP belonging to the Eastern Telegraph Company sailed on the 20th instant with materials for 300 miles of cable and 150 miles of land, together with clerks and instruments for working all the stations under control of the company from Constantinople to England.

It is of the greatest importance that the concession signed by the Chief of the Telegraph Administrations of Turkey and sanctioned by the Council should receive the Sultan's signature at once, and I request that you will do everything in your power to obtain the ratification of this concession by His Majesty without unnecessary delay.

No. 564.

Prince Gortchakow to the German Ambassador at St. Petersburgh.—(*Communicated to the Marquis of Salisbury by Count Münster, April* 26.)

J'AI l'honneur d'informer votre Excellence, d'ordre de Sa Majesté l'Empereur, que les positions occupées par les troupes Impériales à proximité de Constantinople n'ont été prises que comme conséquence de l'entrée de la flotte Anglaise dans la Mer de Marmara.

Puisqu'on nous fait la proposition d'adopter le principe d'un éloignement simultané, afin d'écarter la possibilité de collisions fortuites, nous y adhérons, mais devons d'abord nous entendre avec la Porte sur l'élargissement de la zone neutre et d'autres mesures concernant nos positions militaires.

No. 565.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 532. Secret.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 26, 1878.

IT would appear from your telegram No. 398, Secret, of the 24th instant, that the Turkish Prime Minister is not prepared to give a declaration in writing that Her Majesty's ships should be permitted to re-enter the Dardanelles should the Russians advance to their former positions, after the Emperor's troops have been withdrawn and the British fleet has retired from the Sea of Marmora, under the arrangement which is contemplated.

I have, therefore, to request that your Excellency will embody the assurances which were given to you verbally on this point in a despatch to me, which you should read to the Sultan, and ask of His Majesty whether he approves of the promises made by his Ministers in his name to Her Majesty's Government.

In consideration of the objection of the Turkish Ministers, under existing circumstances, to record their promise in the ordinary form for fear of betrayal, Her Majesty's Government will be content with your assurances that you have received it orally from the Sultan in the manner I have suggested.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 566.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 537. Secret.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 26, 1878.

COUNT MÜNSTER has handed to me the reply which has been received from the Russian Government by that of the Emperor of Germany to the proposals relative to the withdrawal of the Russian troops and of the British fleet from their present positions in the neighbourhood of Constantinople.

It is framed as follows:—

"I have the honour to inform your Excellency, by command of His Majesty the Emperor, that the positions occupied by the Imperial troops in the neighbourhood of Constantinople have only been taken up as a result of the entry of the British fleet into the Sea of Marmora.

"Since the proposal is made to us to adopt the principle of a simultaneous withdrawal in order to prevent the possibility of accidental collisions, we give our adhesion to it, but we must, in the first place, come to an understanding with the Porte as to the extension of the neutral zone and other measures concerning our military positions."

Your Excellency will perceive in the latter clause of this reply indications of proceedings with which you are probably acquainted.

You should not place any impediment in the way of these negotiations without consulting Her Majesty's Government, but you will not fail to report to me any information you may be able to obtain respecting them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 567.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 542.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 26, 1878.*

IN an interview which I had this day with Count Beust, his Excellency seemed to be under the impression that you were counselling the Porte not to permit the occupation of Bosnia by Austria.

I assured him that this impression was erroneous; but that you had carefully abstained from giving any advice in a matter in which this country could not properly interfere.

Count Beust was satisfied with this assurance.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 568.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

(No. 238. Secret.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, April 26, 1878.*

COUNT MÜNSTER read to me this morning a telegram from Berlin, inclosing the following answer, which had been received from the Russian Government, to the last German communication upon the subject of the simultaneous withdrawal of the British and Russian forces:—

"I have the honour to inform your Excellency, by command of His Majesty the Emperor, that the positions occupied by the Imperial troops in the neighbourhood of Constantinople have only been taken up as a result of the entry of the British fleet into the Sea of Marmora. Since the proposal is made to us to adopt the principle of a simultaneous withdrawal, in order to prevent the possibility of accidental collisions, we give our adhesion to it; but we must, in the first place, come to an understanding with the Porte as to the extension of the neutral zone and other measures concerning our military positions."

His Excellency then read to me, from the Berlin telegram, a statement, which, however, he did not communicate to me, on the part of the German Government, that, according to the proposal of the Russian Government, the notice to be given of the intention of the British fleet to return to the Sea of Marmora was to be six days. He informed me, quite confidentially, that the intention of Prince Bismarck had been to have proposed a three days' notice; and he specially insisted upon the point that the German Government, in forwarding to Her Majesty's Government the Russian proposal, accepted no kind of responsibility for it, but confined themselves to transmitting it in the form in which it had reached them. I stated that, before giving any answer to the communication, I must consult my colleagues.

His Excellency has repeated what he stated yesterday, as I informed you in my

despatch No. 236 of that date, that no advantage was to be expected from a Congress unless some understanding shall have been arrived at as to the points principally in issue.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 569.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 485.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 13, 1878.*

THE two Greek gentlemen who have been deputed by the Greeks of Philippopolis to represent their interests, and to protest against their being placed under Bulgarian rule, have placed in my hands the enclosed Memorandum, which, they allege, correctly states the relative numbers of the populations of different races and creeds inhabiting the city. These gentlemen inform me that the Russians and Bulgarians are now relentlessly persecuting all those who do not belong to the Bulgarian Schismatic Church, and especially the Greeks, whose schools and churches are being forcibly closed. I have not heard recently from Vice-Consul Calvert, but the despatches from him, which I have already forwarded to the Foreign Office, bear out to a great extent this statement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 569.

POPULATION de la Ville de Philippopoli.

Quartiers.	Familles Grecques.	Familles Bulgares.
St. Demetrius	87	5
Ste. Vierge	53	15
Ste. Marina	167	18
St. Constantin	85	15
St. Paraskevi	256	57
St. Kyriaky	454	183
St. Denis	36	29
St. Charalambe	67	89
Peri (Carchiaka)	0	372
	1,197	803

Familles Musulmanes		2,000
" Catholiques		300
" Israélites		200
" Arméniennes		150
		2,650
Familles Grecques		1,197
" Bulgares		693
		4,540
		6
		27,240

Musulmans	12,000
Grecs	7,182
Bulgares	4,158
Différents	3,900

No. 570.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 27.)

(No. 487.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April* 13, 1878.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 441 of the 1st instant, inclosing a memorial from twelve Mussulman gentlemen representing the districts in the Turkish provinces north and south of the Balkans, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a statement, translated by Mr. Stavrides, which they have placed in my hands, and which they have requested me to send to Her Majesty's Government, relating to the outrages committed upon the Mussulman populations, and to the destruction of their property committed by the Russians and Bulgarians. Although there may be exaggeration in some parts of this statement, it is greatly to be feared that much of it is too true. Those who have drawn it up declare that it is founded upon trustworthy evidence. I could not refuse to forward it to your Lordship. It is but fair that both sides of the question should be heard. I have little doubt, from the information that has reached me, that the destruction of Mussulman property has been general, and that few houses and villages belonging to Mahommedans have been spared. This fact should not be forgotten when the Turks are accused of destroying Christian villages. The evidence regarding the frightful slaughter of the Mussulman population by the Bulgarians, and the vast number of deaths of that part of it which fled from their homes before the enemy, caused by exposure and famine, is beyond question.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 570.

Statement.

(Traduction.)

NOUS avons l'honneur d'exposer en résumé les actes d'oppression exercée par les Russes depuis leur passage du Danube jusqu'à présent dans les bourgs et villages occupés par eux, soit par la force des armes soit pacifiquement. Pour cela nous allons énumérer en dessous les actes arbitraires commis à Plevna depuis la chute de cette bourgade et l'établissement de l'administration Russe. Pendant que l'armée Ottomane se rendait à l'ennemi en dehors de Plevna, un Colonel Russe arracha de force des mains de ses parents la fille de Tourbedar-Zadé Ahmet Effendi, âgée de 5 à 6 ans, et l'emmena avec lui au village de Dodonik. Le grandpère de cette enfant nommé Hadji Aali s'y rendit et en demanda la restitution, mais le Colonel le renvoya en disant qu'il l'avait expédiée à St. Pétersbourg afin d'y faire faire son éducation. Le pauvre homme eut beau avoir recours pour cela aux généraux et aux autorités Russes, il ne réussit jamais à délivrer la fille. Nous avons des informations qu'il y a plus d'un enfant ainsi pris chez de pauvres Musulmans par des agents Russes et envoyé à St. Pétersbourg. De même nous avons des informations certaines que lors de l'entrée de l'armée Russe et Valaque à Plevna, un soldat Valaque tua d'une balle au front un des soldats de l'armée Ottomane, qui était malade à l'hôpital, et que des soldats Russes étouffèrent une dixaine d'autres malades Turcs au même hôpital en leur mettant un coussin sur la bouche et en serrant leur gosier.

Lors de l'entrée des troupes Russes et Valaques à Plevna les soldats de ces deux armées, indépendamment des outrages de toute espèce qu'ils commettaient en entrant de force dans les maisons Musulmanes, y prenaient des femmes Musulmanes et les déshonoraient en les entassant après dans les nouveaux hotels qu'ils avaient établis. Les Bulgares démolirent entièrement la mosquée d'Ac-Djami à Plevna, située près du quartier Chrétien, ainsi que la chaire et le mihrab de plusieurs autres mosquées; et les pierres tumulaires dans les cimetières Musulmans. Lorsqu'au mois de Juin les Russes entrèrent à Tirnova, dont ils s'emparèrent sans combat, et qu'ils y établirent leur autorité, ils prirent 1,200 personnes dans la population mâle de la susdite ville et les expédièrent en Russie. Ceci est constaté par les lettres que l'on reçoit des susdites personnes. Quant à leurs familles, on apprenait jadis qu'elles étaient dans un état de misère extrême, mais on ne sait rien sur leur état actuel.

D'après le dire des Bulgares qui arrivent de ce pays là (Plevna) une partie des mosquées fut démolie et le reste fut érigé en écoles par les Bulgares. On détruisit toutes les maisons Musulmanes et l'autorité Russe mit aux enchères publiques la fourniture qui s'y est trouvée; de même on pilla et brûla les villages et fermes

Musulmanes, et on enleva les bestiaux qui s'y trouvaient. Nous sommes informés que jusqu'au présent jour ils enlèvent de petites filles et des garçons dans les districts et les villages Musulmans, les envoyant dans leur pays, et qu'ils déshonorent des femmes Musulmanes.

Lorsque les Russes entrèrent le 21 Janvier (v. s.) dans le village de Sou Bashi, dépendance du district de Dimotica, non seulement ils pillèrent et brûlèrent le village, mais ils allèrent jusqu'à chercher de l'argent sous les robes des femmes. Lors de l'approche des Russes à Tchorlon les nommés Haïreddin et Moustafa d'Edirné, un certain Moustafa d'Erzeroum et leurs compagnons Habil et Houssein s'étant rendus à Loulé-Bourgaz avec d'autres émigrés y furent pris par les Russes et conduits aux environs du village de Carishdirun. Haïreddin y fut mis à mort par les Russes sous le prétexte qu'il était vieux et qu'il ne pouvait marcher. Quant aux autres, ayant été conduits à Andrinople, Moustafa et Hassan y sont morts en prison. Des voyageurs dignes de foi racontent avoir vu les Russes massacrer 500 émigrés des districts de Yanboli et d'Islimia, à l'endroit dit Bashe-Dujirmen, entre les villages d'Arepli et Roum-Bezli, dépendances du district de Kizil-Agatche, et de même saisir 800 voitures d'émigrés dans une localité entre Hafretché et Hoka, aux environs du village de Zalif, dans le district de Djisri-Erguene, piller la propriété et tuer les propriétaires. En dehors de tout cela, il y a 100,000 Musulmans, hommes et femmes, qui furent mis à mort par les Russes dans les routes et dans les villes et villages, depuis le Danube jusqu'aux environs de Constantinople; mais comme ceci est de notoriété publique, nous nous sommes bornés à donner un petit échantillon des malheurs subis. Lorsque, l'été dernier, les Russes passèrent les Balcans et s'emparèrent d'Eski-Zagra, bien qu'il n'y eut pas de troupes Ottomanes et que les habitants ne fussent pas disposés à s'y opposer, s'empressèrent, à peine entrés dans la ville, de ramasser les armes des Musulmans et de les donner aux Bulgares indigènes qu'ils avaient emmenés avec eux. Ceux-ci immédiatement pillèrent les fournitures et les ornements de la grande mosquée et y pratiquèrent des salités. La même nuit les boutiques, et plus tard les maisons des Musulmans et des Juifs, furent également livrés au pillage. Plusieurs exemplaires du livre sacré furent déchirés et éparpillés dans les rues. Les Musulmans et les Juifs ne pouvant non pas seulement mettre le pied hors de la maison mais y rester même seuls, les habitants de trente maisons se réunirent dans une seule. Ils ne purent ni avoir de la lumière, ni faire du feu, non plus que dormir la nuit. Le troisième jour de la prise de la ville, quelques Bulgares, voulant incriminer les Musulmans, se mirent à tirer par les portes des coups de fusil dans les maisons. Quelques Musulmans en ayant porté plainte à l'autorité, les Bulgares coururent aussitôt chez les Cosaques et soutinrent que c'était les Musulmans qui tiraient à balle. Le résultat en fut que l'on fit pendre sans jugement devant leurs portes les nommés Déré-Kenili, Hadji Effendi, et Hafiz Ibrahim, deux braves et respectables personnes, qui n'avaient jamais fait de mal à qui que ce soit. De même six autres Musulmans, après avoir été maltraités au point à avoir le corps couvert de sang, de contusions et de blessures, furent conduits devant l'autorité Russe, où, après avoir été vilipendés et menacés en langue Turque par un Général de cavalerie, furent traînés, entourés de deux pelotons de Cosaques, jusqu'aux portes de leurs maisons et y furent pendus sans miséricorde. Ensuite ils procédèrent à exterminer une foule de Musulmans dans les localités connues sous le nom de Godlik, Bademlik, et Kiavir Binari, en leur infligeant toute espèce de tourments, de même que dans le village de Boukloumlik, faisant lier les bras à 200 Musulmans et les enfermant dans un hangar, exécutèrent sur eux un feu de peloton, par lequel une grande partie fut tuée. Ceux qui n'en furent que blessés, furent transférés à un autre hangar sous le prétexte qu'on allait panser leurs blessures et ils y furent impitoyablement brûlés, pendant que les Russes dansaient autour d'eux en disant qu'ils faisaient du kebab (rôti). Ils firent promener dans les rues, toutes nues, des femmes et des filles, et après les avoir outragées ils les livrèrent à la mort. Ils brûlèrent, tout vif, le nommé Hazir Beïli Hadji Aali, en mettant le feu à sa barbe avec du gaz. Dans les villages de Hassirlék, Kioullé, Herista, Hissarlik et Djanbaz-Viran, de même qu'ils avaient fait dans le village susdit de Boukloumlik, ils en tirèrent les habitants, pillèrent les maisons et brûlèrent les villages.

Toutes les fermes et les villages Musulmans qui existaient dans le district furent détruits par les revoltés Bulgares sous les auspices des Cosaques, et les bestiaux en furent enlevés. Ils tuèrent de même tous les Musulmans qu'ils rencontrèrent dans les maisons et commirent des outrages que la plume se refuse de décrire. Un jour avant la prise de Zagra, et pendant qu'ils étaient en train de brûler les villages d'Ada-Tépé et Sougourlar, il y avait parmi les neuf Musulmans qui furent tués dans le susdit village de

Sougourlar, le nommé Hadji Osman Aga, propriétaire de maison très hospitalier et qui fut pleuré même par les notables Bulgares. Les abominations commises aux mosquées aux lieux de dévotion, et spécialement aux livres sacrés, n'ont pas de précédents dans les époques même de barbarie et des sociétés sauvages. Il est vrai que dans la ville il n'y eut pas de maison ou de boutique brûlée, mais parmi les villages, il n'en resta debout que Yazerla, Messadji, et Tekié. Ils en enlevèrent les bestiaux, dont ils expédièrent une partie au-delà des Balkans et conduisirent le reste à leur camp. Pendant les dix jours d'occupation Russe, il y eut dans la ville parmi les indigènes et étrangers 1,400 morts, et 1,800 dans les villages. Ceux-ci périrent en partie, ainsi que nous l'avons mentionné, par la main des Bulgares et des Russes, après en avoir subi toute espèce de tourments. D'autres furent tués en route pendant l'émigration et d'autres furent victimes du froid et de la misère et continuent à en être décimés jusqu'aujourd'hui. La perte matérielle est évaluée à 1,500,000 livres.

Lors de l'approche des Russes et de leurs adhérants à Islimia, ceux des habitants qui avaient les moyens, dans leur anxiété de se mettre à l'abri de l'oppression et de la sauvagerie Russe, se virent obligés d'émigrer, en emportant avec eux une partie de leur fourniture. Malheureusement ils furent pris en route par les Bulgares et les Russes, qui leur enlevèrent jusqu'aux habits qu'ils portaient, en les maltraitant, les tuant, et en outrageant leurs femmes. Les fournitures qui avaient été laissées par eux dans la ville furent également livrées au pillage. Parmi ceux qui n'avaient pas émigré deux vieillards de quatre-vingt ans furent mis à mort et de même les femmes de Tulicadji Roustem Aga et de Berber Aali, ainsi qu'un petit enfant de la susdite ville, âgé d'un an, furent massacrés aux environs de Kirk-Kilissa, et leurs corps furent laissés sur la route. Le Circassien Nouman Aga, qui s'était livré aux Russes avec sa famille en demandant leur protection, n'en fut pas moins mis à mort lui et sa famille. Le nommé Afar Hadji Aali et son gendre Mohamet Aga moururent à Andrinople à la suite des coups qu'ils avaient reçus des Russes et des Bulgares. De la même manière furent estropiés et blessés les nommés Quinéli-Zadé Aali Aga et Tatar Tahir Aga. Le Moufti de Yanboli, après avoir été dépouillé aux environs de Kiardja, fut emmené ici blessé au nuque et à la joue. La fille du négociant Neetali de Yanboli fut enlevée par les Russes et les Bulgares, et après avoir été outragée pendant quatre jours, elle fut relachée. Lors de la redition aux Russes du village Musulman Ova, qui est compris dans le district d'Akyoli-Bourgaz, ceux-ci, après avoir outragé les femmes et les filles qui s'y trouvaient, passèrent tous les habitants au fil de l'épée. Ce fait est relaté par deux de ces malheureux, qui, échappant au massacre, sont arrivés ici.

A peine un tiers des habitants du susdit sandjac a pu se sauver ici et l'on ne sait pas à l'heure qu'il est que devient le reste.

Dans les districts d'Islimie et de Yanboli sont 7 mosquées, 2 medressés (école des Oulemas), 1 école primaire (Rushdié), 1 synagogue, 1,500 boutiques, 44 hans, 700 maisons, 25 moulins, 7 fermes, et 9 villages furent livrés aux flammes, après le départ des habitants Musulmans, le reste des mosquées et des lieux de dévotion étant aussi en train d'être dévasté.

Le même système de destruction est pratiqué par les Bulgares et les Russes sur les maisons Musulmanes, tant dans ces districts que partout ailleurs où elles se trouvent.

Quant au district de Philippopoli, il fut déjà rapporté par les télégrammes officiels combien de mille de voitures d'émigrés furent arrêtées par les Russes. Le Général Gourco avait fait savoir à l'Empereur que les femmes et les enfants qui étaient dans ces voitures passèrent entre les mains des Russes. Où, donc, sont-ils les parents de ces orphelins? Ou ils se sont échappés, ou bien ils furent massacrés par les Russes? S'ils s'étaient échappés, sans doute quelques uns au moins d'entre eux seraient arrivés, soit ici soit de côté de Gumuldjina. Or comme pas un d'entre eux n'a paru jusqu'à présent, il en est raisonablement inféré qu'ils furent tous massacrés par les Russes. Les orphelins en question doivent avoir été envoyés à St. Pétersbourg. Le Moufti de Philippopoli, Mahzoudi Effendi, âgé de soixante-dix ans, homme vénérable et inoffensif s'il en fut, fut mis à mort à Talitali avec sa famille. Ses fils, Nami et Savé, ayant été blessés, se trouvent en cure à Philippopoli.

La manière dont les Russes se comportent envers les mosquées et les synagogues a été déjà notée par les Consulats. Le Sandjak de Philibé en fait de céréales éprouva une perte de 1,000,000 de livres, et la propriété mobilaire des Musulmans pillée par les Russes monte à plus de 2,000,000 de livres. L'émigration des habitants ayant été très soudaine et très précipitée chacun sortit de sa maison presque nu. Les 800 caisses d'objets de valeur déposées par des Turcs, Juifs, et Grecs chez M. Dakela, qui jouissait de la confiance de toutes les communautés, furent prises par les Russes. Ils enlevèrent

également et partagèrent tout ce que les Musulmans avaient laissé chez leurs amis. Les maisons Musulmanes furent dévastées et brûlées, et ce qui en reste n'est pas habitable. Même dans les endroits où il y a des Consulats les désordres arrivent à ce point. Il y en jusqu'à présent à Philippopoli soixante-dix-huit incendies, et tous dans le quartier Musulman. Toutes les fermes furent saccagées et brûlées et jusqu'à présent les Russes, aussitôt qu'ils rencontrent une propriété Musulmane, s'en emparent. Les événements de Haskioi sont encore plus tragique. Surtout dans l'affaire Hermanli, si le fleuve avait une langue il aurait parlé des centaines de cadavres d'enfants qu'il a charriés (*sic*). Les habitants de Tatar ayant été persuadé de retourner chez eux munis d'un sauf conduite, et y étant retournés, les Russes en massacrèrent les hommes et quant aux femmes, après les avoir outragées ils les emprisonnèrent sans caleçons dans une hangar jusqu'à ce qu'elles furent délivrées par un corps de 3,000 Musulmans qui venaient des Balcans. Tout cela est rapporté dans une supplique à trente sceaux que le nommé Suleïman Aga d'Ashiclar, nommé Procureur des habitants, vient d'apporter ici. On brûle et on démolit les maisons des Musulmans à Haskioï. La lumière ne s'est pas encore faite sur les désordres qui eurent lieu dans ce district, mais elle se fera plus tard.

Après la prise de Lofteha, le nombre des hommes et femmes, tant dans la ville que dans les villages, qui tombèrent entre les mains de l'ennemi, ne fut que de 6,000, mais à la suite de ce malheureux événement plus de 20,000 habitants de cette contrée, ayant pris le chemin des montagnes, une partie en fut tuée par les Cosaques et les Bulgares, une autre partie fut victime des rigueurs de l'hiver, et le reste est dispersé çà et là dans un état de misère extrême. Les Russes ayant pris un garçon de douze ans, nommé Ahmet, fils de la femme Fatma, du village d'Aya Tuva, dépendance de Tirnova, versèrent de la poudre devant lui et le forcèrent de rester dessus. Ensuite ils y mirent le feu, et le pauvre garçon sauta en l'air.

Le nommé Kioutchiouk Ahmet, du village de Grabitchi, dépendance de Selvi, avait une fille de douze ans. Cette fille fut violée devant les yeux de son père (qui fut ensuite tué) par un Bulgare qu'il avait eu pendant vingt-cinq ans à son service et qui s'était associé à cet effet avec un soldat Russe. La mère de son côté ayant réclamé contre cette violence, elle reçut un coup de couteau sur son sein. Lorsque les Russes et leurs adhérants prirent Sofia, ils dévastèrent toutes les mosquées et les lieux de dévotion et démolirent les turbés, en remplissant les tombeaux d'ordures. Ils agirent de même pour le Turbé (Mausolée) de Hazreti Bali, considéré comme sacré et vénéré par tous les Musulmans de Roumelie et lequel est à une heure de distance de Sofia. Ils n'épargnèrent aucun genre d'humiliation et d'oppression à ceux des habitants Musulmans qui n'ont pas émigré. De même après la prise de Sumneow sans coup ferir, ils cassèrent toutes les vitres des mosquées et en détruisirent les ornements et les lampions, en les foulant aux pieds et en jetant des ordures dans les mosquées après en avoir pillé les tapis. Dans la susdite ville il y a la fameuse bibliothèque, dite de Hosrew Pacha, contenant 4,000 volumes d'ouvrages choisis. La moitié de ces livres furent déchirés et foulés aux pieds, et l'autre moitié enlevée et transférée à Sofia. Parmi ses habitants, soixante familles furent massacrées par les Russes et les Bulgares pendant leur émigration aux environs de Bazardjick, dans un endroit qui s'appelle Saïtli-Couronssi, d'autres familles furent également massacrées par les Cosaques pendant qu'ils s'enfuyaient vers Haskioï et les Balcans. Un pillage général eut lieu dans tout le district et les maisons Musulmanes furent brûlées et dévastées. Les habitants du district de Djouma et les émigrés de Sofia et d'autres localités, au nombre de plus de 10,000 personnes, furent, après la conclusion de la paix, tués à coups de canon et leur propriété fut pillée. Ce fait est constaté par le récit véridique de 13 d'entre eux qui purent échapper à la destruction générale. Les habitants Musulmans de Radombir ayant émigré de côté de Salonique, nous n'avons pu obtenir des renseignements exacts sur le nombre des personnes mortes, mais nous savons pertinemment que toutes les maisons Musulmanes dans le district furent pillées et brûlées. A Koustendil on a tué plus de 100 Musulmans après la prise de la ville, et quoique la moitié des habitants n'ait pas émigré, les Serbes et les Bulgares ne pillèrent pas moins leurs maisons, en ne leur laissant que le cotegon qu'ils portaient. Quand ils sortent dans la rue les Serbes et les Bulgares leur infligent toute espèce d'humiliations, en les forçant de balayer et de transporter des ordures. Les faits en dessus sont relatés dans une lettre en date de 11 Mars. Nous relevons également d'une correspondance que les habitants Musulmans de Sheker-Kioï, Beznik, Ac-Palanca, et des villages qui s'y rattachent, souffrirent mille tourments entre les mains des soldats Serbes et des Bulgares, et que leurs maisons furent entièrement pillées; que dans le village Medhiyé 130, et dans Sheker-kioï 20 maisons environ furent démolies ou brûlées; que le

nommé Qoutfoullah et d'autres personnes du même district furent emmenés les mains liées et sous escorte, et que leurs femmes furent déshonorées. La même correspondance relate qu'à Berkofitcha, aussitôt après la révolte des Serbes, toutes les maisons Musulmanes furent pillées; que les batisses des fermes furent brûlées, et les grains ainsi que les bestiaux livrés aux Bulgares; que la plupart des maisons furent saccagées et brûlées et qu'un grand nombre de personnes qui n'avaient pas la force de marcher furent exécutées publiquement sur la route.

Lors de la prise précédente de Kyzanlik par les Russes le chiffre d'hommes tués est de 1298, de femmes 276, et d'enfants 373, auxquels il faut ajoutor 256 traînés en esclavage. Nous ne parlons pas des pillages et dévastations de propriété, attendu que tout cela avait été alors constaté par les Consuls. Nous voulons seulement mentionner les violences, les meurtres et les pillages qui eurent lieu à la seconde invasion des Russes. Ceux-ci ayant surpris la ville et les villages tuèrent immédiatement une partie des habitants et firent perir une autre partie sous des tourments inouïs, afin de leur arracher de l'argent, et après leur avoir pillé tout ce qu'ils possédaient. Ils firent aussi crever les yeux d'Ahmet Aali Pasha Oglou d'Elsiva, et tuèrent, en les mettant en pièces devant la mosquée du susdit village, les nommés Moustafa, Ali Oglou Ahmet et Hassan Oglou Moustafa. On ne sait pas jusqu'à présent ce que sont devenus ceux qui y sont restés.

Avant et après la prise d'Andrinople, de détachements de Cosaques, unis à des Bulgares, se mirent à battre la campagne et commirent des meurtres et des violences innombrables qu'il est inutile de relater en détail. Nous nous bornerons seulement à citer quelques échantillons de leur férocité pratiquée sur des personnes dont nous connaissons les noms. Lorsque les Russes s'emparèrent du village de Hekimli, dépendance de Dimétova, le 19 Janvier, 1878, indépendemment du pillage et de la dévastation pratiqués, ils firent ôter les caleçons des femmes pour y chercher de l'argent et violèrent publiquement la fille de Tchalili Oglou Hosséin, âgée de dix-sept ans. Lors de la prise du village de Tchaoushli dans le même district, le 20 Janvier, 1878, une femme de ce village fut violée également par les Russes.

Le 28 Janvier les Russes ayant surpris le village de Seraï, du même district, le mirent à sac et, emportant avec eux dans un ravin la belle fille de Hadji Oglou, la violèrent. Ces derniers jours le nommé Panokosh Oglou Hassan s'étant rendu au village de Guemidji pour y acheter de la paille, y fut mis à mort par les Russes. Les habitants de Malgara, Keshan, et Ipsala n'avaient pas émigré. Or d'après les informations reçues, il n'y a pas d'humiliation que les Bulgares, à l'instigation des Russes, ne leur aient pas infligée. Leur fourniture et leurs vêtements, jusqu'à leurs chemises, furent pillées et leurs femmes violentées et déshonorées. Il est non moins avéré que dans les susdits villages de jeunes personnes, et surtout des filles de dix à vingt ans, sont prises en service par les Russes et les Bulgares, et qu'on en expédie une partie en Russie en vue de leur faire changer de religion. Voilà ce que nous avons pu exposer pour le moment, mais que l'on n'aille pas croire que les actes de sauvagerie des Russes se bornent à ce qu'il fut ici relaté. On pourrait, au contraire, en remplir des volumes. Nous n'avons pas encore pu constater ce qui s'est passé dans les Sandjaks de Varna, Roustchouk, Toultcha, Vidin, Nisha, Gallipoli, Rodosto, Uskup, et quelques autres districts. Ce qui s'est passé dans ces localités eut lieu après la conclusion de la paix et à la suite d'une occupation sans résistance.

En concluant nous déclarons que nous sommes à même de prouver, à la satisfaction même de notre ennemi, que, vu l'émigration [qui eut lieu, vu que la grande majorité des habitants Musulmans sont des laboureurs, vu qu'ils perdirent les bestiaux qui formaient la base de leur subsistence et de leur capital, la perte approximative que nous avons subie à cause des Russes est de 100,000,000*l.*

Le $\frac{29 \text{ Mars}}{7 \text{ Avril}}$ 1878.

(L.S.) NOURI BEY, *de Plevna.*
HOUSNI BEY, *d'Andrinople.*
SAID AGA, *de Philippopoli.*
FEIZI EFENDI, *de Sofia.*
EMIN EFENDI, *de Samakov.*
NOURI EFENDI, *de Philippopoli.*
ARIF EFENDI, *d'Islimie.*
HALIM EFENDI, *de Tirnova.*
MAHMOUT EFENDI, *de Toultcha.*
MAHMOUT BEY, *de Nisha.*
OMER SIDECQUI, *de Pereshtina.*
RIZA EFENDI, *de Samakov.*

No. 571.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 27.)

(No. 188.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, April 13, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship copy of a report from Dr. Dickson, giving a very painful account of the state of the unfortunate fugitives from the European Provinces of Turkey occupied by the Russian armies, now in Constantinople, and a somewhat alarming statement as to the sanitary condition of the city and its suburbs. Although the Russian authorities profess a desire that the refugees should return to their homes, the difficulties hitherto placed in the way of their doing so, and the danger to which they would be exposed from the Bulgarians without any guarantee for their safety, prevent the Turkish Government removing them in any numbers from the capital. The Circassians and Tartars have, for the most part, been sent into Asia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 571.

Dr. Dickson to Mr. Layard.

Sir,

Constantinople, April 12, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that the last accounts given by the Sanitary Inspectors to the Board of Health about the public health in Constantinople were far from being satisfactory. Notwithstanding that a considerable number of refugees have recently been sent out of the capital into the provinces, the condition of those that remain behind, and of the resident inhabitants in general, has been gradually deteriorating. Typhoid, typhus, diarrhœa, and pneumonia are the prevailing diseases; and the mortality amongst the refugees has been rated at from 300 to 500 per diem. Out of sixteen medical assistants sent by the Medical School to attend upon the sick refugees in the quarter of Stamboul, eight have died from typhoid contracted in the performance of their duties. The medicines furnished by the Medical School are insufficient and unadapted to the requirements of the cases for which they have been supplied. Provisions and other necessaries of life are daily becoming more scanty, and many of these unfortunate war victims die simply from inanition.

A great want of medical assistance is felt for the refugees located in Pera, Galata, and along the European shore of the Bosphorus. Typhus has broken out in the villages of Yenikioy and Therapia, and there are this moment twenty cases of it in the German, seven in the French, and five in the Italian hospitals of Pera.

Insufficient nourishment, overcrowding, and filth, continue to be the characteristic features of the condition of the refugees along the Asiatic shore, more especially of those placed at Scutari. There are no less than eighty cases of typhus, and about seventy of typhoid amongst these wretched people; and their daily death rate is estimated at two per mil. The medicines supplied to them by the Medical School are, here also, unadapted to the cases under treatment, and being prescribed by inexperienced medical students they are causing harm to their recipients.

The number of refugees at present within Stamboul is supposed to be nearly 60,000; that along the Asiatic shore, 30,000; and that on the European side, 19,000.

M. Boukowski, Professor of Chemistry to the Medical School, will endeavour to disinfect and cleanse the large mosques in Stamboul, as soon as they are free of their refugee inmates.

An appeal for money has lately been made to the Red Crescent Committee by the "Commission Générale des Réfugiés," which sits at Yildiz Kiosk, under the Presidency of His Majesty the Sultan. At the same time a proposal was sent to the Board of Health inviting it to hand over to the "Commission Générale" the emoluments paid to the three medical inspectors employed by the Board in making daily investigations into the sanitary conditions of the refugees; and promising that the "Commission Générale" would carry out these inspections gratuitously through its own employés. The Board of Health, however, declined to accept this ill-judged and scandalous proposal, on the ground that its income (raised chiefly from shipping) was solely intended for the purpose of defraying the current expenses of the Health Department; that, by a special understanding between the Porte and the foreign

Powers, no part of the money thus raised for sanitary purposes was in any case to contribute to the wants of the Turkish Government; that should the income obtained from shipping exceed the requirements of the Health Department, the taxes levied on the tonnage of ships would have to be reduced in proportion, so as to balance the one with the other; and that the medical inspectors employed by the Board were men of worth specially chosen to afford it the information it needs regarding the public health in this capital, in order to carry out its attributes. But that, if the "Commission Générale" had any medical officers to spare it could find plenty of work for them in attending to the wants of the sick refugees.

This discussion led to another question, viz., as the French, Italian, and Hellenic Consulates have been specifying upon their bills of health, the existence of typhus (spotted fever) within this city, ought the Ottoman Health Department to follow their example or not? The Austro-Hungarian Delegate and myself, we gave it as our opinion that this declaration was unnecessary; yet if any prevarication appeared on the bills of health issued by the different sanitary authorities of Constantinople, it might lead to much inconvenience to shipping. It was necessary, therefore, that the wording of this document should be uniform, from what source soever it emanated. Taking this circumstance into consideration the Board agreed to put on the bill of health the following declaration: "Il existe des cas de typhus exanthématique à Constantinople."

Telegrams received by the Board from the Sanitary Inspector at Bagdad, dated on the 7th instant, announce a current rumour of the existence of plague at Khoi, sandjak between Ravenduz and Suleimaniyeh, on the Turco-Persian frontier, and at Ispahan in Persia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. D. DICKSON.

No. 572.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 430.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 14, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation by Mr. Stavrides of an article from the Turkish newspaper "Bassiret" of the 7th instant, relative to the outrages and acts of oppression which the Mussulman population of Roumelia continue to suffer at the hands of the Bulgarians.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 572.

Extract from "Le Bassiret" of April 7, 1878.

(Traduction.)

LES ACTES D'OPPRESSION CONTINUENT.—La continuation des actes d'oppression et des insultes envers les Musulmans en Roumélie ne saurait que faire augmenter naturellement nos lamentations. La paix fut conclue et ratifiée et des assurances furent données aux habitants comme quoi l'honneur, la propriété et la vie de chacun seront désormais à l'abri de toute atteinte. Ces assurances furent communiquées à l'Europe par des télégrammes. A quoi bon, cependant, puisqu'encore on n'a pas mis un terme aux injustices. Tous les jours arrivent des suppliques écrites avec des larmes de sang et ayant rapport à l'oppression exercée envers les Musulmans. Nos plaintes aujourd'hui sont faites contre l'oppresseur quel qu'il soit. Qu'on n'aille pas croire que c'est contre la Russie avec qui nous venons de signer un acte de sincérité et d'affection. Il est cependant naturel que nous persistions dans nos plaintes aussi longtemps que nos compatriotes souffrent. Qui est celui qui les opprime? Il est incontestable que ce sont les Bulgares déguisés en militaires Russes. Mais que donc met à la main des Bulgares l'arme qui est plongée jusqu'au siége du cœur des Musulmans? N'est-ce la vengeance? Mais alors on aurait dû y faire exception en faveur de faibles femmes et d'innocents enfants. Au contraire l'oppression la plus accentuée est exercée contre ces faibles créatures. Quoi dont! On prétend garantir la vie, l'honneur et la propriété de deux à trois millions d'individus, on donne cette assurance en face du monde civilisé,

on fait ainsi devant l'univers parade d'équité et de justice, et puis on ne recule devant aucun acte d'exaction et d'iniquité. Comment peut-on acquiescer à de pareils procédés, si l'humanité n'est pas un vain mot? Un faible, à cause de sa faiblesse même, mérite toujours la pitié, mais si, au lieu de le recourir, on le laisse aussi en butte à toute espèce d'iniquités, fait-on autre chose que d'acquiescer au principe du droit du plus fort? or, si un tel principe venait à être adopté et mis en vigueur, malheur aux sociétés humaines.

* * * * * *

Il n'y a pas un invalide, pas un enfant et pas une femme, qui n'a pas eu sa part des malheurs de la guerre. Le respect de l'honneur des femmes disparut et d'après les lettres reçues le nombre des Musulmans qui sont mis à mort, les mains liées, est immense, et le calice des iniquités déborde.

Comment est-il possible de se taire, lorsqu'il n'y a pas plus de huit jours vingt-sept personnes du village Musulman Elyasdje et vingt-six personnes d'Oulon-dere furent mis à mort, lorsque des femmes et des filles furent pendant toute une semaine enfermées dans un hangar où les Bulgares avaient accès, lorsqu'une foule de filles Musulmanes sont encore, à l'heure qu'il est, promenées dans les montagnes, lorsque des cadavres couvrent partout les rues des villages et enfin lorsque les maisons en sont brûlées et dévastées.

Le résultat de la guerre entreprise pour l'amélioration du sort des Chrétiens, c'est-à-dire, l'ouverture de cette amélioration serait-elle le finale de la vie des Musulmans. En mettant entre les mains des Bulgares, peuple ignorant, ingrat et inhumain, l'arme homicide, et en leur donnant l'occasion d'en user, on ne saurait s'attendre à d'autres procédés. Tout autant qu'on ne fait rien pour venir au secours de ces malheureux Musulmans, que l'on ne met point à l'abri leur honneur, leur vie et leur propriété, tout autant que des lettres à cet égard dignes de foi continueront à pleuvoir à la direction de notre journal, nous ne cesserons de pousser des cris d'alarme, non pas seulement à l'adresse de l'Europe, mais à l'adresse du monde entier. Les Musulmans sont patients et acceptent avec résignation tous les malheurs qu'il plait à Dieu de leur infliger. Tandis que si la minime partie de ce qu'ils souffrent arrivait aux Bulgares, ils auraient rempli l'Europe de leurs Jérémiades au point à s'y créer dans un jour mille défenseurs comme Gladstone. Notre but n'est point de jouer à la tragédie, mais de parler de l'iniquité commise envers des personnes qui rendirent l'âme il y a seulement huit jours. Nous ne voulons pas faire de la poésie mais nous désirons seulement de faire savoir à l'Europe la violence et l'oppression exercée de propos délibéré sur quelques millions d'innocents.

No. 573.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 431.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 14, 1878.*

I RECEIVED a few days ago a telegram from Vice-Consul Biliotti, informing me that the Kurds, to avenge the death of some thirty of their brethren, killed in an engagement with the Russians, were reported to be committing outrages on the Armenians in the district of Khinis; that the Russian forces there were not sufficient to oppose them; and that further outrages were feared in the direction of Moosh.

I brought the matter to the notice of the Porte, and a telegram was at once sent by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Vali of Van, who replied, that the outrages in question had been committed by Kurds of the tribe of Hismanli, belonging to the district of Handersi, in the Sandjak of Moosh; that the zaptiehs under his orders not being sufficient to enable him to take measures to punish those who had been guilty of them, he had arranged with the commander of the 4th Corps d'Armée to send a Ferik with the necessary troops for the protection of the Armenians. The Vali added that the authors of the outrages complained of had already been punished; that he had every reason to hope that such regrettable occurrences would not again happen; and that the tranquillity and safety of the inhabitants of the districts in question had been guaranteed by the adoption of suitable measures.

I inclose an official paragraph on this subject, inserted in the "Turquie."

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 573.

Extract from the "Turquie."

LES journaux Turcs publient la communication officielle ci-après :—

"Le Gouverneur-Général de Van a informé par télégraphe le Premier Ministre qu'une bande de Kurdes a pillé l'église de Tchanakli dans le Sandjak de Mouch. Les Kurdes ont enlevé divers objets, des moutons et d'autres bestiaux appartenant à cette église. Le Gouverneur-Général ajoute dans son télégramme qu'aussitôt que cet acte de pillage a été connu, des fonctionnaires, accompagnés de gendarmes et de soldats réguliers en nombre suffisant, ont été envoyés à la poursuite des brigands.

"A la réception de cette nouvelle le Premier Ministre s'est empressé de télégraphier au Gouverneur-Général de Van de persévérer dans la poursuite des brigands qui doivent être pris et punis conformément à la loi. Les objets et les bestiaux volés devront être retrouvés et restitués à leurs propriétaires.

"De son côté le Ministre de la Guerre a invité, par télégraphe, le Commandant-en-chef du 4e Corps d'Armée, à prêter tout son concours aux mesures de répression prises par le Gouverneur-Général de Van."

Comme on le voit, le Gouvernement ne néglige rien pour mettre un terme aux déprédations de ces nomades qui, profitant de l'état de choses anormal qui a été nécessairement créé au pays à la suite de la guerre, cherchent à reprendre leurs habitudes traditionnelles de vol et de pillage. Les mesures énergiques prises par le Gouvernement auront pour résultat, il faut l'espérer, la prompte répression de ces actes.

No. 574.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 492. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 15, 1878.*

CONSUL READE (of Smyrna) recently telegraphed to Lord Derby that a highly-respectable Turk had requested him to state to his Lordship that he could raise and place at the disposal of the Queen 100,000 Turkish soldiers from Smyrna and the neighbouring districts. Similar proposals are constantly being made to me by Turks of influence and by well-known Circassian Chiefs. I give no encouragement to them; but I have little doubt that in the event of a war between England and Russia Her Majesty's Government would find no difficulty in obtaining a very large number of excellent troops from the Turkish and other Mohammedan populations.

Although amongst the Constantinople Pashas and governing class Russian partizans may be found, there are few or none amongst the Turkish people, who still retain their ancient friendship for and trust in the English nation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 575.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 493.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 15, 1878.*

PRINCE HASSAN, the son of the Khedive, called to-day to take leave of me. His Highness returns to-morrow to Egypt. The Egyptian contingent has already been sent back, and no Egyptian troops now remain in Turkey. His Highness spoke very warmly of the Sultan's kindness to him, and expressed a high opinion of His Majesty.

I was glad to hear his Highness hold this language, as it had been reported to me that he was dissatisfied with the treatment which he and his troops had received from the Porte.

I asked the Prince whether he had reason to believe that there were any intrigues going on here on the part of Russia against the Khedive. He answered in the negative, adding that reports to that effect had reached him, but that he could not discover that there was any foundation for them.

He had dined yesterday, he said, with the Sultan, who had expressed very friendly feelings towards his father, and had written him a letter in his own hand. His Majesty had, moreover, sent for some of the Egyptian officers and had conferred decorations upon them.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 576.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

[Not to be published in Blue Book.]

(No. 495. Very Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 16, 1878.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 370 of the 14th instant, I have the honour to inclose a copy of the telegraphic circular despatch sent by the Porte to its Representatives abroad, instructing them as to the language they are to hold with respect to the Treaty of San Stefano, and the attitude of the Turkish Government.

This document was given to me very confidentially; but it may possibly be communicated to your Lordship *in extenso* by the Turkish Ambassador.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD

Inclosure in No. 576.

Telegraphic Circular Despatch sent by the Porte to its Representatives Abroad.

PAR ma dépêche circulaire du 20 Mars j'ai eu l'honneur de vous communiquer l'Acte des Préliminaires de Paix signé à San Stefano le 3 du même mois entre la Sublime Porte et le Gouvernement Impérial de Russie, acte qui a déjà été révélu de la ratification des deux Souverains.

Les conditions de paix qui nous ont été proposées par la Russie ont été longuement et laborieusement discutées entre les Plénipotentiaires des deux Etats et tous les efforts ont été tentés de notre part pour en atténuer les rigueurs.

Ces efforts n'ont pu cependant soustraire notre pays aux plus dures et aux plus pénibles exigences.

Si douloureuses que soient les conditions que nous avons acceptées, l'intention de la Sublime Porte est de les observer et de les exécuter scrupuleusement, et de chercher les remèdes à ces maux actuels dans le travail de réorganisation administrative, de réforme générale, de relèvement social, qui est dans les vœux de notre auguste Maître et dans les aspirations de la nation toute entière.

Si les Puissances amies, convaincues de la sincérité de nos résolutions, touchées de nos malheurs, et pénétrées aussi peut-être de l'intérêt que représente pour elles le maintient de l'Empire Ottoman, croyaient devoir employer leur influence naturelle et légitime à obtenir des adoucissements aux conditions de la paix que la nécessité nous a contraints d'accepter, et si la Russie, dans un sentiment de modération qui serait peut-être pour elle une heureuse inspiration politique, venait à donner son adhésion à ces adoucissements, la Sublime Porte non seulement accueillerait comme un bienfait inappréciable les résultats de cette intervention pacifique, mais encore serait disposée à la reconnaître en donnant des gages irrécusables de sa déférence pour les conseils et les volontés de l'Europe.

Je vous prie, Monsieur, de vous inspirer de ces idées générales dans les entretiens que vous pouvez avoir sur cet objet important et délicat avec les Ministres du Gouvernement près duquel vous êtes accrédité.

No. 577.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 496.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 16, 1878.*

THE condition of the Mussulman fugitives who have fled to Constantinople from the Russians and Bulgarians is still most heartrending. The Turkish Government is doing its best to remove them from the capital. The Circassians and Tartars have been, for the most part, sent away to the Asiatic provinces of Turkey. But judging from the reports that I get, they are everywhere received with the greatest reluctance, and but little provision is made for their support, so that they are exposed to great suffering and privation. The reputation for lawlessness, which precedes them, makes them everywhere unwelcome guests, and the inhabitants of most, if not all, of the places at which they arrive protest energetically against having them for neighbours. But what is the Porte to do with them? The Russians will not permit them to remain in the European provinces, they cannot be retained in the capital, and they cannot be exterminated, or allowed to starve. In an evil hour Turkey was induced to receive with hospitality this unfortunate people, who had been driven from their homes by Russian invasion and conquest. Their chiefs, many of whom have come to see me, maintain that their followers do no deserve the bad name of robbers and plunderers they have acquired. They attribute the misdeeds of the Circassians during the war to the neglect of the Turkish Government in not availing itself of the natural influence and authority of their tribal heads, and in not furnishing them, when serving as irregular cavalry, with pay and rations. Prince Hassan, and some of the Turkish Generals have told me that they had no complaints to make against the Circassians when they were placed under proper discipline, and treated like other troops. But when they received, as was generally the case, neither pay nor rations, they had to plunder or starve. Nevertheless, it is to be feared that the Circassians are inveterate thieves, and that their lawless habits will make them unwelcome neighbours wherever they may be settled, unless a very strict authority is exercised over them.

The Turkish fugitives are still here in great numbers, and undergoing terrible sufferings. There are now about 80,000 lodged in the mosques, public buildings, and many private houses. A good many have been sent into Asia, but those that remain here desire, if possible, to go back to their villages and lands from which they have been driven. Negotiations have been going on between the Porte and the Russian head-quarters for their return, and I understand that it is proposed that a joint commission should be appointed to ascertain how much of the property of the refugee Mussulman populations has escaped destruction, and whether there are means for providing for them in the event of their seeking their homes. The Russian authorities refuse to guarantee the safety of any Mussulmans except in places in the actual occupation of Russian troops. Such being the case, the Porte is unwilling to allow them to be exposed to the mercy of the cruel and fanatical Bulgarians.

There is great mortality amongst the refugees in Constantinople. I am informed that in the mosque of San Sophia there are now about 4,000 persons in the state of the greatest misery, and for the most part prostrate and helpless from sickness. The deaths in this mosque alone are from twenty-five to thirty a-day, chiefly from typhus and typhoid fever. The "Compassionate Fund," founded by Baroness Burdett Coutts, which has done so much for the unfortunate Mussulman fugitives during the winter, and has been the means of saving many thousands of lives, can no longer contribute to their relief except by supporting one or two hospitals. Of the persons who have been employed in administering this fund, no less than fourteen have been struck down with typhoid fever, and it would be impossible to continue the work, supposing there were the means for doing so, without the greatest risk to those engaged in it. The atmosphere in the mosque of St. Sophia, for instance, is absolutely poisonous, and the condition of the place beyond description. The Turkish Government is only able to distribute food sufficient for the bare support of life to this vast crowd of starving human beings. As your Lordship will have seen from Dr. Dickson's reports, there is serious danger of a fatal epidemic breaking out in Constantinople unless the present state of things be speedily remedied.

During the past eventful winter, with the enemy at the gates, with some 80,000 troops in the city and in the neighbourhood, and with never less than 150,000 starving fugitives, including large numbers of armed Circassians, within the walls, not a single disturbance or riot has taken place in Constantinople, nor has a case of murder, assault,

drunkenness, robbery, or insult to women been brought to my notice; nor have the innumerable newspaper correspondents, whose principal occupation appears to be to denounce Turkish "atrocities" and excesses, been able, as far as I am aware, to furnish a single one to their employers. This should be stated in justice to the Turkish Government and to the much maligned Turks, who have borne their unexampled sufferings with the most wonderful patience and resignation.

I doubt whether any great city in the world would have furnished a similar example of quiet and good order during such terrible times as those through which the Turkish capital has passed during many months.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD

No. 578.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 497.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 16, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a protest, on the part of the Greek population of Macedonia, against the annexation of that province to the new Bulgarian Principality. I have been requested to forward this document to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 578.

Protest of Greeks of Macedonia against Annexation to New Bulgaria.

DES bruits alarmants concernant le sort de notre cher pays la Macédoine circulent ici depuis quelque temps et prennent de jour en jour consistance; à croire ces bruits notre bien aimée patrie la Macédoine serait comprise en tout ou en partie à notre insu et malgré nos protestations formelles, et notamment celle du 20 Octobre, 1876, adressée par l'entremise de notre autorité supérieure ecclésiastique du Patriarcat Œcuménique à Constantinople à qui de droit, dans la Principauté de la Bulgarie à créer, à la suite de la guerre Russo-Turque.

Notre situation est devenue insupportable et désespérée, parce que une pareille délimitation de la Bulgarie, non-justifiée vis-à-vis des Bulgares, qui n'ont pas conquis notre pays de droit de guerre, ne pourrait se faire, croyons-nous, de notre vivant et contre notre volonté, au mépris des principes du droit international les plus élémentaires défendant de disposer d'êtres logiques sans leur assentiment et sans aucune considération pour la religion, pour les us, pour la langue, pour les sentiments, pour les espérances, pour les traditions, et pour l'histoire ancienne et moderne des dits êtres et de notre patrie. D'ailleurs, faire des Bulgares d'au delà des Balkans, qui vivent chez nous comme des étrangers, ayant fait des incursions à notre pays à diverses époques et circonstances, nos maîtres et les conquérants de la Macédoine, ce serait un acte tellement odieux et haïssable qu'il nous répugne même d'y penser.

S'il dépendait de nous de nous prononcer sur notre sort et sur celui de la Macédoine, il ne viendrait jamais assurément à l'esprit de personne de demander son annexion à la nouvelle Principauté de la Bulgarie; car il y a, ainsi qu'il est dit ci-dessus, des liens sacrés qu'on n'oublie jamais; nous avons des liens de langue, de nationalité, de religion, d'histoire, de souvenirs et d'espérances; liens qui nous unissent intimément avec nos countionaux et non avec les Bulgares d'au delà des Balcans qui ont fait des incursions à notre pays. Mais pour le moment et dans le cas actuel, à l'entente même du dit bruit, nous venons par la présente protester solennellement de toutes nos forces contre la soumission de notre pays, la Macédoine, ou de notre province, pays entièrement Hellénique au point de vue historique et sous tout autre point de vue, à la nouvelle Principauté de la Bulgarie et demander qu'il soit accordé à notre chère patrie la Macédoine un système administratif et politique conforme à notre volonté, adapté à nos coutumes et à nos traditions, séparé et indépendant entièrement de la nouvelle Principauté de la Bulgarie, et assurant notre avenir.

Forts de notre droit et de notre conviction bien arrêtée de ne tolérer ni pour un moment la soumission de notre pays aux Bulgares, pleins de confiance surtout en la justice des Puissances Européennes, et prenant à témoin de cette résolution le bon Dieu,

nous, soussignés, habitants de Salonique, capitale de la Macédoine, réitérons de nouveau nos protestations formelles et solennelles contre les dits bruits, et prions les Puissances Européennes, soucieuses de la cessation d'effusion de sang en Orient, et de la conservation de notre vie et de notre honneur en Macédoine, de ne pas admettre une pareille délimitation de la Bulgarie; ce n'est que de cette manière qu'elles pourraient éloigner de notre pays l'effusion du sang et notre ruine certaine, imminentes sans faute en cas d'annexion de la Macédoine à la nouvelle Principauté de la Bulgarie.

Les Notables de Salonique, &c.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Salonique, le 10 *Mars*, 1878.

No. 579.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 27.)

(No. 500.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April* 16, 1878.

SINCE the occupation of the Turkish provinces by the Russian forces, it is exceedingly difficult to obtain any trustworthy information from them, as much vigilance is exercised to prevent communication between them and Constantinople by post or otherwise. I have been shown a letter from a person in the interior known to me, upon whose statements reliance can, I think, be placed. He states that there is a constant movement of Russian troops in Roumelia, and that a large number of them appear to be directed towards the Danube and Roumania. At Adrianople he witnessed the arrival of a considerable body of naval officers and sailors. That town is occupied by between 2,000 and 3,000 Russians. At Tatar-Bazardjik there are about the same numbers, belonging to the 31st regiment of the line; at Ichtiman between 1,000 and 1,500; at Sophia, about 5,000. It is believed that this town may be chosen for the capital of the Bulgarian Principality.

The writer of the letter in question states that he had made inquiries as to statement that some Poles had been hung by the Russians, but he had been unable to obtain trustworthy information except as to one Pole, a kind of "savant," he says, who had met with that fate at Yeni, or Eski-Zaghra. He describes the state of the unfortunate fugitive Mussulman population as still most deplorable. They have no means of returning to their homes, or of providing for their future subsistence, and are dying in large numbers from want.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 580.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 27.)

(No. 501.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April* 17, 1878.

I HAD the honour of transmitting to your Lordship by last messenger (in my No. 470) a Memorandum presented to me by the President of the Greek Syllogus of Constantinople, to be forwarded to Her Majesty's Government, relating to the Greek population of a part of the territory proposed to be included by Russia in the new Bulgarian Principality. Time would not permit me to make any comment upon it. Your Lordship may probably not have found leisure to read so lengthy a document, which contains much that might with advantage have been omitted. I would venture, therefore, to call your Lordship's attention to some of its most important statements bearing upon the protest of the Hellenes against being placed under Slav rule.

A Syllogus is, as your Lordship is no doubt aware, a kind of club or association, which has for its object the teaching and diffusion of the Greek language and literature. Associations of this nature have been established in most, if not all, of the principal towns in Turkey inhabited by a Greek population. Although they are ostensibly intended for educational purposes, they are used, at the same time, to maintain and protect the political interests of the Hellenic race, and to spread Hellenic ideas and opinions.

The Memorandum forwarded to your Lordship embodies and represents, I understand, the views and opinions of all the Greek Syllogus in Turkey. It commences, as

might be supposed, with an elaborate history of the Hellenic race from the earliest to the present times. This history is more or less fanciful. It is scarcely necessary to inquire, in order to deal with the Turkish question, whether, as the authors of the Memorandum pretend, the Greeks actually inhabiting Greece and the Turkish Empire are lineal descendants of the race that produced Plato, Aristotle, Miltiades, and Themistocles, or whether, as some writers of great authority have maintained, the only true Hellenic blood that remains is to be found in some islands of the Ægean Sea and on the coasts of Asia Minor, whilst the so-called Greeks of Turkey in Europe and Greece are not Hellenes at all. These ethnic speculations are well enough for theorising and enthusiastic professors, but are the source of grave danger and confusion when brought into the sphere of "practical politics." If an empire or kingdom is to be partitioned amongst its stronger neighbours according to the assumed origin and descent of its various populations, there would be few nations that could escape dismemberment. Even Great Britain ought not to be an exception. This doctrine is unfortunately now being applied to a country whose fate it has been to be overrun by more conquering and nomadic races than any other in the world. The whole of the Turkish Empire is made up of the fragments of peoples. Their mere enumeration would almost exceed the limits of a despatch. To pick them out and to bring them together would be more than a Chinese puzzle. But this is not the work of a statesman, which is rather to put aside all such fanciful ethnological theories and considerations, and to seek to ensure for all men, whatever their origin and creed, good, just, and equal government.

The statement, therefore, in the Memorandum that the Turkish conquerors, by calling the provinces between the Balkans and the Ægean, including ancient Macedonia and Thrace, "Roumeli," recognized them as inhabited by "Romans," that is, Greeks of the lower Empire, and that they accepted the Greek language as that of their Christian population, may be admitted to be true. It is probably equally true that a considerable portion of the Greek-speaking population to the south of the Balkans was gradually "Bulgarised" in consequence of the migration of Bulgarians from the north of that mountain chain. These immigrants were chiefly employed as agricultural labourers by the Turkish and Greek landholders, and the latter appear in many instances, especially in the villages, to have adopted their language. Thus a large number of the inhabitants of Roumelia who are now classed as Bulgarians are probably, as stated by the Syllogus, really Greeks, who use the Bulgarian tongue.

In the large towns the Greek language was retained and Greek communities flourished, notwithstanding the Bulgarian migration. The Memorandum gives a long list of towns in Macedonia in which Greek schools were established under the Turkish dominion. On the other hand, it states that it was only about thirty years ago that those who were known as Bulgarians began to show signs of national life and intellectual development in Thrace and Macedonia. During the lapse of four centuries, it asserts, only one Bulgarian school had been founded by the generosity of a Bulgarian. The Bulgarians are essentially an agricultural race, and have not concentrated in towns, or shown the same industrial and commercial enterprize, or the same thirst for knowledge and education as the Greeks.

The Memorandum gives the history of the Bulgarian schism, when, either from a desire for necessary and justifiable reforms in their Church according to some, or through the intrigues of Russia according to others, the Bulgarian clergy separated from the Orthodox Greek Church of Constantinople, and was recognized as a separate and independent religious community by an Imperial Firman. The principal facts connected with this "schism" are, no doubt, well known to your Lordship, and it is unnecessary to touch upon the history of it as given from an Orthodox and Greek point of view by the Syllogus. It is only necessary to mention that many of the bishoprics in Macedonia and Thrace, which it is proposed to include in Bulgaria, have remained faithful to the Constantinople Patriarchate.

The Bulgarian schism gave the first impulse to Bulgarian nationality. It enabled Russia to throw over the Greeks or Hellenes, and to make use of the Bulgarians instead for furthering her designs upon the Turkish Empire. An antagonism was fomented by her between the Constantinople and Bulgarian Churches, which soon broke out into open warfare. Incited and assisted by Russia, and by the agents of the Panslavist Committees, the Bulgarians attempted to force those who remained faithful to the Œcumenical Patriarch to join the Bulgarian schism. The authors of the Memorandum do not hesitate to affirm (page 23) that in order to complete the ecclesiastical conquest of Thrace and Macedonia these Committees, acting under Russian direction, drove the Bulgarians into insurrection against the Sultan, and that

"the documents taken from the Bulgarian Committees have proved that the *mot d'ordre* was the destruction by fire and sword both of the Greek and Mussulman populations." This is an important statement coming from the Greeks, and may, perhaps, satisfy those who have indignantly denied the assertion of the Porte, founded upon documentary evidence, that if the Bulgarian insurrection of 1877 had been successful it would have ended in the massacre of the Mussulman population.

The Memorandum adduces as a proof that the large towns of Thrace are essentially Greek "the fact that Adrianople and Philippopolis were destined by the Panslavist Committees to be burnt to the ground." It was, the Memorandum admits, the knowledge of these facts by the Mahommedans that led to the massacre of Batak by way of retaliation ("représailles").

The Memorandum proceeds to give statistics to prove that whilst the Greek and Turkish populations in Thrace and Macedonia are collected in the large and small towns ("bourgs"), and possess extensive landed estates, the Bulgarians, and the Greeks who have become "Bulgarized," inhabit the villages in the midst of these estates, on which they are the farm labourers. These Bulgarians form not a fixed, but a nomad, population, as they change their habitations according to their wants and those of their employers. The authors of the Memorandum complain that through Panslavisi (or Russian) agency this wandering population is made to appear in certain modern maps, such as that of Kiepert, as the permanent one of the country, and thus Europe has been deceived, and has been led to believe in a Bulgarian Macedonia and Thrace, whilst all the intellectual movement in these provinces, and all the commercial and industrial enterprise, the wealth and the intelligence, are to be found amongst the Hellenes.

Another important fact is admitted by the Memorandum, viz., that up to the time of the massacre of Batak the Bulgarians had been subjected to no persecution or ill-treatment by the Turks, but, on the contrary, had been allowed to live in peace and quiet, and to attain much prosperity under their rule (page 27).

The Panslavist Committees availed themselves of the liberty allowed by the Turkish Government to the Bulgarians to establish amongst them schools and educational establishments, "but not," say the authors of the Memorandum, "for the purpose of diffusing civilization and of establishing concord between different races, but with the object of inspiring envy and hatred in the Bulgarians towards the communities which lived beside them, and to teach this ignorant and primitive people that it could only find safety in the destruction of its neighbours. It is in consequence of this teaching that the Greek churches and schools were pillaged, wrecked, destroyed, or seized by the Bulgarians."

The authors of the Memorandum proceed to point out that, to subject the population of the towns to the rule of the rural populations, as proposed by Russia, would be in opposition to the principles of modern civilization, and would be to place those who have wealth and intelligence, and who are making rapid progress in civilization, under those who are backward and ignorant, and have given proofs of their intolerance and of their implacable hatred of all who are not of the same class and religious opinions as themselves. They also call attention to the danger of giving the country over to the Bulgarians, who are simple labourers, whilst the land ("propriété foncière") which they expect to divide amongst them belongs almost entirely to Turkish and Greek proprietors. This, it is maintained, would be to sanction the worst doctrines of communism and socialism, by placing at the mercy of the labouring class —poor, ignorant, and envious—the property of those who are honest, intelligent, and civilized. Such a state of things, the authors of the Memorandum think, would constitute a permanent danger to Europe at large.

Such are the principal subjects referred to in the Memorandum, to which is annexed statistical tables of the Greek and Bulgarian populations of Thrace and Macedonia. How far these tables are to be trusted I cannot say. I believe that they have been compiled from data furnished by the Syllogues in the towns of these provinces, by the Greek Patriarchate, and by the official returns published by the Porte. It is, of course, probable that the most favourable estimate is given in them of the numbers of the population alleged to be of the Hellenic race. At the same time, the authors of the Memorandum appear to have proved that, to place the Turkish provinces to the south of the Balkans under Bulgarian rule, would be a palpable injustice to the other Christian populations and to the Mussulmans, that it would have the effect of crushing that portion of the so-called Hellenic race that inhabits this part of Turkey in Europe, and that it would check, if it did not destroy,

the elements of real progress and civilization, which, even under Turkish rule, were being rapidly developed in Macedonia and Thrace.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 581.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 502.)
My Lord,

Constantinople, April 17, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copies of despatches from Her Majesty's Vice-Consuls at Enos and Sulina relative to Russian military preparations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 581.

Vice-Consul Rossy to Consul-General Fawcett.

M. le Consul-Général,

Enos, le 20 Mars, 1878.

PAR ma lettre du 28 du mois écoulé, j'eus l'honneur de vous informer le mouvement de l'armée Russe à notre district; mais au lieu de deux régiments de Grenadiers que j'indiquais ne sont arrivés que trois bataillons, à peu près de 2,200 de Grenadiers, avec une artillerie de 300 personnes et de 6 canons de calibre de neuf, en tout 2,500 soldats, plus un cavalerie d'escadrons environ 60 personnes, qui ont été distribuées aux villages lointains.

Après le départ du Colonel Zoubatoff et son armée pour Malgara, le Colonel actuel (M. Nikaloff) a reçu ordre d'envoyer un bataillon de Grenadiers d'Enos, avec une artillerie de 3 canons, pour occuper la province Turque d'Ipsala. Cet ordre a été accompli le 12 du courant, et toute l'armée existant à Enos consiste de 1,800 à 1,900 soldats, avec trois canons. Les habitants d'Ipsala se plaignent amèrement de la conduite des soldats Russes; ils sont très persécutés, et leurs bestiaux servent de nourriture *gratis*, &c.

Partout ces soldats mènent la même vie. Sans pitié, la semaine passée, ils entrèrent quelques-uns dans le monastère Grec Saint Pantilliamon, une heure loin d'Enos, et en ont par force enlevé une quantité d'orge et autres comestibles de bouche.

D'après mes renseignements une cavalerie de 100 Cosaques, ils ont été habiter la province d'Ipsala, où on trouve de grandes quantités de foin, d'orge, &c., pour nourir aisément leurs chevaux. Dans la province de Kechan ne reste qu'un bataillon d'infanterie, mais on a passé divers troupes, à peu près 7,600 personnes, pour Courondagh, avec une artillerie de petits canons de montagne. On me dit ici que ces soldats doivent quitter Courondagh pour retourner par mer en Russie.

Je ne puis pas vous décrire le désordre qui règne à ces troupes, et leur conduite inconséquent; le vol est permi à ces soldats sales; les villageois Turcs méritent de pitié; la plupart de ces pauvres gens ont abandonné leurs foyers, vendant le peu de bestiaux qui l'ont laissés[a] à de chétif prix; une masse de vagabonds parcourent les villages, usurpant les biens de ces villageois.

Le 12 du courant, au matin, il a été ancré la frégate Royale "Research." Le Capitaine Wilson a fait visite au Colonel Russe avec moi, et puis nous avons fait le tour dans la ville. J'ai en même temps signifié à M. le Commandant tous les renseignements voulus.

Aujourd'hui est arrivé un prêtre Russe pour faire la messe aux soldats. On me dit qu'il séjournera pour une semaine dans notre ville.

(Signé) J. ROSSY.

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[a] *Sic*, qui leur restent?

Inclosure 2 in No. 581.

Vice-Consul Rossy to Consul-General Fawcett.

M. le Consul-Général, *Enos, le 6 Avril*, 1878.

DEPUIS le 20 du mois écoulé que j'eus l'honneur de vous écrire de lors je n'ai pas eu rien d'important de vous signifier.

Par ma présente je me fais un devoir de vous informer que le même désordre et actes de vol existent dans l'armée Russe. Les habitants se plaignent amèrement de la conduite des soldats. Mais qui les entendent? L'état hygiénique des soldats est pitoyable, et augmente d'un jour à l'autre, à cause de la nourriture qu'on les offre. La viande qu'ils mangent est bonne pour les chiens. Encore cette nourriture indispensable commence à manquer; les bouchers ils demandent 12 piastres l'oque, et provisoirement ces derniers en ont de bons bœufs, mais le prix ne convient à M. le Colonel, puisque jusqu'à aujourd'hui il trouvait à de prix minimes pour des bêtes chétifs et très maigres. En un mot, si les soldats restent trop dans le pays, nous avons pour nous-mêmes de quelque maladie sérieuse et contagieuse; les malades on les envoient continuellement par chariots dans la province de Keehan.

L'artillerie et l'infanterie de Grenadiers, qui ont été à Ipsala, sont de retour depuis Dimanche; l'artillerie, avec 200 soldats, a fait son installation au village Grec de Maistro, une heure loin d'Enos.

Les Russes ne vexent plus les Turcs; au contraire, ils ont changé de conduite convenable envers eux.

La semaine passée un officier arrivé exprès, s'occupe d'une statistique décrivant les villages, les habitants et leur terrain. Un autre officier, il a visité avec attention le château de notre ville, qui tende à la ruine, et prend la forme de remparts.

Aujourd'hui un ami m'a informé, confidentiellement, que le Colonel Russe, M. Nihaloff, a prévenu le douanier de ne plus accepter des Anglais qui serait sortis d'un navire de guerre. J'ai en outre appris qu'on attend d'un jour à l'autre 4,000 soldats pour fortifier Fracondina et Cara-Tziali. Pour le moment toute l'armée concentrée ne monte qu'à 2,400, habitants dans la ville et les villages Grecs, comprise l'artillerie avec 6 canons, et d'une cavalerie de 75 escadrons.

Ipsala n'est habité que de 400 soldats à peu près. Dans la province de Keehan reste toujours un bataillon de Grenadiers et une petite quantité de la cavalerie des Cosaques.

(Signé) J. ROSSY.

Inclosure 3 in No. 581.

Vice-Consul Stokes to Mr. Layard.

(Extract.) *Sulina, April* 9, 1878.

THE Russians are collecting a number of large piles at the upper end of the town, with which, it is reported, they intend to block the river in the event of war.

No. 582.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 503.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April* 17, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of despatches from Her Majesty's Consular Agents at Varna, Prevesa, and Salonica, containing reports on matters of interest in their respective districts.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 582.

Consul R. Reade to Mr. Layard.

Sir, *Varnâ; April* 9, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency an occurrence that has taken place at Rustchuk, between the Russian authorities there and the Italian and Austrian Consuls, and which has placed the two latter in a very anomalous position.

It appears that on the arrival at Rustchuk of the Italian Consul, M. de Gubernatis, he engaged a second Dragoman, a Jew resident of the place, who speaks all the requisite languages.

On the 27th ultimo M. Gubernatis left Rustchuk for Bucharest, leaving the Consulate in charge of M. Montlong, the Austrian Consul-General.

On the following day the Dragoman was arrested by order of the Russian Commandant, the Bulgars having denounced him as a spy.

M. Montlong, on hearing of this event, went to the Commandant to intercede for the Dragoman, but was told by this officer that the man not being an Austrian it was not his place to interfere.

M. Montlong then sent off a messenger to inform M. Gubernatis, who at once returned to Rustchuk, and went to the Commandant on the matter, but he was told that as his position as Italian Consul was not recognized, he, the Commandant, declined to accept his intervention, that the Dragoman had been arrested *en règle*, and would be tried by the competent authorities. M. Gubernatis was, therefore, obliged to retire, and the Dragoman was still in arrest when the reporter of this occurrence left Rustchuk.

I am told that both Consuls naturally feel themselves in a very disagreeable position, as they have now received proof that their official position is not recognized by the Russians.

This occurrence has also, I hear, created a great sensation amongst the foreigners in Rustchuk, chiefly from the overbearing and insolent demeanour of the Bulgars.

From the numerous Austrian interests and subjects at Rustchuk, it was not unnatural that M. Montlong should have been ordered there, but as there are neither Italian interests nor subjects there it was thought extraordinary by the Turkish authorities that M. Gubernatis also returned there.

(Signed) R. READE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 582.

Consul R. Reade to Mr. Layard.

(Confidential.)

Sir, *Varna, April* 9, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to report that I have been confidentially informed by the Greek Archbishop here that he has just been acquainted by trustworthy persons inland that the Bulgars are resolved to elect as Prince of the new Bulgarian State General Ignatieff, and it appears that emissaries are being secretly despatched in every direction with a view to obtain as complete an unanimity as possible on this matter.

The Archbishop added that the Greeks who had heard of this were a good deal excited, as the General is looked upon by all of them as the enemy of their nation and its interests.

I have also been informed that the Russian Commander at Rustchuk has been urgently pressing the General Fazli Pasha to evacuate Shumla as quickly as possible, threatening, I hear, that if this is not soon done, to cut off his communication; and I have been told by persons arrived from Shumla that preparations are apparently being made to resist any aggression on the part of the Russians, both on Shumla or its line of communication. The over-supply of guns and ammunition at Shumla is being brought down here by the railway.

I am also told that the forts round Varna are also being strengthened and kept ready in case of any *coup de main* by the Russians on this place, which, from all I hear, will undoubtedly be resisted to the last; but as General Zimmerman has now only about 8,000 troops at Bazardjik, and as there are certainly thirty complete battalions here, I doubt whether this will be attempted as long as the troops remain here, but should they be reduced to any extent, from what is said here among the military, an attempt at a *coup de main* would not surprise me.

(Signed) R. READE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 582.

Vice-Consul Blakeney to Mr. Layard.

(Confidential.)

Sir,

Prevesa, March 30, 1878.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 23rd instant, I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency that the troops which were landed here last week, and which, as I reported in the above-mentioned despatch, had been ordered to re-embark and proceed to Volo, are to remain here; and this measure no doubt is due to the renewal of disturbances at Badoviyi, where the insurgents are now supposed to number from 2,000 to 3,000, under the command of Imin Effendi, the Binbashi, who a short time back had deserted, and had crossed over to Camporari. It is also said that an engagement has taken place between the insurgents and the Turkish troops there, but nothing positive is known. Several villages have, however, refused to pay taxes, and notice has been given by the inhabitants of those villages to the tax-gatherers not to attempt to enter their villages.

About 50 men (and not 100, as I reported last week) of the Horse Artillery were landed here, as well as their horses and 6 field guns.

Some more Redifs from this garrison have been despatched towards Santi Quaranta.

Steps are now being taken so as to place five or six torpedoes at the entrance of this gulf, and the places where they are to be laid down have already been marked out.

The rumoured occupation of Epirus by British troops is looked upon with pleasure by Turks as well as by Christians, the former being under the impression that England intends to help them against the Russians, and the latter hope that this occupation will lead to their union with Greece.

Hobart Pasha, it is said, is expected here.

I hear from a trustworthy source that instructions in cypher have been telegraphed to the Mutessarif to report if any and how many Bulgarians reside in the Sandjak of Prevesa, and this it appears is in consequence of instructions received by the Vali of Janina from Constantinople to report how many Bulgarians reside in this vilayet.

The Italian despatch-boat "Authion" is still at Prevesa.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. BLAKENEY.

Inclosure 4 in No. 582.

Vice-Consul Blakeney to Mr. Layard.

(Confidential.)

Sir,

Prevesa, April 6, 1878.

WITH reference to my despatch dated 23rd ultimo, reporting to your Excellency the meeting of the Consuls at Janina, I have now the honour to state that, according to a letter received since from M. Kypriotis, it would seem that no result is expected therefrom: for the Greek Consul having sent a Circular note on the subject to his colleagues, the French and Austrian Consuls replied that they had given him no promise whatever; and as to their visiting Delvino, M. Kypriotis adds that even that must remain undecided until the receipt of instructions by the Italian Consul, so that the meeting may be looked upon as a complete failure.

As to the insurgents under Imin Effendi, they remain at Botzi. Zika, with his party, holds the Monastery of Milates. It is also rumoured that another body of insurgents occupy Pluka.

Mazzuki, who was in the Turkish service, has gone over to the insurgents with all his men.

For some unaccountable reason the Turkish troops at Arta remain inactive, and the only strategical positions they hold in that neighbourhood are Combuti and Peta. Provisions and military stores continue to arrive. Two Turkish steamers called here during the present week, and landed a quantity of biscuit, &c. I also hear that some torpedoes were brought here by one of those steamers, but none have as yet been laid down

The Austrian steamer on Sunday last also brought about 1,000 sacks of wheat for the use of the troops.

The Italian despatch-boat is still here.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. A. BLAKENEY.

Inclosure 5 in No. 582.

Acting Consul Barker to Mr. Layard.

Sir,

Salonica, April 6, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that the large Turkish transport "Sultanieh" has left this port for Constantinople with 2,500 persons on board, sick soldiers and refugees.

An Austrian Lloyd steamer is also taking Circassians to Smyrna, on the coast of Asia Minor.

On the 27th ultimo, and during the last week, have arrived here by the railway:—

Ferik Izzet Pasha, Commander of the garrison of Widdin.
298 officers of the same brigade.
10,534 soldiers of the same brigade.
256 horses, with tents and baggage.
140 kilog. (*sic*) military stores and ammunition.

The greater part of the population of Litochoro have come here, and some are still coming.

A deputation of the Greek community, headed by the Greek Consul-General, went on board the "Devastation," and prayed the Commander, Hunt Grubbe, C.B., to thank Her Majesty's Government for the solicitude and interest evinced in sending her and the "Ruby" to Volo, in the hope of relieving the distressed Greek families whose houses have been burnt.

Another deputation has come to thank me for the efforts I made and the trouble I took to persuade the Governor-General to allow the starving population of Litochoro to come here and seek food and shelter from the cold in that ruined village, and from the terrors of the military and the mob of fanatics with them.

His Excellency the Greek Archbishop Joachim will leave by this steamer for Constantinople, called thither by his Highness the Patriarch, but on what business has not transpired, nor does his Excellency know himself.

I have received your Excellency's telegram of this day's date.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. B. BARKER.

P.S.—Should any other man-of-war be sent to relieve or take away refugees, the Commander ought to be instructed to wait until the families could be communicated with and have time to come down to the coast.

E. B. B. B.

No. 583.

Consul Sanderson to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 27.)

(No. 31. Political.)

My Lord,

Galatz, April 10, 1878.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 30, Political, of the 4th instant, on the subject of military movements, I have the honour to report that on the 6th instant one battery of Russian artillery left Galatz, and proceeded to Reni, where there are now, in addition to this battery, about 600 Russian infantry. The quay at that place is being constructed as rapidly as possible, and a number of huts are being built outside the town; they are stated to be intended for a military hospital.

On the 8th instant the Russian troops at Galatz, consisting of about 800 infantry and a battery of artillery, were inspected by General Drenkern, who arrived by the Bender railway on the 7th, and left for Bucharest on the morning of the 9th instant.

There are, in addition to these troops, about 500 men, belonging apparently to a Russian artificers' corps, who are employed at Reni, and on the Galatz-Bender railway.

On the 5th instant the Russian vessel "Boreas," a sort of large steam-barge, carrying three heavy guns and four light pieces, arrived at Galatz; she left on the morning of the 9th, proceeding towards Sulina at the same time that the "Stefan cel Mare" returned to Galatz from the direction of Ibraila.

Coal is arriving in large quantities, about 10,000 tons have come to Galatz and Reni already, of which from 8,000 to 9,000 tons are on Russian account.

A large wood merchant at Galatz has been requested by his correspondents at Constantinople to let them know at once how much wood he could furnish within a month, of a nature suitable for the construction of a railway, which is to be commenced at San Stefano.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PERCY SANDERSON.

No. 584.

Acting Consul Calvert to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April 27.*)

(No. 3. Political.)
My Lord, *Adrianople, April 10, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that deputations from Ortakioï, Armoutkioï, and Avrenli, the first being a Greek village, and the two last Bulgarian villages lying some six or seven hours west of Adrianople, came in here yesterday, reporting to the Russian Governor-General a very serious rising of the Mussulman population in the Rhodope Mountains.

It appears that the movement had been quietly prepared, and when it was ripe for execution, the following circumstance gave the signal for its commencement.

On the 5th instant a body of 600 Cossacks coming from Tchirmen, on a foraging expedition, made their appearance at Koshukavak, a Turkish village situated two or three hours from Ortakioï, on the road between that place and Gumurdjina. During the night after their arrival a council was held at the neighbouring village of Deukeli-Djuma, by a number of the chiefs of the movement, under the leadership of one Djanavarli Hadji Ismaïl, a pardoned brigand chief. It was decided to send in to the Russian officer commanding the detachment a demand for 100 liras as the price of the forage which they had collected in the district. The officer appears to have become at once aware of the critical state of affairs, for, after pacifying the Turks by a payment of 45 liras on account, he secretly beat a retreat with his men during the night of the 7th instant, taking the road to Demotika.

On the following day two Bulgarian villagers were killed by the Turks, and the deputations above referred to, in reporting the circumstances, have prayed the Russian authorities to send a force for the protection of the Christian inhabitants of those parts.

The members of the deputations affirm that no less than 80,000 mountaineers and fugitives from the plains are associated with the movement, and that it embraces the whole mountain range which extends from the neighbourhood of Tatar-Bazardjik to Gumurdjina. They add that a considerable proportion of the guerillas are armed with Martini-Henry rifles abandoned during the retreat of Suleiman Pasha's army through that part of the country, and that communications between Ortakioï and Gumurdjina are now cut off.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND CALVERT.

No. 585.

Acting Consul Calvert to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April 27.*)

(No. 4. Political.)
My Lord, *Adrianople, April 13, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to report that the movement by rail towards Constantinople of troops, artillery, and munitions of war, which had not been on any considerable scale of late, has begun to take very large proportions.

The Russians give out that these men and materials are intended for embarkation for Russia. The previous expeditions of this kind, however, have not latterly all gone on to San Stefano, a certain proportion being distributed among the various depôts between that place and Tchataldja.

On the 11th instant nine heavy trains went forward, one train conveying a battalion of infantry, another a battery of field-guns, and the remainder being filled with caissons and munitions of war.

Owing to a break on the line no trains left yesterday, but this morning the military movement has been so great that ordinary traffic on the road from the town to the railway station at Karagatch has been suspended by order. A considerable part of the garrison of Adrianople has now left, and the number of guns sent forward to-day is estimated at not less than fifteen batteries. Many of these pieces are of large calibre, and drawn by four and five pairs of horses.

As regards sickness among the troops I learn that the number of patients in hospital here is 6,000. Besides typhus and typhoid fever, pneumonia is prevalent. Several of the military doctors have fallen victims to these maladies, thus further reducing the already insufficient medical staff. I am told that there is but one doctor to 400 patients. The hospitals, too, are destitute of beds and other necessaries, and the sick are laid on straw or mats, which are not changed when a new patient is admitted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND CALVERT.

No. 586.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April 27.*)

(No. 21. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, April 12, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Mr. Vice-Consul Cooper reports his arrival at Mostar on the 4th instant, and states that affairs generally seem very quiet.

The Turkish troops now in the Herzegovina consist of thirteen or fourteen battalions, of which five are at Mostar, but Mr. Cooper reports their condition to be very unsatisfactory. They are without bread and meat, as the contractors, not being paid, refuse to supply any more. Rations of flour are issued in lieu of bread.

At Trebinje and other stations scurvy has broken out amongst the troops, but the authorities hope with the advance of spring to be able to provide fresh vegetables, and that the health of the men will improve.

Scurvy has also attacked the troops in many parts of Bosnia, especially at Svornik, where the authorities complain that they have not money even to procure vinegar.

The earth-works which I reported in my despatch, Political, No. 10, of the 20th ultimo, to be in the course of construction at the entrance of Mostar, commanding the approaches from Metkovich, were, Mr. Cooper informs me, never completed, and have now been abandoned.

The Montenegrin troops have not advanced beyond Bilak and the Duga Pass during the winter, but information has been received here by the Governor-General that Prince Nicholas has now ordered all able-bodied Montenegrins and Herzegovinian insurgents to assemble at Cruica, about six miles from Metokia. Metokia (Gacko) is still held by the Turks; and the Governor-General, Mazhar Pasha, informs me that he has received no instructions from the Porte as to the withdrawal of the troops or officials from the territory ceded to Montenegro either in the Herzegovina or in Bosnia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 587.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 23. Political.)

Bosna-Serai, April 12, 1878.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch, Political, No. 17, of the 15th ultimo, regarding the continued arrest and imprisonment of so-called insurgents, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that the Governor-General of Bosnia has now received orders from the Porte to release any Bulgarians that may be amongst the prisoners, but no others, as the amnesty mentioned in the Treaty of Peace does not refer to Bosnians, or, in fact, to others than Bulgarians. There are, however, no Bulgarian prisoners here. This is in complete contradiction to the XVIIth Article of the Treaty.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 588.

Consul-General Eldridge to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 34. Political.)

Beyrout, April 12, 1878.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatches No. 7 of the 19th January last, and No. 27 of the 31st ultimo, I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a despatch No. 40 and its inclosures, which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, reporting on further disorders at Tripoli and the arrival of Circassian immigrants.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 588.

Consul-General Eldridge to Mr. Layard.

Beyrout, April 12, 1878.

Sir,

WITH reference to my despatches of the 19th January last and 31st ultimo, I have the honour to transmit herewith an extract of a despatch which I have received from Mr. Acting Vice-Consul Blanche, with abstract translations of its inclosures, reporting more disorders and acts of brigandage in the districts near Tripoli, and the arrival of a further considerable body of refugees at that place.

The disorders reported by Mr. Blanche, although they have no significance, merit the serious attention of the Ottoman Government, and I shall take an early opportunity of bringing them officially to the notice of the Governor-General, and to urge his Excellency to take energetic steps to put an end to them as well as to punish severely the guilty parties.

The difficulty of dealing with the refugees that were already landed at Tripoli was pointed out in my previous despatch, and this difficulty is increased by the augmentation of their numbers; I heartily concur in the recommendation of Mr. Blanche that Aziz Pasha should be supported for the prudent steps he has taken to disperse these unwelcome visitors, although he has disobeyed his instructions.

The refugees, which I reported as being at Lattakia are still there, and all the efforts of the authorities appear to have hitherto failed to induce them to leave. The inhabitants are somewhat alarmed at their continued presence, though with the exception of quarrels amongst themselves and with some of the Moslems of the place, they do not appear to have committed any overt acts of violence.

The stay of Her Majesty's ship "Coquette" from the 2nd to the 4th instant, at Lattakia, reassured the inhabitants and produced a salutary effect upon the Circassians.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 588.

Acting Vice-Consul Blanche to Consul-General Eldridge.

(Extrait.)

Le 9 Avril, 1878.

MARDI dernier, 2 courant, les habitants des villages de Kjafr et El-Aïsen, au Chara, au nombre d'une vingtaine, apportaient en ville deux cadavres et quatre blessés, accusant de ce crime certains Musulmans de leurs environs. Les cadavres furent laissés à la porte de la ville, selon l'usage, et l'autorité fit faire les constatations judiciaires. C'était un vrai massacre à coups de fusils qui n'a pas d'autres causes que le fanatisme et le soif du pillage.

Quelques jours auparavant les mêmes habitants m'avaient apporté une requête au sujet des déprédations et des violences dont ils étaient l'objet de la part de leurs voisins Musulmans. Les individus qu'ils accusaient alors ne sont pas les mêmes que les auteurs du crime postérieur, ce qui prouve combien est précaire leur situation au milieu de pareils ennemis. La première requête m'étant arrivée sans signature, j'en attends une plus régulière pour vous l'expédier, lorsqu'arrivé cette nouvelle agression. La requête fut alors changé. Je vous l'envoie ci-inclus, en même temps qu'une autre signée par tout le clergé de Salita et du Hossen, se plaignant des maux qu'ils ont à subir de la part des Ansariés et des Musulmans. Je vous envoie enfin une troisième requête des Chrétiens du Markab contre leur Caïmacam de Djeblé. Là, c'est le représentant même de l'autorité qui connect le brigandage.

J'ai appris en outre qu'aux environs de Tartose, le désordre, un moment apaisé, a repris de nouveau. En somme la situation du sandjak se trouve être assez sérieusement troublée. A l'arrivée à Tripoli des deux cadavres apportés du Chara, je m'entendis avec mon collègue d'Autriche, M. Th. Catzeflis, pour presser en commun le Moutessarif, et lui représenter qu'il y avait urgence à remplacer le Caïmacam d'Akkar, dont l'incapacité notoire pouvait presque passer pour de la complicité. Et nous demandâmes en outre qu'une force armée imposante fut envoyée sur les lieux pour poursuivre les assassins. Après quelques tergiversations des tribunaux, et plusieurs échanges télégraphiques avec Damas, on remplaça le Caïmacam d'Akkar par Mohammed Beik-el-Mohammed, dont j'ai eu plus d'une fois l'occasion de vous parler avantageusement. On envoya en outre une trentaine de dragons et autant de cavaliers de l'autorité. Les assassins ont fui à leur approche. Dans le nombre se trouve le fils de ce Ahmed Beik-el-Abboud dont je vous ai à diverses reprises signalé les brigandages. Il était Mudir et fut destitué. Mais il reste plus que jamais mêlé à tous les désordres. S'il ne les commet pas de sa main, il en est toujours probablement le fauteur, comme dans le cas présent.

En ville, la population, émue par ces événements du dehors, ne l'est pas moins par l'immigration des Tcherkesses, qui ne finit pas. Depuis mon dernier rapport (27 Mars), nous en avons eu deux nouveaux chargements, dont le dernier est encore sur rade en ce moment. Nous en sommes à notre quinzième ou seizième mille, et pour mettre le comble aux embarras de l'autorité et aux inquiétudes de la population, le vilayet vient d'envoyer l'ordre formal d'arrêter les expéditions sur Homs et Hama, parce que les terres manquent pour installer les nouveaux colons. De sorte que nous en avons encore 6,000 environ que notre autorité ne sait où caser, et l'œuvre est d'autant plus difficile que la plupart de ces gens témoignait le désir de se fixer à Tripoli. Ils ne partent plus sur les chameaux qu'avec une extrême repugnance. Il faut user de la menace et de la prison pour les y obliger. Aziz Pacha, après quelques heures de perplexité, s'est décidé à ne pas débarquer le chargement actuellement sur rade, et à l'envoyer à Djeblé avec le navire même qui est Ottoman. Quant aux 4,000 restants, ils les enverra à Hama, malgré les ordres reçus, et quoiqu'il puisse lui en arriver. Il m'a consulté à cet égard, et je l'ai fortement engagé à prendre cette résolution, parce qu'il y va de la sécurité et de l'avenir de notre ville, si ces 4,000 étrangers doivent nous rester, tandis qu'à Hama, il est impossible qu'on en soit à y manquer de terres. Aziz Pacha pense qu'il va lui être demandé compte par le Vali de cette contravention aux ordres reçus, et il m'a témoigné le désir d'être recommandé à votre bienveillant appui; ce que je fais d'autant plus volontier, que c'est sur mes conseils réitérés qu'il a agi comme il l'a fait.

Le 10 Avril.

P.S.—Aziz Pacha m'informe, au dernier moment, que l'expédition des Tcherkesses a été poursui très activement ces deux derniers jours. Il n'en reste plus que 1,500 ou

2,000 au plus. Si les chameaux arrivent, tout sera fini dans quelques jours. Il demande avec instance qu'on n'en envoie plus à Tripoli.

Inclosure 3 in No. 588.

Abstract Translation of Petition presented to Her Majesty's Vice-Consulate at Tripoli, dated April 3, 1878.

SOLICITING the intervention of the Consulate on their behalf to relieve them of the unbearable oppressions under which they are groaning. They enumerate the following incidents:—

Esa Murani, camel driver, going to Hamah, was arrested on his way thither, imprisoned seven days after having been despoiled of what he had.

Hassan, the shoemaker, was also imprisoned after threatening to kill him and asking him 100*l.*, but he escaped at night after breaking the iron gate.

Yakub-el-Assur's house was plundered by more than fifteen persons, three of whom are known: Mohamed Aga Ragib, Abdullah-el-Abd, and Assad Abu Danah.

Ibrahim Duhruj's house was likewise plundered; two of his cousins were murdered and another was wounded in the hand.

Inclosure 4 in No. 588.

Abstract Translation of Petition presented to Her Majesty's Vice-Consulate at Tripoli.

COMPLAINING bitterly of the odious proceedings of their Caïmakam Rifat Bey He goes to the district with a suite of twenty-five persons and lives on the shoulders o the inhabitants, many of whom are so poor that they live upon herbage. In collecting certain taxes payable in caïmé money he forces the inhabitants to pay their share in coins. Whenever he is applied to for justice he beats the Christains, curses their religion, and imprisons them, so that whatever may be the amount of injustice done to them by the other inhabitants they have to bear it silently.

They invoke the aid of English Government.

Inclosure 5 in No. 588.

Abstract Translation of Petition presented to Her Majesty's Vice-Consulate at Tripoli, dated March 15, 1878.

WE have heretofore stated our grievances to you and have to trouble you again on the subject. We are surrounded by ravenous wolves on every side who molest us to the utmost. These rapacious enemies are the Ansaryeh Chiefs to the east and north, and the Moslem Chiefs to the west and south, viz.: Sheik Khalid, the Mufti of the district of El-Hosn, Mohamed Aga el Ahmed and his cousins, Mohamed Aga el Mujammed (these two are under Tripoli), and Abd-el-kader Aga (under Hamah). All these Chiefs with their men are continually plundering and pillaging the Christains. Every week there is a case of murder. If we are travelling about in search of bread we are besieged and plundered if not murdered. If we go out for agricultural purposes we are sure to meet with the same fate. Many times we are attacked in our own houses and plundered. Many of our villages have been deserted by their inhabitants, who had been robbed of everything they possessed. We have also been deprived of most of our sheep and cattle; matters have gone so far that even the property of the convent of Mar Girios-el-Homeira has been pillaged.

We regret to state that our persecutions have considerably increased since we represented our case to you and have received no succour.

We have frequently presented our complaints to the Government, but have not succeeded in obtaining any redress.

No. 589.

Consul-General Eldridge to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 35. Political.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, April 12, 1878.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 30 of the 1st instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith an extract from a despatch which I have received from Mr. Acting Vice-Consul Blanche, reporting the result of the recent inquiry into the abuses committed at Tripoli during the drawing of the conscription.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

Inclosure in No. 589.

Acting Vice-Consul Blanche to Consul-General Eldridge.

(Extrait.) *Le 9 Avril, 1878.*

LE Commissaire Mohammed Saïd Pacha, envoyé de Damas pour enquérir sur les scandales de la dernière conscription, et sur les dissensions qui s'en sont suivis, a terminé sa mission. Omer Effendi Hajar, dont je vous ai fait connaître le rôle dans cette circonstance, a été de nouveau incarcéré; un jeune écrivain du Seraïl, ayant confessé avoir reçu trois ou quatre livres dans je ne sais quelle opération, fut destitué. C'est la confession du coupable de la fable: "Je tondes de ce pré la largeur de ma langue." Voilà jusqu'à présent les seuls résultats visibles de l'enquête. Ces punitions ne peuvent guère être considérées que comme semblant de satisfaction donné à l'opinion publique. Elles ne seront probablement pas de longue durée. Quoi qu'il en soit, le parti lésé dans la conscription ne se tient pas pour satisfait, et on m'assure qu'il persiste dans ses plaintes. Un de ses principaux délégants est Ahmed Effendi Ismail, Vice-Président du Tribunal Criminel. Au cours de l'enquête, un de ses terrains fut dévasté dans le village d'Almu. Un millier d'oliviers et de muriers furent coupés en une seule nuit.

Il accusa aussitôt de cet acte de brigandage le parti adverse dont l'âme est Derwich Effendi-Chumbour. Cet incident retarda de deux jours le départ du Commissaire. Les coupables ne sont pas encore découverts; et les haines n'en restent que plus aigues entre les deux partis.

No. 590.

Consul St. John to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 14. Political.)

My Lord, *Ragusa, April 17, 1878.*

WITH reference to the Treaty of San Stefano, and the cession of a portion of Turkish territory to Montenegro, I have the honour to report that a Memorial has been forwarded to Count Andrassy by the Chambers of Commerce at Ragusa to the effect that by the extension of the Principality in a northerly direction the interests of this province would be seriously compromised.

Dalmatia, from the nature of its soil and geographical position, is almost entirely dependent on the interior for provisions of every description, and more particularly for the supply of cattle, of which it is computed some 20,000 head per annum, besides 200,000 or 300,000 sheep, are driven along the road leading from Novi-Bazar, through Sienitza and Trebinje, to this coast.

Fear is now entertained that should the transit in future have to take place through Montenegro, black-mail will be levied to such an extent as to seriously affect, if not altogether stop, this important trade, and that the hitherto existing order of things will be reversed, as southern Dalmatia would thereby become dependent on Montenegro for its supplies.

As it is, a heavy transit-duty is already imposed by Montenegro. Cattle have to skirt the Principality, whereby much loss of time and deterioration in the condition of the animals is entailed.

I have also the honour to report that Count Bouda, who is Deputy for Ragusa besides Director of Customs, recently stated in the Reichsrath at Vienna that in the event of Antivari being ceded to Montenegro, the revenue of this province would be seriously affected, and supported his statement by arguing that the Montenegrins, once in possession of a sea-board, having no legitimate occupation, would soon devote themselves to smuggling.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. ST. JOHN.

No. 591.

Mr. Vivian to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April 27.*)

(No. 132. Political.)
My Lord, *Cairo, April 19, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to report the return from Constantinople of Prince Hassan, the Khedive's son, who commanded the Egyptian contingent in Turkey.

His Highness did not leave Constantinople until he had seen the last detachment of his troops embarked for Egypt.

The troops are being sent home to their villages on leave of absence as quickly as they arrive.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. VIVIAN.

No. 592.

Sir J. Stokes to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April 27.*)

(No. 4. Political.)
My Lord, *Chatham, April 26, 1878.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Lister's despatch of the 21st instant, and, in obedience to it, to give your Lordship my opinion as to the manner in which the expenses are to be met which must be incurred in restoring the Sulina branch of the Danube to the same condition of navigability in which it was before the Russians obstructed it last year by means of a dam.

The Russian authorities distinctly undertook to remove the obstacles which they had made, and to clear out the river bed immediately after the war. The Danube Commission have done the first part of the work for them at such a very moderate outlay and so speedily that no question as to the fairness of the account can possibly be raised. The second part will be disposed of with equal rapidity and economy. The amounts thus expended should therefore be remitted at once to the Commission by Russia.

But Article XIII of the Treaty of San Stefano provides that of the amounts due by the Danube Commission to the Sublime Porte, the sum of 500,000 fr. shall be set aside for the payment of the re-establishment of the navigability of the river, and for the compensation of private individuals whose property may have suffered from the fact of the war, and of the interruption of the Danube navigation.

It appears to me that very large questions of principle are involved in these stipulations, far exceeding the importance of the sums named.

It may, in the first place, be fairly asked, as, indeed, it might be concerning the whole of the enormous indemnity claimed from Turkey by Russia, why the invaded country should pay for the acts of aggression and of injury done by the invader.

Turkey did not seek the war, or obstruct the navigation of the Danube, whether by dams or Proclamations, yet she is to be made to pay for the repair of the injury done to the river and the compensation to individuals.

Secondly, this payment is to be made out of funds which the International Commission of the Danube owes to the Sublime Porte; but under a special arrangement with the Porte these sums are not due until after the 1st January, 1883, and then they are to be repaid in half-yearly sums of 90,000 fr. at least, or 180,000 fr. at most, according to the resources of the Commission. The first of these half-yearly payments to be made on the 30th June, 1883.

The Treaty of San Stefano assumes to dispose of international funds over which neither Russia nor Turkey has any sole control, but I submit that, before acquiring any legal power, Article XIII requires the sanction of the Powers who signed the Treaties of Paris and London, and the various public instruments relative to the navigation of the Danube.

If the European Powers agree to admit that Turkey shall pay for Russia's aggression, and that international funds due to Turkey may be be paid in anticipation for this purpose, I think the small sum of 45,000 fr. might then be refunded to Russia, if she had made payment, or expended by the Danube Commission for the benefit of the navigation, and be charged against the current account with Turkey, under which the Commission meet certain expenses for Turkey, which go to the reduction of the debt to the Sublime Porte.

But, as regards the rest of the sum stipulated in Article XIII of the Treaty, I am of opinion that no part of it should be paid before the 30th June, 1883, and then only in the amounts stipulated as above mentioned.

On this subject, however, I have the honour to observe to your Lordship that the Treaty makes no provision for the determination of the claims for which satisfaction is promised in Article XIII.

The Porte might find itself exposed to very arbitrary assessment of the amount of these claims made by Russian subjects at any point on the Danube from Ibraila to the sea.

In conclusion, I have the honour to resume my opinion on the question submitted to me, as follows:—

1. The first outlay of the Commission should be paid by the Russian Government according to their formal promise through Count Schouvaloff on the 31st July, 1877.

2. After the sanction of Europe has been given to the appropriation of international funds, and their anticipated payment for the account of the Porte, this amount might be eventually repaid to Russia and charged against the Commission's current account with the Porte.

3. The sanction of Europe should not be given to that part of Article XIII of the Treaty of San Stefano which lays on the Commission's funds any immediate payment of claims of private individuals for losses sustained through the war, and the suspension of the navigation of the Danube. Should, however, the principle of the payment by Turkey be admitted, then only such sums could be demanded of the Commission as become successively due to Turkey after the 1st January, 1883.

I have the honour to return Colonel Siborne's despatch and its inclosure, and to be,

(Signed) J. STOKES.

No. 593.

Sir J. Stokes to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April 27.*)

(No. 5. Political.)
My Lord,
Chatham, April 26, 1878.

IN connection with my despatch No. 4 of this day, I have the honour to offer your Lordship the following observations with reference to the Treaty of San Stefano.

By Article XIX Turkey cedes to Russia, to be ultimately disposed of by the latter, all the Dobrudscha, the delta of the Danube, and the Isle of Serpents.

If this cession is eventually approved by Europe, and carried out, various modifications of the Danube Navigation Acts, and other instruments, will become necessary, and although the mouths of the Danube will, in that case, pass from under the Ottoman Government, arrangements ought, I think, to be made to secure to the Porte the reimbursement of the sums due to Turkey by the Danube Commission, as well as to ensure to that Commission the immunity from interference in its action by the territorial Power which it has enjoyed for the last twenty-two years.

I have the honour to submit to your Lordship that if a peaceful solution of existing difficulties is found, it would be very much in the interest of the trade of the world, and especially of Great Britain, if the Danube delta were not given to any territorial Power, but declared a free port, and placed altogether under the administration and government of the Danube Commission, the existence of which might

be perpetuated. Under such a government the waters of the delta might be neutralized, and the interruption to trade in any future war be avoided.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. STOKES.

No. 594.

Sir J. Stokes to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 6. Political.)
My Lord, *Chatham, April 26, 1878.*

WITH reference to my No. 3, Confidential, of the 19th instant, I have the honour to state to your Lordship that I do not wish that despatch to be considered as making light of the danger to the freedom of the Danube navigation, which the reappearance of Russia on the Danube as a riverain Power undoubtedly would be. That despatch was intended simply to point out that the particular dangers apprehended by Admiral Spratt did not appear to me likely to occur.

Of the interference of the Russian authorities with the navigation I feel sure that your Lordship would very soon receive complaints. Already, as I am informed on the best authority, the Russian military Captain of the port of Sulina levies a quarantine toll on every vessel entering the port.

A well-known obstruction to the navigation before the Crimean war, was the chain of quarantine stations along the river bank from Sulina to Galatz, which the Russians will no doubt endeavour again to establish if they get the river bank into their possession.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. STOKES.

No. 595.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 271. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Rome, April 18, 1878.*

I VENTURE to make a brief statement with reference to the information conveyed in my telegrams of the 9th and 11th instant, relative to the instructions which I understood Count Corti to have sent to Chevalier Nigra, to urge Prince Gortchakow to consent to the unreserved discussion of the whole Treaty of San Stefano.

Almost immediately after sending my telegram of the 9th, I called on Count Corti and repeated it to him verbatim, and he found it correct.

Your Lordship's telegram of the same day desiring me to explain to Count Corti that your willingness to receive fresh overtures from any Power with reference to negotiations for a Congress only applied to such as were free from the objection to Prince Gortchakow's limitations, stated in your Lordship's Circular of the 1st instant, reached me on the morning of the 10th, and as I knew Count Corti intended to come to the Embassy in the evening, I deferred acting upon it till then. When his Excellency called I showed it to him, and he said he had distinctly stated to Chevalier Nigra that, in his opinion, the Russian Government ought to agree to the unrestricted discussion of the whole Treaty, as required by Her Majesty's Government, adding that, for his part, he could not understand how the Russian Government could oppose so reasonable a request, or expect the Powers to agree to the withdrawal of any part of the Treaty.

Either the next morning, the 11th, or the morning after, I called on Count Corti and repeated verbatim my telegram of the 11th, giving his Excellency's reply to your Lordship's telegram of the 9th.

Count Corti observed that he had not sent a formal instruction to Chevalier Nigra, but had expressed to him his opinion in conformity with what I had reported.

After what had already passed I was somewhat surprised to hear this. I said that I trusted, at all events, his Excellency had expressed his opinion in a way to make M. Nigra understand he was to act upon it.

Count Corti replied that he hoped M. Nigra would do so. I did not think it necessary to trouble your Lordship with a report of this conversation by telegraph.

On receiving on the 17th your Lordship's telegram of the 16th, repeating Lord A. Loftus' telegram of the 13th, stating that he had been informed by Chevalier Nigra that he had received no instruction to make any communication of the nature referred to in my telegram of the 11th, I called on Count Corti and read it to him.

His Excellency repeated his previous statement that he had not instructed Chevalier Nigra to make a formal communication to Prince Gortchakow, but had stated to M. Nigra his opinion as to what Russia was bound to do.

Count Corti added that it seemed M. Nigra had not thought fit to say anything to Prince Gortchakow on the subject, and, in fact, had written to him, Count Corti, saying that he advised him to keep perfectly quiet just now.

I told Count Corti that I much regretted to hear what he had told me, and that I must be excused for saying that I did not see how the diplomatic relations of Italy with foreign countries were to be carried on if the representatives of Italy abroad were allowed to direct and control the policy of the Government instead of the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Count Corti replied that he had taken the course which appeared to him best suited under the circumstances; that his object was to bring about, if possible, a peaceful solution of the differences between England and Russia; that consequently he had thought it right to leave a discretionary power to Chevalier Nigra, and not to give him a positive instruction, the execution of which might have produced a result, by irritating the Russian Chancellor, contrary to the one he was anxious to obtain; that, although the views of the Italian Government had not been officially communicated, he had no doubt M. Nigra, in confidential conversation with Prince Gortchakow or M. de Giers, would have let them leak out, and that he had reason to believe that the recent discussion in the Chamber of Deputies had sufficiently indicated the strong opinion prevailing in Italy respecting the Treaty of San Stefano, and had produced a certain impression at St. Petersburgh.

In answer to this I said that I could not help thinking that the surest way of preventing war between England and Russia would be for all the other Powers to let the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh know in unmistakable language that they shared the views of Her Majesty's Government as to the Treaty of San Stefano, and as to the conditions requisite for the meeting of the Congress.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 596.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 273. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Rome, April 22, 1878.*

IN an interview which I had the middle of last week with Count Corti, he informed me that he had heard from Constantinople that Count Zichy had recently made an appeal to the Porte to cede Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria.

Count Corti being personally opposed to raising any difficulties with Austria on account of these provinces, whether she obtains possession of them by cession or otherwise, but at the same time having no slight difficulties with some of his colleagues on this question, was a good deal concerned at the information which had reached him, and appeared not a little anxious to ascertain if anything had reached Her Majesty's Government of similar purport. I was careful, however, to avoid letting his Excellency know that there had been any confirmation of the report in the despatches which I had seen from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

Count Corti, it seems, telegraphed his information to Count Robilant, directing him to make inquiries, and he yesterday told me that Count Robilant, having done so of Baron Orczy, had been informed by him that no such request as that reported had been addressed by the Austrian Government to the Porte, adding that he presumed the communication referred to must have been one which had recently been made by Count Zichy relative to the repatriation of the refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Count Corti did not conceal his satisfaction at receiving this denial as being calculated to strengthen his hands in the Cabinet.

His Excellency told me that the relations between the Italian and Austro-Hungarian Governments, which he had found rather stretched, were now perfectly good. He believed, he said, that the declaration he had recently made in the Chamber had been considered satisfactory in Vienna.

Speaking further on the possible annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria, Count Corti observed that, although he would never be a party to setting up a counter-claim on the part of Italy in the event of the annexation being effected, he must say he thought it would be a singular policy for Austria to follow, both as regards her own interests and from the point of view of opposing the territorial changes proposed to be carried out by the Treaty of San Stefano; and he did not clearly see how Austria could join the other Powers, in the event of the Congress meeting, in endeavouring to obtain from Russia a modification of the limits of the new Bulgaria, so as to give greater strength and means of independent existence to Turkey, which, he presumed, would be one of the principal objects of all the Powers, if Austria were herself to appropriate any portion of Turkish territory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 597.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 274. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Rome, April 22, 1878.*

I UNDERSTAND from Count Corti that M. Lombardos has recently been in Rome endeavouring to enlist the sympathy and support of the Italian Government in favour of the rising in Thessaly and Epirus.

M. Lombardos seems to have addressed himself first to M. Cairoli, the President of the Council, whose antecedents as an Italian patriot would naturally bias him in favour of a people struggling for independence, and who has, in fact, a very strong feeling for the Hellenic race, upon whom it would seem he made some impression.

M. Lombardos was afterwards received by Count Corti, who informs me that he told him that, so far from being willing to encourage the insurrection in the Greek provinces, he was doing all he could at Athens to induce the Greek Government to exert their utmost influence to put a stop to it. Such, he informed M. Lombardos, he knew to be the course being pursued by the English Government. He would be quite ready to plead, with Great Britain and the other Powers, the Hellenic cause in the Congress, if it should ever meet; but the unnecessary and useless bloodshed in Thessaly and Epirus was making the task of the well-wishers to Greece much more difficult, and was doing an irreparable mischief to the interests of that country.

Count Corti tells me that he ended his conversation with M. Lombardos by placing before him the case of a possible war between England and Russia, in which, if unfortunately it should occur, the chances were that Turkey joined with England, and asking him what would be the position of the Greeks under such circumstances.

Count Corti said that M. Lombardos had apparently never contemplated the case in this light; at all events, he gave him no answer to his inquiry.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 598.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 277. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Rome, April 23, 1878.*

I HAD a conversation a few days ago with the President of the Council, and, although it is not necessary to trouble your Lordship at any length with a detailed report of it, I think it nevertheless my duty to record the very friendly terms in which his Excellency spoke of England and the policy of Her Majesty's Government.

It happened that the day I saw M. Cairoli the public telegrams announced that

the negotiations between the Cabinets of London and St. Petersburgh were proceeding in a more conciliatory manner, and that there were better hopes of a peaceful ending to the pending differences.

In allusion to this M. Cairoli observed that if the Congress should meet, and should lead to a satisfactory arrangement in the East, the result would no doubt be principally due to the firm stand now being made by Her Majesty's Government in defence of European rights and interests. His Excellency spoke of the decided manner in which the feeling of the Chamber had been manifested in the recent discussion on foreign affairs—a feeling which was quite as strong outside as in the Chamber. Italy, he said, was drawn towards England by a feeling of gratitude for past services, as well as by the common interests which the two countries had in common in the East.

I said that I hoped we should have proof of this in subsequent events; that I was sorry the Italian Government had not been able to agree to the proposed understanding respecting the interests of the two countries in the Mediterranean and Black Seas, respecting which I had handed a Memorandum to Count Corti, and that I thought it would have been useful if the Italian Government had given more decided support to the views set forth in your Lordship's Circular of the 1st instant.

M. Cairoli replied that it was difficult for Italy, situated as she was, to take any step which might possibly compromise her neutrality; but that if the Congress met, the Italian Government would support England in advocating a modification of the Treaty of San Stefano.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 599.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 279.)
My Lord, *Rome, April 23, 1878.*

WITH reference to my telegram of the 17th instant, I have the honour to send to your Lordship some further information which I have received respecting the passage of Russian engineers through Rome bound for the East. It seems that they were met by two American captains at Naples, and that two American steamers have been chartered, and are now supposed to be lying in Rhodes or Cyprus.

Part of the officers are bound direct for Alexandria viâ Brindisi. The Colonel, whose real name is Kutnsoff, goes with the rest to Piræus, and thence to Alexandria. Nine boxes of surveying instruments have been sent by the Russian Consul-General to Alexandria, and they have the French Staff Map of the delta of the Euphrates up to Bagdad, procured by M. d'Oubril in Berlin. They have several German passports, and also American papers, and none of them will appear as Russian. Among the assumed German names there are Lindermann and Plessenberg; and among the American, Clark, Wilson, and Mackinworth.

I have to-day telegraphed to your Lordship the above information.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 600.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 469.)
(Telegraphic.)
Constantinople, April 27, 1878.

I HAVE received following telegram from Admiral Hornby dated to-day:—

"I have sent information contained in Foreign Office telegram of the 24th, to the senior naval officer at Port Saïd, and have directed him to send an officer to make inquiries. 'Torch' will proceed to Rhodes and Cyprus to ascertain movements of American steamers referred to."

No. 601.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 410. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, April 27, 1878.

I HAVE seen Sultan to-day, and have read to him my despatch to you about the simultaneous withdrawal of the English fleet and Russian army. Following are the concluding words:—

"If the Russian (?), under any pretext whatever, advance upon Constantinople or upon Bulaïr, and Her Majesty's Government should desire that the British fleet should re-enter the Sea of Marmora, Porte pledges itself in the Sultan's name not to offer any opposition, or to throw any difficulties whatever in the way."

His Majesty wished this form to be employed, in order to avoid being called upon to give a written permission for the re-entry of the fleet, as the Russians might ask for a similar written permission, and return to San Stefano.

M. Onou asked Prime Minister two days ago whether Porte had entered into an engagement with Her Majesty's Government to permit the British fleet to re-enter the Dardanelles; but no other communication has yet been made by the Russians on this subject.

No. 602.

Lord Odo Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 25. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, April 27, 1878.

MINISTER for Foreign Affairs tells me that he has sent last night Russian answer to Count Münster, and that difficulties made by Russian Government respecting the withdrawal of their forces are of a purely military nature, and could best be settled, with a view to save time, by direct negotiation through Count Schouvaloff or Lord Augustus Loftus.

His Excellency says Prince Bismarck entirely concurs with your Lordship in thinking that a Congress would be useless before an agreement has been established by separate negotiations.

No. 603.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 100. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburgh, April 27, 1878.

I LEARN from private but reliable source that at a Council to-day Emperor showed a much more conciliatory and yielding disposition.

Prince Bismarck, who has evidently retired from his mediation, has conveyed his wish not to discuss details, and thinks it better for the two Governments to negotiate directly. This suggestion is approved here. It is thought that Treaty might be discussed confidentially in London with Russian Ambassador, and thus direct understanding arranged between the two Governments before meeting of Congress.

My informant stated that Emperor will make great concessions to avoid war, chief point to which he holds as question of military honour being Kars.

No. 604.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 27.)
(Telegraphic.)

Rome, April 27, 1878.

MY informant says that Russian party have chartered five American ships, "Simrock," 1,810 tons, Gibson, Commander; "Hawk," "Charleston," and "Freedom," all of 1,600 tons, Captains Littletoun, Gardner, and Blount. Name of fifth not known.

"Charleston" and "Freedom" in Mediterranean, place not known. "Simrock" and "Hawk" at Alexandria.

Colonel Kutor recalled from Naples by Russian Ambassador. Gone to Genoa with Swiss Major Scuter to charter ships. Colonel leaves Naples for Piræus on Monday.

I have desired Her Majesty's Consul at Genoa to report.

Sent to Constantinople, Athens, and Egypt.

No. 605.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 28.)
(Telegraphic.)

Rome, April 27, 1878, 8·30 P.M.

NO truth in reports of Germany having asked Italy to join in mediation.

(Confidential.)

Count de Robilant reports that Count Andrassy has still some hope of the Congress, but seems to think war more likely, though Count de Robilant did not gather that it would involve Austria.

No. 606.

Mr. Wyndham to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(Telegraphic.)

Athens, April 27, 1878.

PRIME MINISTER has assured me to-day that the Government will use all their influence to prevent the departure of volunteers, and that they have reason to think that they will succeed. He stated that they were acting thus to show that they desire to follow advice of England, who has undertaken to secure for Greece a full and favourable hearing at the Congress, and to explain the reason of the pacification of Thessaly. In thanking your Lordship, his Excellency thinks that the cause of Greece will be assured by the full and complete protection of England.

If joint supervision of Consuls as to amnesty, mentioned in my telegram of the 24th, is not considered advisable, Prime Minister wishes to know if some other guarantee for security of inhabitants can be found; if so, he thinks he may have influence with insurgents, and induce them to remain quiet. He begged me to request Her Majesty's Government to urge the Porte to cease hostilities.

Above sent to Constantinople.

No. 607.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Consul-General Stanley.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 27, 1878, 5·40 P.M.

DIFFICULTIES are said to be made respecting return of Turkish prisoners, on the ground that roads in south of Russia are not practicable.

Report as to state of roads by telegraph, and obtain report of Her Majesty's Consul at Kertch on same subject, if you can communicate with him.

No. 608.

Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 116. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, April 27, 1878.

COUNT BEUST appears to have reported to his Government that your Lordship regards the difference with Russia about the Congress as reduced to a question of form; and that if an understanding could be come to with that Power respecting Asia, they

Majesty's Government could consent to the proposal of Prince Bismarck or that of Count Andrassy.

Count Andrassy says that if the Congress is to be made subordinate to negotiations by Her Majesty's Government to obtain from Russia a renunciation of territorial demands in Asia, he does not see how it is ever to meet.

I said that Russia was believed not to intend to allow discussion of her territorila demands in Asia, and Her Majesty's Government would certainly insist that these, like every other condition of the Treaty, must be submitted to the Congress; but I was not aware of their having called upon the Russian Government to agree to any renunciation.

Count Andrassy replied that if a cession of territory by Turkey was demanded by Russia, it made no difference whether it was to be in Armenia or in Bessarabia, and must equally, in either case, be submitted to the Congress.

I told him that I knew nothing of the difficulty of going into Congress being now regarded by Her Majesty's Government as only a question of form, but I certainly believed that their consent would be more easily obtained if they got satisfactory assurances of the line that would be adopted by Austria on some important points.

No. 609.

Sir E. Thornton to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 28.)

(No. 104. Secret.)

Washington, April 15, 1878.

My Lord,

ON the receipt of your Lordship's secret telegram of the 9th instant, relative to the departure of six Russian officers and 600 seamen from a port in the Baltic, I communicated the substance of that telegram to Her Majesty's Consul-General at New York. I also sent a telegram in cypher to Her Majesty's Consul at San Francisco containing the same information.

I have the honour to inclose copy of Mr. Archibald's answer, giving the result of his inquiries at New York. I received also a telegram from Mr. Booker, stating that he believed that no vessels had been purchased by the Russian Government at San Francisco, and that none were being fitted out at that port.

In my Confidential despatch No. 91 of the 8th instant, I reported that on the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of the 5th instant I had telegraphed the substance of that telegram to Her Majesty's Consul at San Francisco, and I now inclose copy of a despatch received from Mr. Booker, giving a list of the American steamers at that port or engaged in trade from it. It does not seem that there are more than one or two steamers now lying idle there which would be available. But there is always a possibility that some steamers of the regular lines might be purchased by the Russian Government.

On the 11th instant I communicated to Her Majesty's Consul-General at New York the contents of your Lordship's telegram of that day, and received in answer the despatch of which a copy is inclosed. You will perceive that Mr. Archibald suggests that the men in question may be on their way to the Amoor River; and Rear-Admiral Gore-Jones, without being aware of this suggestion, also wrote to me from Philadelphia that they might be intended to reinforce the small garrisons on that river, and particularly at the naval station at Vladivostoch.

In consequence of your Lordship's telegram of the 11th instant I addressed a Circular to Her Majesty's Consuls in the United States, of which I inclose a copy, and in which I have instructed them to ascertain confidentially whenever any steamers may be sold to foreign agents for unknown purposes, and to report any such sales to the Admiral commanding Her Majesty's naval forces on the station and to myself.

I have impressed upon them the necessity of vigilance with regard to this matter. I have great hopes that they will keep a good watch in their respective districts; but it is not impossible that vessels intended for hostile operations may be concealed in some of the western ports of Mexico or may be waiting at Panama.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 609.

Consul-General Archibald to Sir E. Thornton.

(Secret.)

Sir,

New York, April 11, 1878.

WITH reference to your secret despatch of the 9th instant and its inclosure, the receipt of which I acknowledged yesterday, I have the honour to report that I have caused inquiries to be made at the offices of the agents in this city of the North German Lloyd's steamers, as well as of the Hamburgh and American steam-packets, but nothing whatever has been learned at either of these agencies which lends support to the statement in the telegram from St. Petersburgh.

The North German Lloyd steamers sail from Bremen, and not from Hamburgh. If the report in the telegram be well founded, it is much more probable that the steamers conveying the Russian seamen are destined for Colon, whence they could be transferred to Panama, and there be shipped on board the supposed armed cruizer without any compunction for violating the Neutrality Laws of Columbia. But the North German Lloyds have now no steamers running to Colon, having a considerable time since discontinued that line.

The Hamburgh-American Steam-ship Line, however, run steamers to Colon and other West Indian ports, a steamer sailing from Hamburgh about every fortnight. I inclose a copy of their latest advertisement of sailings.

The regular mail-steamers of the North German Lloyd touch at Southampton, and those of the Hamburgh-American Line at Plymouth, on their way out and home. But, assuming the telegram to be well founded, the two steamers in question may have been specially chartered, and would doubtless proceed direct to their destination without touching at a British port. In case any such steamers are on their way to this port, they would be due here about the 18th and 19th instant. I shall take steps for watching and reporting promptly the arrival of any such steamers.

It seems to me, however, that Her Majesty's Consuls at Hamburgh and Bremen (to whom, I dare say, necessary instructions have already been given) should be able to make such inquiries as would determine the question of the departure from thence of any such steamers and crews as those mentioned in the telegram.

I have, &c.

(Signed) E. M. ARCHIBALD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 609.

Consul Booker to Sir E. Thornton.

Sir,

San Francisco, April 6, 1878.

I HAD the honour last evening to receive your Excellency's telegram in cypher of yesterday's date. I will take care to attend to the instructions contained therein.

The fleet of American steamers in this port, or engaged in trade from this port at present, comprises:—

Six fully employed in the Panama trade; two fully employed Australian Mail Service, two fully employed British Columbia Mail Service, belonging to Pacific Mail Steam-ship Company.

Four fully employed China Mail Service, three large paddle-wheel ships laid up, owned by the Pacific Steam-ship Company.

One chartered by Pacific Mail Steam-ship Company in the Honolulu trade, owned by the Alaska Commercial Company.

Two (another due) engaged in the Oregon trade, two laid up, owned by the Oregon Steam-ship Company.

Six engaged in the coast trade, four small steamers laid up, owned by Goodall, Perkins and Co.

One engaged in Mexican trade, owned by the Colorado Steam Navigation Company.

One English-built iron screw yacht, 236 tons, for sale, under Guatemala flag, arrived for South America lately.

A small English-built iron screw steamer (formerly a blockade runner), has lately been brought here and fitted up for war purposes by an agent of the Costa Rica Government; she has sailed for Costa Rica.

It was rumoured a short time ago that the "Sofia" (English-built yacht) had been sold to an agent of the Russian Government, but I ascertained that there was no truth in the rumour; she could be made ready for any purpose in a very short time. The British fleet in port is reduced to ten ships, but we shall require an enormous amount of shipping for the transport of the produce of our next harvest, unless something unforeseen occurs to damage the growing crops.

The Russian ship is still here, but I cannot learn that others are expected, although a fleet (similar to that here a year ago) might any time arrive from the Russian naval station near the Gulf of Tartary-Vladivostoch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. J. BOOKER.

Inclosure 3 in No. 609.

Consul-General Archibald to Sir E. Thornton.

(Secret.)
Sir, *New York, April* 12, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Secret despatch of yesterday's date, with reference to your despatch of the 9th, acquainting me that Lord Salisbury has received a further telegram from Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburgh, to the effect that the Russian officers and men, whose departure from a port in the Baltic he had previously reported, will be forwarded from Hamburgh or Bremen by ordinary Transatlantic steamer to New York, and instructing me to keep a watch on these steamers.

I shall not fail to telegraph you, and in cypher, any news of importance which I may obtain relative to the movements of the above-mentioned officers and men.

You will probably have seen in the morning papers of this day, the subjoined telegraphic report from London of to-day's date, stating that two steamers chartered by Russia have left Hamburgh with sealed orders. It tends to confirm the telegrams received by Lord Salisbury from St. Petersburgh.

If these officers and men are coming direct to New York by ordinary Transatlantic steamers, it is probable that they are being sent out here to be forwarded promptly to San Francisco, and thence to the Amoor River, to strengthen the Russian squadron in that quarter, and in the hope that they may pass through the United States before the outbreak of war between England and Russia. In this event they will doubtless be sent from San Francisco, in the Pacific Mail Company's Steamers "Peking" and "Tokio," both of which the Company's Agent has been endeavouring to sell to the Russian Government. The purchase would not be consummated until after the arrival of the steamers in Russian waters.

Indeed, if a transfer were made at this or at any other part, the fact could not be ascertained by reference to Custom-house records, as it appears that in case of sale to a foreigner, the ship's certificate of registry need not be returned to her port of registry to be cancelled until the expiration of twelve months.

I am assured by those who are acquainted with such matters, that there are no steamers being equipped or fitted out here, and that indeed there are very few vessels which would be suitable for service as cruizers, or for privateering. The "Saratoga" and "Niagara," built by Roach, and now in the Havannah trade, are the most suitable. We may well believe, however, that no active proceedings of this nature will be undertaken until after an actual declaration of war.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. M. ARCHIBALD.

Inclosure 4 in No. 609.

Circular addressed by Sir E. Thornton to Her Majesty's Consuls in the United States.

(Confidential.)
Sir, *Washington, April* 12, 1878.

IN compliance with an instruction which I have received from the Marquis of Salisbury, I have to request you to ascertain, confidentially, whenever any American steamers may be sold within your Consular district to foreign Agents for unknown purposes. Any such sales, which you may discover, you will report, with all details and without delay, to the Admiral commanding Her Majesty's naval forces on the station, and to myself.

You will address a similar instruction to the Vice-Consuls at ports within your district.

I cannot impress upon you too strongly the necessity of vigilance in this matter, for a want of knowledge with regard to it may be the cause of very serious injury to British trade and interests.

(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

No. 610.

Mr. Wyndham to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 28.)

(Telegraphic.) *Athens, April* 28, 1878.

WITH reference to my telegram of yesterday, Prime Minister states that if he mentions guarantees, it is because no great confidence can be placed in Turkish authorities, and also to prevent Turkey following advice and instigations in a contrary sense, and that in case the insurgents are molested by the Turks, the insurgents would be justified in complaining against England and Greece.

I have urged Greek Government to induce bands to withdraw, as the most sure way of obviating violence on the part of the Turks, and I have cited Epirus from which bands have withdrawn, and from whence we receive no more news of acts of violence.

Above sent to Constantinople.

No. 611.

Mr. Wyndham to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 28.)

(Telegraphic.) *Athens, April* 28, 1878.

I HAVE been very careful not to compromise Her Majesty's Government with reference to desire of Greece to annex Turkish Provinces, and I stated that in my opinion it was impossible for England to make any promise on the subject.

In consequence of your Lordship's telegram of 26th, received yesterday, I have confidentially informed Turkish Minister of language I have held, which he said he would report to his Government.

Above sent to Constantinople.

No. 612.

Consul-General Stanley to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 28.)

(Telegraphic.) *Odessa, April* 28, 1878.

WITH reference to your telegram of yesterday, roads in this part of the country recently quite practicable, but are now bad on account of rains; after heavy rain they are generally bad for three days, but in Bessarabia at least a week is required after the rain before they dry. In a month every route will be fit even for artillery; there are railways from everywhere where prisoners are kept, and they are always now sent by rail.

I have no means of telegraphing secretly to Consul mentioned, but will write to him generally.

No. 613.

Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 28.)

(Telegraphic.) *Bucharest, April 28, 1878.*

FOLLOWING is from Captain Gill:—

"At Cotroceni, near Bucharest, on the Giurgévo Railway, is a large reserve depôt of forage and biscuit.

"Provisions appear failing in Turkey, since three thousand waggons left this depôt by road to Adrianople twelve days ago."

No. 614.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 28.)

(No. 411.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, April 28, 1878.*

WITH reference to your telegram of the 26th instant, I have no information that the Porte has been asked by Austria to permit the occupation of Bosnia, if temporary occupation be meant; nor have I been asked for advice on the subject, nor* have I given any.

No. 615.

The Greek Consul at Canea to M. Delyanni.—(Communicated to the Marquis of Salisbury by M. Gennadius, April 29.)

(Traduction.) *Canée, le 3 Avril, 1878.*

LE Gouverneur-Général de Crête nie l'existence de l'armistice conclu depuis le mois de Février dernier, et qui a été violé de Noury Pacha et par lui-même.

Par mes rapports successives, j'ai déjà informé ce Ministère que l'armistice avait été conclu avec le concours du Vice-Consul d'Angleterre, Mr. Moatzo, qui agissait par ordre de ses supérieurs, des habitants Chrétiens de la Canée, et du Pacha.

Les négociations avaient été conduites entre le Pacha, Mr. Moatzo et quelques Chrétiens; quant à moi je n'ai pu m'entendre personnellement avec le Gouverneur à cause de l'incident de Philon. Il avait été convenu que les belligerants se tiendraient dans une position défensive, et le Pacha avait promis de prescrire aux Musulmans de s'abstenir de toute aggression. Ces conditions ayant été arrêtées trois Chrétiens furent envoyés comme Délégués aux camps des Chrétiens à Apocorona et à Platania. Les Délégués étaient escortés par des gendarmes à cheval donnés par Adrossidy Pacha et par des soldats que l'Admiral Hussein Pacha avait fournis à cet effet.

Après deux jours, Adossides Pacha demanda par l'entremise de Mr. Moatzo, que des facilités fussent accordées au passage du convoi transportant des vivres pour la garnison de Vamo, qui était assiégé par les insurgés; Théodore Evanghelino fut envoyé auprès des Chefs d'Apocorona et de Sphakia afin d'obtenir la permission demandée par suite de l'armistice. Toutes ces circonstances et d'autres détails prouvent surabondamment qu'Adossidy Pacha était en pleine connaissance de l'armistice. Quant à la prétention de Mr. Moatzo qu'il assistait de sa propre initiative et à l'insu de ses supérieurs le rapport officiel de Mr. Sandwith publié dans la "Clio" prouve le contraire, car Mr. Sandwith lui-même fait connaître à son Gouvernement qu'il a offert ses bonnes offices à l'autorité locale et aux insurgés pour amener un armistice.

Il est vrai que Mr. Moatzo cherche à couvrir Mr. Sandwith et Adossidy Pacha, mais Mr. Sandwith a eu la sincérité d'annoncer officiellement à son Gouvernement sa bonne action. Quant à Adossidy Pacha, il n'y a aucun doute qu'il connaissait l'armistice et qu'il l'a violé dès qu'Osman Noury Pacha est arrivé avec dix-sept bataillons de troupes régulières. Il est possible qu'il agissait ainsi en vertu d'ordres formels de Samil Pacha, Ministre de la Guérre par intérim, ordres dont Osman Noury Pacha était porteur, mais dans tous les cas il est incontestable qu'il connaissait l'armistice et qu'il l'a violé.

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* Cypher incorrect.

No. 616.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 421.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 15, 1878.*

I AM informed that the Imperial Government are evincing a more conciliatory spirit towards Roumania. With that view it appears that an explanation has been given to Prince Ghika (the Roumanian Agent here) of the language previously held to him by Prince Gortchakow, and that it is represented as having been misunderstood by Prince Ghika.

I am told that the Imperial Government are desirous of concluding a fresh military Convention with the Roumanian Government, the previous one having expired with the cessation of the war.

The object of this Convention is to arrange for a free passage of Russian troops through the Roumanian territory to Bulgaria during its military occupation by Russia, and offers have been made to send a special Russian Plenipotentiary to Bucharest for that purpose.

Prince Ghika informs me that he has not yet received the note to which I referred in my telegram No. 83.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 617.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 423.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 13, 1878.*

WITH reference to the telegram from Sir A. Paget of the 11th instant, stating "that the Chevalier Nigra had been distinctly instructed by Count Corti to urge Prince Gortchakow to consent to an unrestricted discussion of the whole Treaty, as required by Her Majesty's Government," I am informed by Chevalier Nigra that he has received no instruction to make any communication to Prince Gortchakow of the nature referred to.

His Excellency states that he had received information of the conversation which General Menabrea had had with your Lordship, to which was added an opinion that it would be desirable that the Russian Government should consent to discuss the whole Treaty; but no instruction was given to Chevalier Nigra to make any communication in this sense to Prince Gortchakow, and therefore none has been made.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 618.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 425.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 15, 1878.*

WITH reference to my telegram of the 13th instant, stating that the Russian fleet preparing at Cronstadt could not be ready for sea for six weeks, I have since made further inquiries, and have ascertained that the following ships are being rapidly equipped for service at Cronstadt, and are expected to be ready for sea in four weeks:—

1. The "Pervenetz" (ironclad floating battery).
2. "Kniaz Pojarski" (frigate).
3. "Peter the Great" (turret-ship).
4. "Sebastopol" (frigate).
5. "Netron Menin" (battery).
6. "Petropavlosk" (frigate).

I have further the honour to inclose an article in translation by Mr. Michell, from the Cronstadt "Naval Gazette" of yesterday's date, giving some additional particulars as to the Russian ships which are being equipped for active service.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 618.

Précis of Article from the "Cronstadt Naval Gazette" of April $\frac{3rd}{15th}$, 1878.

THE "Cronstadt Naval Gazette" of the $\frac{3rd}{15th}$ April, 1878, gives some additional particulars as to the progress of work on board the Russian ships of war now in Cronstadt harbour, which are being equipped there for active service.

"Prevenetz," iron-clad battery. Is being tarred and painted.

"Jemjug," iron-clad clipper. Nearly completed, and is being painted exteriorly.

"Lazareff," "Spiridonoff," iron-clad frigates. Machinery in course of construction; holds being planked, and defects made good; roundhouses for steersman on deck in course of construction.

"Admiral Greig," iron-clad frigate. Although not destined for active service, this frigate is being rapidly prepared. The work consists in verifying the foundation of the turrets, for which purpose the latter have been raised; two of these have already been replaced in their position.

"Bogatir," "Askold," iron-clad corvettes; "Svetlana," iron-clad frigate. New masts are being made for these vessels.

"Kreml," "Tcharodeyka," floating batteries. These batteries are apparently almost completed.

"General Admiral," iron-clad frigate. All topmasts fully rigged.

"Messin," iron-clad frigate. Now docked, and will also be rigged in a few days.

"Djigit," iron-clad clipper. Has been docked.

No. 619.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 432.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 16, 1878.

I LEARN from a private source that the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaievitch is about to return to St. Petersburgh, and that General Todleben has been appointed to the provisional command of the southern army.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 620.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 434. Secret.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 17, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith four despatches addressed to me by Colonel Wellesley.

No. 1, Secret, incloses a map, showing the geographical changes proposed by the Treaty of San Stefano, with blue pencil lines indicating the modifications proposed by Austria to the Russian Government.

No. 2 reports a conversation with Prince Gortchakow on the 15th instant.

No. 3, Confidential, reporting audience with the Emperor on the 17th instant.

No. 4, Most Confidential, reporting a conversation with General Ignatieff on the 17th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 620.

Colonel Wellesley to Lord A. Loftus.

(Secret.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 15, 1878.

THE lines of demarkation of Servia, Montenegro, and the new Bulgaria, as proposed by Austria to the Russian Government, have been communicated to me in the strictest confidence.

The accompanying map was published to show the geographical changes in European Turkey, as laid down in the Treaty of San Stefano.

The blue pencil lines indicate the Austrian modifications.

I am also informed that the Austrian Government has stated that it cannot admit a Russian occupation of Bulgaria for more than six months, and that the corps of occupation must be limited to 25,000 men.

Austria has further declared that, in deference to the personal wishes of the Emperor of Russia, the question of the retrocession of Bessarabia would not be opposed by her in Congress.

The above information can be considered as absolutely correct.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRED. WELLESLEY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 620.

Colonel Wellesley to Lord A. Loftus.

(Confidential.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 15, 1878.

IN conversation with Prince Gortchakow this morning, I took the opportunity of denying the reports which impute to Her Majesty's Government a desire to enter into war with Russia.

I told the Prince that the wish of the British Government was to maintain friendly relations with this country, whose humiliation or diplomatic defeat did not enter into the ideas of the English Cabinet.

The Prince expressed his satisfaction at these renewed assurances on the part of England, but either believed, or pretended to believe, that Her Majesty's Government had decided on war with Russia.

I further told the Chancellor that England was prepared to enter into Congress on the conditions demanded by her, but that I believed that she was equally ready to negotiate directly with Russia, or indirectly through Berlin, and that in Lord Salisbury's opinion the latter would perhaps, in present circumstances, be the best method of arriving at a satisfactory result.

Prince Gortchakow replied that he quite approved of negotiations being carried on through Berlin, as the German Chancellor was very well inclined towards Russia.

His Highness stated that he could not understand the objections of England to enter a Congress unconditionally, seeing that Russia had communicated the text of the San Stefano Treaty to the Powers, who had full liberty to raise any questions they pleased in Conference.

I replied that as Russia reserved to herself the right to refuse the discussion of such questions as it might appear inconvenient to her to discuss, the practical result of a Congress would be nil.

Prince Gortchakow remarked that he only reserved to Russia the same right of not discussing certain questions which was equally possessed by the other Powers.

When I pointed out that there was no great advantage to England to be allowed not to discuss any particular clause in a Treaty drawn up by Russia, His Highness replied that in all probability Russia would enter into discussion on every clause of the Treaty, adding, "Vous me connaissez, je ne recule jamais devant la discussion."

In conclusion, I told Prince Gortchakow that I believed England did not so much object to a slight territorial aggrandisement of Russia, but that she could not and would not permit the influence of Russia to be paramount in South-Eastern Europe.

When I took leave of the Prince, he said that the Emperor would probably wish to see me.

I afterwards saw Baron Jomini, in whose opinion the best way out of the difficulty is to lay aside the Treaty of San Stefano, and to enter into negotiations for the modification of the Treaty of Paris.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRED. WELLESLEY.

Inclosure 3 in No. 620.

Colonel Wellesley to Lord A. Loftus.

(Confidential.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 17, 1878.

I HAD an audience with the Emperor this morning.

His Majesty received me most kindly, and at once expressed his sincere regret at the present unfortunate relations between Russia and England.

"You know me well enough," said the Emperor, "to be certain that it is my earnest wish to remain on good terms with your country, and I pray to God that a rupture may yet be avoided. As you are aware, the object of the war was the liberation of the Christian subjects of the Porte. This end has been attained, but, as you have seen yourself, at a terrible sacrifice of blood and treasure, and it is absolutely necessary that such a campaign should have some real result. As to Constantinople, I do not wish for it. I told you during the war that certain events might necessitate the advance of my troops to that city. Such circumstances as I anticipated did arise, and my army approached Constantinople, but has not occupied the town."

I told the Emperor that the idea that Her Majesty's Government had decided on war was entirely erroneous, but that England could not consent to enter into Congress without the guarantee that every Article of the Treaty of San Stefano would be laid on the table for discussion.

I explained to His Majesty the state of public opinion in England, and told him how little it would require to rouse a popular cry for war, which it would be most difficult even for the Government to restrain.

His Majesty replied that no one could be surprised at the present excited state of the English public, considering the false reports which had been circulated in England from Constantinople.

The Emperor concluded by saying that matters had now assumed a more peaceful aspect.

Negotiations had, he said, commenced through Berlin for the withdrawal of the Russian troops and British fleet from the vicinity of Constantinople.

His Majesty had accepted this proposal in principle, but there were certain details respecting distance and time which must first be settled, and His Majesty hoped that these negotiations would lead to a satisfactory issue.

When I took leave, the Emperor expressed a desire to see me again before my return to England.

The impression conveyed to my mind by this conversation was that the Emperor is sincerely anxious for the maintenance of peace, and regards a possible war with England with great apprehension.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRED. WELLESLEY.

Inclosure 4 in No. 620.

Colonel Wellesley to Lord A. Loftus.

(Most Confidential.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 17, 1878.

AFTER my interview with the Emperor to-day, I had a long conversation with General Ignatieff, who had asked me to call on him.

He informed me that it was proposed that simultaneously with the withdrawal of the British fleet from the Sea of Marmora to Besika Bay, the Russian army should retire in rear of a line running from Midia through Adrianople to Dedeagatch.

He stated that the proposal had been accepted by Russia in principle, but that it would be necessary to enter into direct negotiations with the Porte, in order to fix the boundaries of a neutral zone to be established between the Russian and Turkish armies.

His Excellency was most anxious to ascertain my opinion, as coming direct from England, with regard to the chances of a Congress and of a successful result of such an assembly were it ever to meet.

With regard to the first question, I stated my conviction that England would never consent to go into Congress without a guarantee that the entire Treaty of San Stefano would be placed before it for discussion.

The General replied that every single clause of the Treaty would certainly be

submitted for discussion, but that the difficulty on the part of Russia of giving assurances to this effect must be attributed to a mistake made by Count Schouvaloff in the note which he addressed to Lord Derby on the 14th March last, in which the Russian Ambassador explained Prince Gortchakow's words "liberté d'appréciation et d'action" as signifying that Russia reserves to herself "la liberté d'accepter ou non la discussion de ces questions."

According to General Ignatieff, Count Schouvaloff received no instructions to make this explanation of Prince Gortchakow's phrase, but did so entirely on his own responsibility, and had thereby placed the Russian Government in their present unfortunate position, and obliged them either to disavow their Ambassador, or to adhere to his interpretation of Prince Gortchakow's words, an interpretation which was never intended by the Russian Government.

I replied that if Count Schouvaloff had made this mistake, it would surely be better to disavow him than to run the risk of a great war.

His Excellency said he would again speak to Prince Gortchakow on the subject, and hoped that some way out of the difficulty might be found.

Although I am perfectly aware that General Ignatieff's statements are not invariably to be relied upon, I believe that there is some truth in what he said on this occasion, for I remember hearing in London (at the time) indirectly from Count Schouvaloff, that he had framed this note on his own responsibility, and not entirely in accordance with the instructions he had received.

In answer to General Ignatieff's second question as to what, in my opinion, were the chances of a successful result of a Congress in the event of its meeting, I replied that although I had no instructions to say so, I was convinced that Her Majesty's Government would require very important modifications of the Treaty of San Stefano, and asked whether, in the General's opinion, Russia would be prepared to make reasonable concessions.

He answered, "Dans chaque clause du Traité j'ai laissé toutes les portes ouvertes, et, pour vrai dire, on peut faire de ce Traité ce qu'on veut;" adding that he believed the Russian Government would be ready to make all reasonable concessions to the interests of other Powers.

The General pressed me very hard to tell him what were Lord Salisbury's chief objections to the Treaty, as it at present stands.

I replied that it was impossible for me to answer this question, but that I believed the principal objection to the Treaty was its general and collective bearing on the interests of Great Britain in the East.

With regard to Armenia, I pointed out that the new frontiers, as proposed by Russia, intersect the great commercial road from Trebizonde through Erzeroum and Bayazid to Persia, to which his Excellency replied that he did not anticipate any difficulty in meeting the wishes of England on this question.

Concerning Batoum and Kars, General Ignatieff said that Russia would be unable to make concessions. The acquisition of Batoum being a commercial and naval necessity, and from the fact of Kars having been taken three times, the Emperor would be unable, in the face of his own country, to leave them in the hands of Turkey.

General Ignatieff was evidently of the same opinion as the Emperor and Prince Gortchakow respecting the supposed fixed purpose of Her Majesty's Government to profit by the present exhausted state of Russia in order to embark in hostilities against her.

I was able categorically to deny this idea on the authority of Lord Salisbury, and, at the same time, stated my firm conviction that the policy of Her Majesty's Government would be resolutely adhered to.

I reminded his Excellency of conversations I had had with him in Bulgaria during the war, in which I warned him repeatedly not to trust to the power or influence of the Opposition in England, and he confessed that both he and the Russian Government in general had indeed been trusting to a broken reed.

In conclusion, I begged the General not to forget that if unfortunately war were to break out between Russia and England, it would practically be a war for supremacy in the East, and that if Great Britain were once to commence hostilities in such a cause, she would prosecute those hostilities campaign after campaign, sooner than lose her position as the greatest of Asiatic Powers.

As I took leave of his Excellency, he told me that he believed matters could be arranged satisfactorily if a frank interchange of views could be brought about between England and Russia, and that with this object he had contemplated a visit *incognito* to Belgium, where some English statesman might meet him.

In reply, I said that his Excellency must pardon my frankness in not concealing from him my decided opinion that such a journey as he proposed would not meet with the approbation or encouragement of Her Majesty's Government.

General Ignatieff thanked me for speaking so openly, and said that, under those circumstances, he would abandon the idea.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRED. WELLESLEY.

No. 621.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 136.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 19, 1878.

ON the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of the 13th instant, I addressed a telegram to Her Majesty's Consul at Riga, instructing him to ascertain and report whether any North German Lloyd's steamers (one named "Cimbria") had arrived at Riga, Revel, or Baltish Port from Hamburgh; for what purpose; and for what foreign port they were bound on leaving either of the ports named.

Mr. Grignon replied by telegraph on the 15th instant, that no German steamer had arrived at Riga, and that he had no means of ascertaining the information desired with respect to Revel or Baltish Port.

I accordingly sent a secret agent to Baltish Port, with verbal instructions to obtain all the information he could in regard to the steamers reported from Hamburgh; and I have now the honour to inclose to your Lordship, herewith, copy of his Report, of which I addressed to you a telegraphic summary on the 17th instant.

I have also learnt, from a private and reliable source, that 600 Russian sailors had left Baltish Port in a German steamer (probably one of those referred to in inclosed Report) for Baltimore, and that fifteen fast steamers have been purchased by the Russian Government in America to serve as war-cruizers against the English trade in the event of war. I am also informed that in addition to the sixty-six Russian naval officers mentioned above, eleven Russian officers have previously left for America.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

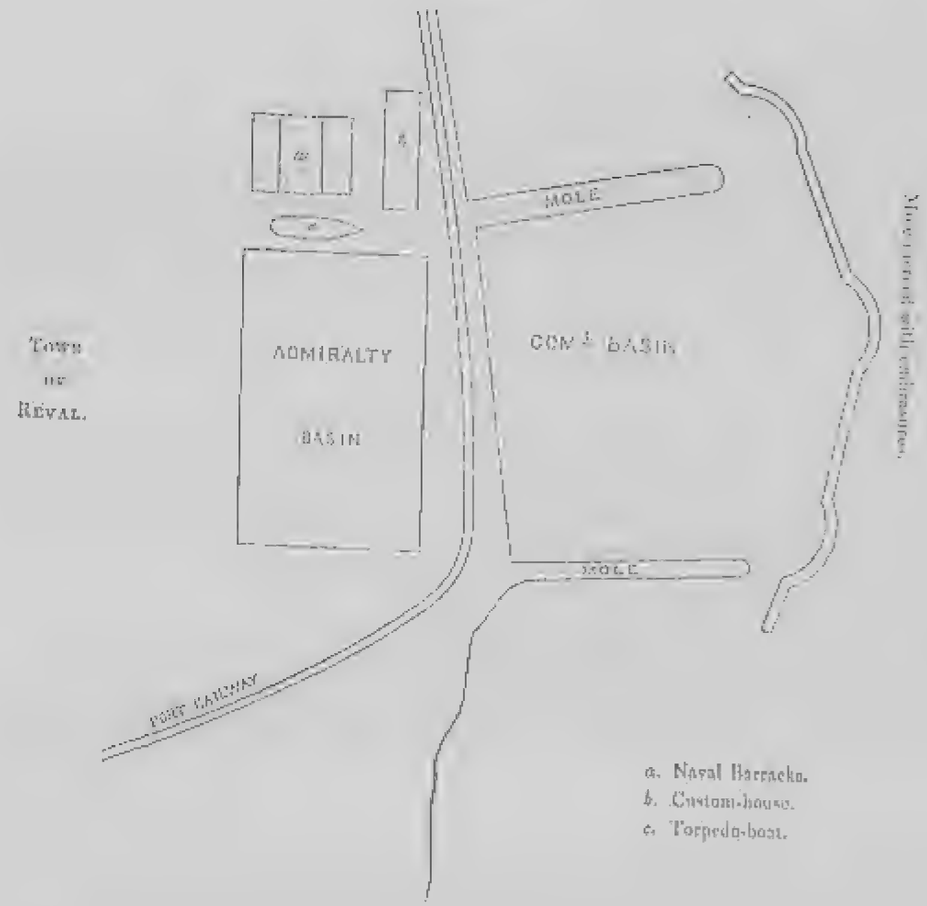
Inclosure in No. 621.

Report.

(Secret.) *St. Petersburgh, April* 18, 1878 (N. S.)

ON my way down to Baltish Port on the 15th instant, I had to stay at Revel two hours to wait for the train. To employ that time usefully I took a walk into the harbour. There I found great activity in charging chiefly steamers with grain, linseed, flax, timber, and discharging all sorts of machinery and cases, it appeared to me with fruits and colonial goods. In front of the Custom-house I saw perhaps two dozen of locomotive steam-engines, and as many steam-thrashing machines from English manufacturers. Clayton and Shuttleworth, Garret and Sons, Hornsby, &c., and addressed to Mr. Troom, Petersburgh chiefly. The harbour has two basins, a larger and a smaller one, the former being the commercial, the latter the Admiralty one.

In the commercial basin I saw about fifteen screw-steamers and a few sailing-vessels; in the Admiralty basin seven small Government steamers, paddles and screws, with pennants on topmasts and flag on bowsprit, and half-a-dozen lightships having their wicker globes newly painted. On the western side of the Admiralty basin are the naval barracks, two parallelograms about 200 feet in length each, with a yard of about 70 feet broad between them fenced with wooden planks 5 feet high.



a. Naval Barracks.
b. Custom-house.
c. Torpedo-boat.

On the road between the barracks and Government basin I saw a torpedo-boat twenty-eight paces long on timber slippers, and underneath the slippers were placed wooden rollers (cylinders). The torpedo-boat had a screw-shaft without funnel or other armaments; the lower part painted with red lead, the upper with grey paint. The figure shows a cross-section of the boat about 15 feet from the nose. In the barrack-yard close by I saw a few sailors engaged in painting funnel and arranging small parts for the torpedo-boat.

At that place in the harbour I saw in the offing, at about 1¾ miles from the mole, 3 vessels at anchor fore and aft. The vessels were 2 screw-steamers and 1 barque.

One steamer was of great proportions, and had 3 masts; the one in front had 3 yards; the hind ones none. Body of steamer dark grey, funnel black with a white rim on top.

The second steamer had two masts without yards; body black, with white rim and black squares; mock embrasures; funnel white. The barque looked like the last steamer. Many boats plied about these three vessels from one to the other, as well as to and from the shores. It appeared to me they had some common business together. From the large steamer I watched 2 boats coming on shore with 7 men, 6 rowing and the 7th steering. They had nothing on board; but 2 other boats with as many men, close to the first boat just arrived into the Admiralty basin, had several cases on board. Leaving the basin my eyes followed the boat to the large steamer in the roads. The cases were hoisted up on board. The cases were of a solid construction. Four to five men were lifting them with caution into the boat from the shore.*

At 1·30 P.M. I arrived at Baltish Port. There was not one single vessel in harbour.

I entered into the tavern close to the sea-side called "Florst-Gasthaus," the only one in the place, standing quite isolated next to the Russ church. I found but the barmaid in the large room knitting. I asked for something to eat; said that I came

* I have every reason to suppose these cases contain torpedoes.

down to hire summer lodgings. "Are you not afraid of the war?" asked me the barmaid in German. I answered, "Not a bit." "Oh," she replied, "we are afraid. Preparations are being made. We can see it in our quiet place here." "How is that?" I asked. "Well," she said, "last Thursday (the 11th April, n.s.) at about 9 in the evening, a long train arrived here with 600 seamen (Imperial) with sixty-six officers. The men were kept quiet on the sea-side, but all the officers were eating and drinking here. An aide-de-camp handed over to the commanding officer a case (polished) like a dressing case, and an envelope sealed. The commanding officer opened the envelope. It contained the key to the case, and a paper. After reading the paper he opened the case. It contained sixty-five sealed envelopes which, after a short speech, he handed one to each officer. Every one put his envelope into his breast pocket.

"At about 11 P.M. the arrival of a large steamer was announced. The party rose quickly. The embarkation took place by means of several boats,—the steamer staying at about one mile from the shore. At about 3 A.M. Friday, all men were embarked; but whilst the officers were in the tavern, the men dressed themselves in private clothes. It could not be ascertained whether they took their military clothes with them or not. Many men, Russians and Estonians among them, were weeping because they were obliged to leave their families without having been allowed to take leave of them. Many were murmuring for being sent in such an unexpected manner, God knows where, abroad.

"The aide-de-camp left immediately after the steamer was out of sight."

"A good deal was spoken," said the barmaid, "of torpedoes."

(Signed) C. NAIDTRE, *Captain, late in Her Majesty's service, of the Turkish Contingent Engineers, British subject.*

No. 622.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 29.)

(No. 442.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 19, 1878.

SINCE addressing to your Lordship my despatch No. 415 of the 12th instant, I learn that Colonel Stobloff has been placed on the general staff, and under the orders of the Commander-in-chief in Turkestan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 623.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 29.)

(No. 452. Confidential.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 23, 1878.

I HAD the honour to report to your Lordship in my despatch No. 420 of the 13th instant, that a more conciliatory spirit was being shown by the Russian Government towards Roumania, and that offers had been made to conclude a fresh military Convention for the free passage of the Russian troops through Roumania to Bulgaria, during its military occupation.

The interesting despatch which I inclose herewith to your Lordship from Colonel Wellesley confirms this intelligence, and the complimentary and apologetic messages, of which Prince Battenberg was the bearer to the Emperor will, no doubt, greatly tend to soften the asperity which recent events had produced on the Imperial mind.

I am informed (but not from any official source) that the Imperial Government will not be indisposed to modify the extent of the Bessarabian territory reclaimed by Russia, and that they may be willing to give up the retrocession of Reni and other portions of the Danubian shore beyond St. George's Canal (upwards).

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 623.

Colonel Wellesley to Lord A. Loftus.

(Confidential.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 23, 1878.

I HAVE been informed most confidentially by a personal friend that when Prince Battenberg lately returned from the south to St. Petersburgh, he was charged by Prince Charles of Roumania with complimentary messages and assurances of personal attachment to the Emperor.

He was further requested by Prince Charles to tell the Emperor that, although as a constitutional Prince, he was unable to cede Bessarabia to Russia of his own free will, he could not, of course, prevent the annexation of that territory to Russia, should the Emperor desire to acquire it.

In other words, although Prince Charles would be obliged to protest against such a measure, as far as he personally was concerned, he had no objection to the Russian proposal.

This information came to my informant directly from Prince Battenberg.

With regard to the Bessarabian question, I should add that I am informed by General Greig, Controller of the Empire, that the Roumanian Ministers entered during the war into negotiations with Prince Gortchakow respecting the exchange of Bessarabia for a part of the Dobrudscha, and that it is owing to those negotiations that the boundaries of that portion of the Dobrudscha which it is proposed to annex to Roumania were extended to their present dimensions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRED. WELLESLEY.

No. 624.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 29.)

(No. 451.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 23, 1878.

AS your Lordship is no doubt aware the Servian Government have expressed great dissatisfaction and disappointment with that portion of the Treaty of San Stefano referring to Servia.

General Leschjanin has lately been here on a mission from the Prince of Servia, with a view to obtain from the Emperor of Russia certain modifications of the Treaty, more especially in regard to the delimitation of the Servian-Bulgarian frontier. I am privately informed that his mission has been so far successful, that he has obtained assurances from the Imperial Government that the wishes and interests of Servia shall be duly taken into account in the event of the meeting of an European Congress.

There is an evident wish here to conciliate both the Roumanian and Servian populations, among whom of late a very unfriendly feeling against Russia has shown itself.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 625.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 29.)

(No. 455. Confidential.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 23, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a report from Colonel Wellesley conveying the impression produced on his mind by his conversations with the Emperor and members of the Imperial Government.

I entirely concur in the opinions expressed by Colonel Wellesley, and I consider that a great change has taken place in public opinion, and a more pacific tone is evinced by the press, since it is clearly perceived that Her Majesty's Government have taken a decided attitude, and that they are backed by the voice of the nation. But in admitting the sincere desire of the Emperor to avoid a conflict with England, in admitting further that this desire is generally participated in by the intellectual and reflecting portion of the nation, as being a financial and political necessity, it must not

be taken for granted that the Imperial Government will be ready to concede every demand, or to make every sacrifice which might be claimed for the maintenance of peace.

Colonel Wellesley has, in my opinion, very correctly stated those points on which Russia will not be prepared to yield, namely:—(1.) In regard to the retrocession of the Bessarabian territory; (2) the acquisition of Batoum, and (3) the retention of Kars.

In a conversation I had yesterday with Prince Gortchakow His Highness expressly stated that Russia must hold to the acquisition of Batoum, observing that it had been lost to Russia in the Treaty of Adrianople by mere error on the part of the Emperor Nicholas which could not afterwards be rectified.

On all other clauses of the Treaty of San Stefano I am disposed to believe that Russia will prove to be yielding and elastic, but on the three above-mentioned points I feel convinced that at the present moment there is a determined resolution not to relax her demands even at the risk of war.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have received the inclosed memorandum by Mr. Michell, on the change of tone of the Russian press and public opinion.

A. L.

Inclosure 1 in No. 625.

Colonel Wellesley to Lord A. Loftus.

(Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 23, 1878.

AS your Lordship is aware, I have, since my return from England, had interviews with the Emperor, as also with most of the Ministers, and the impression conveyed to me by these conversations is as follows:—

1. Both the Emperor and the Russian Government are sincerely desirous of peace, and would gladly avail themselves of any means of receding from their present position, if this were possible without too much humiliation to Russia.

2. The Russian Government has to the last trusted entirely to the Opposition in England, and if the tone of Russia is now less arrogant this change is to be attributed to the firm attitude of England.

3. Any concession on the part of England would be regarded as a sign of weakness, and would lead to corresponding high talk on the side of Russia.

4. There are three points on which it would be most difficult for Russia to yield, namely:—

(*a.*) The retrocession of Bessarabia, which is a matter of personal sentiment with the Emperor.

(*b.*) The acquisition of Batoum, which is considered a commercial and naval necessity; and

(*c.*) That of Kars, which has been taken in this campaign for the third time, and has cost so much Russian blood.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRED. WELLESLEY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 625.

Memorandum respecting Opinion of the Russian Press and Public in Russia.

THE tone of the Russian press shows symptoms of great dejection. The impression conveyed to the reader of Russian organs of all shades and opinions is that a solution of the Eastern Question in a sense favourable to Russia can only be obtained by force of arms, an expedient which, it is felt, Russia is certainly not prepared to adopt owing to her financial and other embarrassments. Peace, however, is fervently desired if not openly advocated, and every occasion is seized by the press for urging a policy tending to secure that object without a great sacrifice of national honour and dignity. At the same time, it is recognized that the question at issue between England and Russia in the East is simply that of supremacy and domination in

Turkey, and that war can only be averted by mutual concessions and a temporary compromise.

The more intelligent and liberal section of the Russian public entertain the hope that England will not cede one iota of her demands, and that such obduracy on her part may lead to war—a result they desire, inasmuch as it is certain not only to prove disastrous to the interests of the Russian Government, but ultimately advantageous to the country at large. They foresee that a destruction of the prestige of the Government which would follow military defeat would have the effect of bringing about a downfall of the present despotic form of administration, which they consider to be fatal to the development of political, civil, and religious progress in the Empire.

Though a determination is expressed in some of the semi-official and ultra-Slav organs of the Russian press to withstand the humiliating demands of the English Government with respect to the basis of the projected Conference, it is apparent that the high tone adopted is merely assumed for the occasion to disguise the real weakness of the Russian case.

Fear and apprehension are feelings that pervade the more enlightened classes in Russia of the serious consequences that a war with England will entail on their country. It may be said that the educated classes desire a friendly adjustment of the present difficulty. Any compromise, however, that may be arrived at at present is regarded by ultra-Russian patriots as an arrangement only temporarily desirable, in order to enable Russia at a more fitting and propitious opportunity to compass the final destruction of Turkey and the establishment of her domination in the East, which were the true objects of the present war, and in the attainment of which she is now momentarily foiled.

The Russian press continues to discuss the question of starting Russian cruizers to prey on British commerce and distant English Colonies. Public meetings have been held at Moscow, St. Petersburgh, and Cronstadt to ventilate this question and to stimulate public donations for the purpose. As yet the public, though sympathizing in the principle advocated, have not contributed very generously towards its realization, and this too in spite of the high patronage—that of the Heir Apparent—under which a society for the purchase of cruizers has been placed, and of all the encouragement given by the Government for the furtherance of the great national object.

The discussion of the question of the invasion of India by Russian troops is now languishing in the press—the difficulties of the undertaking having been demonstrated by competent writers.

(Signed) JOHN MICHELL.

St. Petersburgh, April 23, 1878.

No. 626.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 29.)

(No. 456.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 23, 1878.

VARIOUS organs of the Russian press have been lately suspended, or subjected to Ministerial warning, for articles supposed to be of a pernicious tendency on questions of internal affairs.

I inclose to your Lordship a Memorandum from Mr. Michell reporting the suppression of the "Severnoy Vestnik," or "Northern Messenger," by order of the Emperor, and a further Memorandum reporting that a warning had been given to the Russian "St. Petersburgh Gazette," to which is added the précis of an article from the "Golos," containing severe charges against the Russian Commissariat Department during the late war.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 626.

Memorandum.

THE "Official Gazette" of this day announces the suppression by order of the Emperor of the "Severnoy Vestnik" ("Northern Messenger") for its "pernicious tendency."

This paper, since its establishment last year, has been the object of persecution on the part of the Government owing to the critical and independent spirit which characterised its articles. A short time ago it was deprived on trivial grounds by the Chief Censor of the right of inserting leading articles. The liberal views, however, of the editor and his staff on matters relating chiefly to domestic policy found expression in letters from their correspondents. In these letters provincial abuses were mercilessly exposed and administrative abuses severely denounced.

The immediate cause for the suppression of the newspaper has been afforded by the publication of a letter from Miss Zasulitch (lately acquitted by a lenient jury of the charge of an attempt to assassinate General Trepoff) in which she declares an intention to leave the police in ignorance of her place of residence until she is assured that she will no longer be persecuted by administrative or arbitrary process, to the effects of which, she alleges, she has, to her cost, been exposed during the last eight years of her life.

(Signed) JOHN MICHELL.

St. Petersburgh, April $\frac{7}{19}$, 1878.

Inclosure 2 in No. 626.

Précis of Articles from the Russian Press.

THE "St. Petersburgh Gazette" has received a first warning from the Minister of the Interior for an article published in its issue of the $\frac{22nd\ March}{4th\ April}$, 1878, in which it openly accuses the Russian Government of pursuing a policy of self-abasement and concession, which, in the opinion of the paper, can only lead to national humiliation, and which can but result in consequences most disastrous to the country.

The "Golos" of the $\frac{26th\ March}{7th\ April}$ contains a very strong article in which it openly charges the Russian Commissariat and contractors employed in furnishing supplies to the Russian army with gross abuses and frauds. The article expresses the opinion that it is high time to entrust the Territorial Bodies, or "Zemstoos," with the performance of the sacred duty of provisioning the Russian army, in order to prevent the same from being starved and exhausted.

(Signed) JOHN MICHELL.

St. Petersburgh, April 6, 1878.

No. 627.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 457.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 23, 1878.

I THINK it right to inclose to your Lordship a Memorandum by Mr. Michell reporting the arrangement made by a correspondent of the "Novoe Vremia" at the Russian head-quarters for watching the movements of the British fleet at Izmid.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 627.

Memorandum.

M. MOLCHANOFF, the correspondent of the "Novoe Vremia" at the Russian head-quarters, and who recently sent to that paper a detailed account of the armament, means of defence, &c, of the "Alexandra" and "Sultan," stationed at Izmid, now informs that organ that he has made arrangements with a correspondent at Izmid, who will send him daily accounts of the movements and doings of the British fleet from that place. This information Molchanoff states he will, on receipt, forward to his journal.

St. Petersburgh, April $\frac{5}{17}$, 1878.

No. 628.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 458.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 23, 1878.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 438 of the 18th instant on the subject of the Moscow movement for the purchase of cruizers, I have the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship a translation by Mr. Michell of the resolutions passed at the meeting held there on the 16th instant. In one of these resolutions it is suggested that the alarm caused amongst the commercial classes of Great Britain and her Colonies by the proposed purchase of fast vessels by Russia may compel the Earl of Beaconsfield (as, it is stated, Mr. Pitt was compelled in 1791) to modify the policy of the British Cabinet with regard to Russia.

I also inclose two Memorandums by Mr. John Michell, one on the subject of the construction of six new clipper vessels and four wooden gunboats for the Russian Government, and of the formation of three additional naval brigades; the other is with reference to the despatch of Russian naval officers abroad, it is said to America and Italy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 628.

Resolutions passed at Moscow in favour of Equipping a Volunteer Fleet.

THE "Golos" of the $\frac{7}{19}$th April, 1878, publishes a telegram from its correspondent at Moscow which contains the following resolutions passed at a meeting, held on the $\frac{6}{18}$th April, of the Imperial Society for the Encouragement of Navigation:—

"1. That the employment of armed vessels, equipped at public expense, represents the only and most powerful means for a successful struggle in the old and new world against omnipotent 'British interests.' That the utilization of such means, in view of the facilities afforded by Russian law as regards naturalization, enables Russia to command the services of an enormous number of vessels in a struggle against England.

"2. That when it shall become known in Europe that Russia will not repeat the mistake she made in the Crimean War, and will not hesitate to make use of this her sole weapon, the people of Great Britain, especially in her Colonies, will at once recognize the extent to which their most vital interests can be affected. As in 1791, during the time of Pitt, the meetings held in London averted the despatch of a powerful fleet against Russia, so meetings in 1878 may compel Lord Beaconsfield to make British interests subservient to those of mankind in general, and may avert hostile action on the part of a people numbering 90,000,000 who are ready to sacrifice themselves in defence of their country.

"3. In addition to these considerations, a volunteer naval force will exercise an enormous influence on the mercantile marine of Russia, and will release the Russian nation from the necessity of paying, as at present, English and foreign shipowners a yearly sum of 70,000,000 roubles as freight for conveying their products."

Prior to the meeting of the Society on the $\frac{4}{16}$th April it was intended that their head-quarters should be at Moscow; it was now resolved that the Committee should be under the direction of the Czarewitch, and that application should be made to His Highness requesting him to nominate members for the Committee.

Inclosure 2 in No. 628.

Memorandum of Russian Naval Intelligence.

IT has been determined to construct six steel-plated clippers of the "Kreiser" and "Rashonik" type. Orders for these vessels have been given in Russia to the following ship-building yards, situated in the neighbourhood:—

Semanikoff's Works, two clippers.

Baltic Works, two clippers.

New Admiralty Works, two clippers.

Their construction is now being proceeded with.

It has also been decided to order four wooden gun-boats (iron frames) of the "Fish" type. The engines are to be built by Baird, of St. Petersburgh.

The formation of three additional naval "equipages," or brigades, has been ordered out of Naval Reserve men. Two of the "equipages" have been enrolled at Cronstadt, and one at Nicolaieff. The two first are to be designated the 9th and 10th "Naval Equipages," and the third as the 3rd "Black Sea Equipage."

The "Cronstadt Naval Gazette" states that all the iron-clads, gun-boats, and war steamers now in Cronstadt Harbour will be commissioned for the ensuing season, and that they will be divided into several squadrons.

St. Petersburgh, April 22, 1878.

Inclosure 3 in No. 628.

Memorandum.

IT is reported at St. Petersburgh that, in addition to the sixty-five naval officers that were dispatched from Baltic Port on the 10th April, forty-two naval officers of various grades have been sent abroad by rail. The greater portion of the latter have also, it is said, proceeded to America, while the destination of the others is stated to be some port in Italy.

Double lines of rails are now being laid down between Dinaburgh and Virballen, on the Prussian frontier.

The Russian newspapers state that 500 artillery officers have been recalled from the Caucasus and Armenia to St. Petersburgh. The guns of fifty field batteries have been placed in store at Alexandropol.

(Signed) JOHN MICHELL.

St. Petersburgh, April 23, 1878.

No. 629.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 462. Confidential.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 23, 1878.

I HAD a short interview yesterday with Prince Gortchakow, with a view to ascertain what progress was making in the negotiations carrying on under the auspices of Prince Bismarck.

His Highness said that the two Governments had agreed in principle to the withdrawal of their respective forces from the vicinity of Constantinople, but that the questions of detail were still under consideration, and he seemed to be awaiting with some anxiety for a communication from Berlin.

Prince Gortchakow then alluded to the continued military preparations in England, and more especially to the telegraphic report of Indian troops being under orders to embark for Malta, as indicating a decided intention on the part of Her Majesty's Government to appeal to arms, and his Highness observed that no menace of such a nature would frighten the Imperial Government into concessions of an humiliating character.

I replied to his Highness that the Imperial Government judged wrongly if they conceived that Her Majesty's Government desired war. When all Europe was armed or arming to the teeth it was necessary for England to take precautions for the safety and protection of her interests, but the measures taken were simply of a precautionary nature.

His Highness, in referring to the Congress and the condition imposed by England for accepting it, observed that the discussion of the Treaty was in no way limited, and that he, for his part, could not understand the apparent distrust evinced by Her Majesty's Government.

"I have held the seals of the Foreign Department for twenty-two years," said his Highness, "and have never acted with deception or finesse. Why, therefore, do you not trust me?"

I replied that the object of the Congress was to bring about a perfect and harmonious understanding between Russia and the European Powers in regard to the bearing of the Treaty of San Stefano on former international agreements, and that it was evident that unless that Treaty was submitted for full and free discussion the object of the Congress could not be fulfilled. To this his Highness observed that the Congress was not a tribunal, and that Russia could not appear before it as if summoned to its judgment.

I have the honour to inclose to your Lordship a leading article from this day's "Agence Russe," emanating from the Imperial Foreign Office, which correctly gives the official opinions entertained here in regard to the existing negotiations, which are expressed in a moderate and hopeful tone.

Nothing has transpired here in regard to the exchange of opinions now going on between this Government and the Austrian Cabinet, and great secrecy is maintained in regard to them, but from what I can gather great hopes are entertained that through the good offices of Prince Bismarck some understanding may be arrived at.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 629.

Extract from the "Agence Russe."

St. Pétersbourg, Mardi soir, le $\frac{11}{23}$ *Avril,* 1878.

NOUS avons recommandé à nos lecteurs, dans notre télégramme de Samedi matin, de se défier des bruits qui trouvent toujours un facile crédit auprès du public dans des moments où la réserve la plus complète est obligatoire pour tous les Gouvernements. Néanmoins, vu l'indiscrétion commise par certains organes étrangers sur l'objet des pourparlers engagés par l'intermédiaire du Cabinet de Berlin et les commentaires erronés auxquels d'autres organes se sont livrés sur ces pourparlers, il est nécessaire de dire que ce Cabinet ne pouvait donner une meilleure preuve du caractère loyal, sérieux et logique de ses bons offices qu'en proposant en tout premier lieu l'évacuation simultanée de la flotte Anglaise et des troupes Russes des positions qu'elles occupent actuellement près de Constantinople afin que l'œuvre du Congrès ne fût ni interrompue, ni dominée par l'imminence de collisions fortuites. Le principe de cette évacuation ayant été admis de part et d'autre, la nécessité fut reconnue de l'opérer simultanément à une distance calculée sur le temps respectivement nécessaire à l'armée Russe et à la flotte Anglaise pour regagner, si besoin était, leurs positions évacuées, lesquelles pendant ce temps resteraient neutralisées. Une fois l'entente établie sur les détails de la mise à exécution de ce principe, la Conférence Préliminaire se serait réunie pour convenir du programme du Congrès, lequel, alors, aurait offert des chances presque certaines de succès, puisqu'il n'aurait eu lieu que lorsqu'à l'occasion de son programme les Cabinets seraient tombés d'accord sur les principales questions qui y auraient été définitivement réglées.

Tels étant encore et l'objet et la nature des pourparlers qui se poursuivent et le plan adopté, on peut concevoir plus ou moins de doutes sur leur succès en voyant les préparatifs militaires que le Gouvernement Anglais multiplie, les difficultés de détails qu'il suscite et les puériles questions de formes ou de mots sur lesquels il insiste, mais il n'est pas permis de désespérer du triomphe du bon sens sur le parti-pris et la passion aussi longtemps que la médiation du Gouvernement Allemand poursuivra ses équitables et puissants efforts.

No. 630.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 463.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 24, 1878.

IN my No. 441 I transmitted to your Lordship the official versions of the street disturbances at Moscow on the arrival in that city of fifteen arrested students from Kiew; I have now the honour to inclose to your Lordship herewith the official account of the disorders which broke out in the Kiew University in consequence of the arrest of those students. The result has been that the sentence of expulsion has been pronounced on more than 134 students of that University, who are thus debarred from competing in public examinations, or from entering the service of the State.

I also inclose herewith a Memorandum by Mr. John Mitchell which states that revolutionary placards have been posted in some of the principal streets of St. Petersburgh during the past week.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 630.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of April $\frac{13}{25}$, 1878.

St. Pétersbourg, le 10 Avril, 1878.

LE "Messager Officiel" publie aujourd'hui la communication que voici sur les désordres qui se sont produits à l'Université de Kiew :—

"Par suite de l'arrestation, faite par ordre du Procureur, de plusieurs personnes soupçonnées d'avoir pris part à une propagande criminelle et parmi lesquels figurait un étudiant de l'Université de St. Vladimir, accusé de complicité dans la tentative d'assassinat commise le 23 Février sur la personne de M. Kotliarevsky, Substitut du Procureur près le Tribunal de Kiew, il s'est produit dans un certain nombre d'étudiants de la dite université une agitation, qui a pris quelque développement. Le cercle d'étudiants qui a pris part à cette agitation a commencé le 15 Mars à se rassembler dans l'enceinte de l'université, soidisant seulement pour se concerter sur les mesures à prendre par les étudiants en vue de délivrer leur camarade arrêté; plusieurs de ces étudiants se sont présentés alors chez le Recteur de l'Université et chez le Curateur de l'Arrondissement Scolaire de Kiew pour les prier de s'intéresser au sort de leur camarade, arrêté sans motif, à leur avis, et pour se plaindre des mesures vexatoires et offensantes de la police de Kiew à leur égard. Le recteur et le curateur représentèrent aux étudiants toute l'inopportunité de leur demande, la culpabilité de leur camarade ne pouvant être démontrée que par l'enquête et prononcée par le Tribunal; le curateur, dans ses explications avec les étudiants qui étaient venus le trouver, a ajouté en outre, que les étudiants n'avaient qu'à s'occuper de science et non pas à discuter ce qui ne les regardait pas, et il leur a fait entrevoir les conséquences fâcheuses pouvant en résulter pour ceux qui continueraient à suivre la fausse voie indiquée par leur démarche actuelle. Quant aux actes de la police, dans le cas où elle offenserait un étudiant, celui qui en serait victime pouvait se plaindre lui-même et certainement sa plainte serait écoutée et prise en considération; enfin le meilleur moyen d'éviter les prétendues chicanes de la police, consistait à ne pas leur donner de motif de se produire, en troublant l'ordre n'importe où.

"Malgré ces exhortations, les étudiants continuèrent à se réunir dans les bâtiments de l'université, leurs réunions prirent un caractère de plus en plus bruyant et le nombre des étudiants qui y assistaient devenait de plus en plus grand. Le recteur se vit obligé d'entrer le 20 Mars dans un des auditoires de l'université, où se tenait une réunion, à l'effet de déclarer aux étudiants qu'ils enfreignaient des règlements parfaitement connus d'eux et d'exiger qu'ils se dispersassent immédiatement. La minorité des étudiants seulement se rendit à cette injonction. Le Lieutenant-Général Antonovitch, curateur de l'arrondissement scolaire de Kiew, fit alors à son tour son entrée dans l'auditoire. Le curateur ayant demandé aux étudiants pourquoi ils s'étaient réunis, ceux qui se trouvaient les plus rapprochés de lui déclarent qu'ils cherchaient les moyens d'obtenir la liberté de leur camarade, innocent à leurs yeux, et qu'ayant essuyé des refus de tous ceux à qui ils s'étaient adressés, ils voulaient trouver moyen de la prendre sous leur protection. Quand le curateur leur demanda qui les avait autorisés à choisir un auditoire de l'université pour se réunir et discuter des affaires quelconques, malgré qu'ils se fussent tous engagés par écrit, en entrant à l'université, à observer ces règlements,—la réponse suivante se fit entendre dans les derniers rangs: "C'est nous qui avons donné cette autorisation, ce sont les étudiants qui l'ont donnée," paroles qui furent suivies d'un certain mouvement dans la masse des étudiants. Pour mettre un terme à ce mouvement d'excitation, le curateur rappela encore une fois aux étudiants l'existence du règlement défendant les réunions dans l'enceinte de l'université et il leur déclara que les fauteurs de l'infraction au règlement seraient cités devant le Tribunal Universitaire, qu'il était venu pour remplir son devoir et qu'il le remplirait coûte que coûte, qu'il reconnaissait tous les étudiants présents coupables de s'être réunis en assemblée dans l'enceinte de l'université et d'avoir désobéi aux ordres des autorités universitaires, et que par conséquent les coupables seraient déférés au Tribunal de l'Université. A cet effet, les noms de tous les assistants furent inscrits, après quoi

les étudiants se retirèrent. L'auditoire fut fermé et l'on afficha sur la porte un placard portant que cet auditoire resterait fermé jusqu'à nouvel ordre.

"Le lendemain, 21 Mars, les étudiants se réunirent de nouveau en assez grand nombre à l'université et une cinquantaine de ceux d'entre eux qui n'avaient pas assisté à la réunion de la veille inscrivirent leurs noms, à la suite de ceux qui avaient refusé d'obéir aux ordres des autorités universitaires. Depuis lors, il n'y eut plus de réunions à l'université et la tranquillité se rétablit parmi les étudiants. Les cours ne furent pas interrompus pendant toute la durée des désordres et les étudiants y assistèrent comme d'habitude.

"Le Tribunal Universitaire commença à siéger le 22 Mars; les étudiants cités à comparaître devant lui étaient au nombre de 142. Le tribunal avait à examiner, comme il résulte de ce qui précède, deux faits de violation des règlements de l'université et une insoumission ouverte aux autorités de l'université.

"Les étudiants mis en cause ayant été appelés et interrogés, refusèrent tous, à quelques exceptions près, de donner la moindre explication au tribunal, trouvant illégal l'interrogatoire de chaque accusé sans la présence à l'audience de tous ceux qui avaient été cités et interrogés par le tribunal. Les règlements en vigueur pour le Tribunal Universitaire n'autorisant pas un pareil mode d'interrogatoire, le tribunal fut obligé d'avoir recours à d'autres données pour déterminer le degré de culpabilité des étudiants accusés.

"Le 29 Mars, le Tribunal Universitaire prit la décision suivante :

"1. Quarante-neuf étudiants convaincus d'avoir pris part aux réunions, d'avoir fait acte d'insoumission aux autorités universitaires, et dont la conduite antérieure n'avait pas toujours été exemplaire, étaient condamnés à être exclus de l'université et à ne pouvoir rentrer dans aucun établissement scolaire pendant trois ans, y compris l'année scolaire courante;

"2. Soixante-quinze étudiants, convaincus des mêmes infractions, mais dont la conduite antérieure n'avait jamais donné lieu à aucune plainte, étaient éloignés de l'université pour un terme de deux ans, l'année courante y comprise, et ne pouvaient être admis ni à l'université de St. Vaidimir ni dans aucun autre établissement;

"3. Dix étudiants convaincus des mêmes infractions, mais jouissant d'une excellente réputation pour la conduite et le travail, étaient invités à quitter eux-mêmes l'université de St. Vladimir, et

"4. Huit étudiants ayant expliqué devant le tribunal que, quoiqu'ayant assisté aux réunions précédentes, ils avaient quitté la dernière sur l'injonction des autorités, étaient reconnus passibles d'une sévère réprimande.

"La décision du Tribunal Universitaire, ratifiée d'abord par le Conseil de l'Université à la majorité de 35 voix contre quatre et ensuite par le Curateur de l'Arrondissement Scolaire de Kiew, a déjà été mise à exécution et pour prévenir le renouvellement des désordres, des mesures ont été prises afin d'éloigner de Kiew les étudiants exclus.

"Pour conclure, il importe d'ajouter que selon l'opinion générale qui prédomine à Kiew, les désordres regrettables qui se sont produits à l'Université de St. Vaidimir et qui ont obligé l'université, pour sa propre défense, à prendre des mesures sévères contre les fauteurs, ont été provoqués par des individus d'une tendance connue, qui n'appartiennent pas à l'université, qui sont hostiles à l'ordre de choses existant et auxquels se sont joints plusieurs étudiants. Sous prétexte de démarches faites en faveur d'un camarade, que ces individus ont déclaré injustement arrêté, ceux-ci cherchaient l'occasion de provoquer des désordres, qui auraient abouti à la fermeture de l'université, ce dont ils auraient profité pour provoquer parmi la jeunesse un mécontentement général. Il est très possible que la plupart des étudiants traduits devant le tribunal aient été sincèrement entraînés par le désir de secourir leur camarade, soidisant innocent, sans se douter nullement qu'ils servaient d'instruments à des individus inconnus qui poursuivaient un tout autre but. Il faut sans doute attribuer aux mêmes influences funestes la conduite des étudiants interrogés par le Tribunal Universitaire—conduite qui, sans parler de son entière illégalité, a mis l'université dans l'impossibilité d'agir autrement qu'elle ne l'a fait à l'égard des accusés.

"Pour ce qui est du reste des étudiants de l'Université de St. Vaidimir, la vérité exige de déclarer qu'ils n'ont pas pris part aux désordres causés par leurs camarades, et que même, d'après des renseignements authentiques, un grand nombre d'entre eux se sont rendus aux premières réunions des étudiants avec l'intention de retenir ceux qui se laissaient entraîner, mais que, n'ayant pas réussi dans leur tentative, ils ont réprouvé toute espèce de solidarité avec leurs camarades."

Inclosure 2 in No. 630.

Memorandum.

ON Thursday night last revolutionary placards to the following effect were posted on the walls of the houses of some of the principal throughfares of St. Petersburgh: "Down with the Government that has proved itself incapable of protecting the rights of the people."

These proclamations, in addition to being attached to the walls of houses, were also scattered on the ground for the purpose of being picked up by passers by. The police early on the following morning were busily employed in tearing the bills down and gathering them from the ground.

All questions addressed to them on the subject remained unanswered and the questioners were sternly ordered to pass on. The fact of the posting of the proclamations is established by a person whose evidence may be considered creditable. It must be supposed that the authors of this printed appeal belonged to the Communistic or Nihilistic party, who endeavoured to seize the occasion of the Zasulitch trial to embarrass the Government and undermine its authority.

(Signed) JOHN MICHELL.

St. Petersburgh, April $\frac{6}{17}$, 1878.

No. 631.

Lord A. Loftus to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 465. Confidential.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 24, 1878.

THE French Ambassador, General le Flô, returned here a few days ago rather unexpectedly, and, as he informs me, at the express wish of the Marshal President.

From what I can learn I attribute his sudden return to the wish of the Marshal to remove any unfavourable impressions which the anti-Russian tone of the French press may have caused on the mind of the Emperor of Russia, and to assure the Imperial Government than France (in the words used to me by General le Flô) "ayant payé chèrement le droit de s'occuper de ses propres affaires," has not the remotest intention of taking any active part in the Eastern complication, in which her interests are not directly concerned.

On the other hand I believe that General le Flô is instructed to use his influence in impressing on the Imperial Government the necessity of adopting a moderate and conciliatory course in regard to England, with a view to avoid a conflict which might easily lead to a general conflagration.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 632.

Vice-Consul Bonham to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 13. Political.)

My Lord, *Jassy, April* 14, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship, herewith inclosed, a Memorandum regarding Russian military and sanitary arrangements.

I have, &c.

(Signed) E. W. BONHAM.

Inclosure in No. 632.

Memorandum as to Russian Military and Sanitary Arrangements.

SINCE the 18th ultimo, only 25 Russian military trains have left this for the south. The number of soldiers who have gone forward is inconsiderable; they have, I believe, been chiefly convalescents who have gone to rejoin their regiments. Some stores have gone forward, but the activity and movement formerly visible at the station has comparatively ceased.

An ambulance train with about 120 men arrived here the other day by road. They are said to have come from the south, and to be bound for Russia; at present, however, they are still encamped above the town.

There are a good many Russian officers and some soldiers here, having 17 P and 20 P on black shoulder strap; but from inquiries I have made there do not appear to be above 800 men.

The hospitals are gradually leaving the town, and the number of sick has greatly diminished. I hope in a day or two to obtain copy of the official return for March (up to 12th April, new style) of the sick in hospital. There were about 1,209 in hospital on the 28th February, old style (12th March), and about 300 had died during the month. The leases of most of the houses hired for hospitals expire on the 5th May, by which date they are to be evacuated; although the Prefect told me they would leave entirely, from other information, I am inclined to believe the removal will not be so complete, and that some accommodation, the amount of it depending on circumstances, will still be provided here.

It is rumoured that the Red Cross staff will probably be removed from the station, as the sick from Bulgaria will be sent by Galatz. At present, at all events, the passage of sick still continues; I saw three sanitary trains two days ago on the lines by the temporary hospital, and they are passing regularly.

There are but a small number of Roumanian soldiers here at present. Rumours of an intended Russian camp at Roman, and of a force which is to come here, are current, and have been for some time, but I cannot ascertain that they have any foundation, though the reports as to a force coming here from Russia are very persistent.

Jassy, April 14, 1878. (Signed) E. W. BONHAM, *Vice-Consul.*

No. 633.

Consul Sanderson to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 33. Political.)

My Lord, *Galatz, April* 15, 1878.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 30, Political, of the 4th instant, on the subject of the movements of Russian troops between Toultcha and Ismail, I have the honour to report that between the 6th and the 12th instant, there have crossed from Toultcha to Ismail about 6,000 infantry of the 36th Division of the 7th Russian Army Corps, with two batteries of artillery; these men have been dispersed through Bessarabia, about 600 have been sent to Leti, and 300 are at work making a road across the islan opposite Toultcha. A regiment of cavalry was expected to cross on the 13th instant.

On the 13th instant about 400 men of the Russian Reserves arrived at Galatz from Giurgevo; the greater part of this force left on the 14th instant, proceeding towards Reni.

There are now at Galatz at the railway station 22 heavy guns, 10 mortars, and about 38 field guns, and 2 Russian vessels are waiting to take these on board and proceed down the river with them, but are delayed in consequence of their not being able to get berths at the quay where vessels are now discharging coal.

About 12,000 tons of coal have arrived at Galatz and Reni since the opening of the navigation, of which 10,000 have been taken by the Russians or their agents.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PERCY SANDERSON.

No. 634.

Consul Sanderson to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April 29.*)

(No. 34. Political.)
My Lord, *Galatz, April 19, 1878.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 33, Political, of the 15th instant, on the subject of the Russian military movements, I have the honour to report that I am informed that troops continue to cross from Toultcha to Ismail; about 16,000 it is estimated have crossed already, and Toultcha is full of Russian troops. These men are, I understand, chiefly of the 7th Russian Army Corps, but there are also some of the 14th Corps.

Orders have been given to the railway authorities at Galatz to prepare for the arrival of 12,000 Russian troops, who are to pass through Galatz shortly from the direction of Bucharest.

At Ibraila there are about 1,500 men and 1 battery of artillery; there only remains 4 guns of those that were in the batteries there, and these have been dismounted.

At Foesbani there are about 200 Russian troops and a battery of artillery; the troops are for the most part recruits; it was said that earth-works were being thrown up, but it appears that they are only huts for rifle practise.

The regiment of Roumanian cavalry, of which the four squadrons were divided between Galatz, Ismail, Cahul, and Bolgrad, have received orders to move to Rimnic Sereth, between Foesbani and Buyen.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PERCY SANDERSON.

No. 635.

Consul Sanderson to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April 29.*)

(No. 35. Political. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Galatz, April 20, 1878.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 34, Political, of yesterday's date, on the subject of the Russian military movements, I have the honour to report that I have this day obtained the following information which may be considered reliable:

Up to the evening of the 18th instant, there had arrived at Ismail from Toultcha the following Russian troops, which, with the exception of a portion of the cavalry, belong to the 36th Division of the 7th Russian Army Corps:—

	Men.
Infantry	8,000
Artillery (two field batteries)	500
Cavalry	3,900
Sanitary Staff	100
Total	12,500

The troops as they arrive are sent on and spread over Roumanian Bessarabia; between Ismail and Bolgrad 7 gangs of soldiers of from 30 to 50 each are at work repairing the roads, building light trestle-bridges across rivulets, bad crossings in the valleys, &c.; the roads are sufficiently good for the passage of infantry or cavalry at any time, it is therefore supposed that these bridges are for the passage of artillery or possibly preparatory to laying a tramway. There are no new batteries at Ismail and no guns in position.

At Bolgrad there is 1 field battery and 1,500 infantry, and in each of the villages, between Ismail and Bolgrad, there are Russian troops quartered.

There are three pontoon rafts employed at Ismail to transport horses, and the same number at Toultcha, in addition to a steam lighter for the transport of men and material.

On the 17th instant there were at Toultcha 2,000 Russian infantry, 1,500 Cossacks, 900 Lancers; 300 men were employed for 10 days repairing the road across the island.

At Reni there are about 2,000 men and 1 field battery; all these have passed through Galatz. Five large hospital sheds are now nearly completed, and 400 men

are at work on the new quay and the small branch line to the station on the Galatz-Bender Railway.

One thousand men of the Russian reserves arrived at Galatz last night from the direction of Giurgevo.

The Russian gun-boat "Sista" has taken cases of rifles and ammunition down the river, and the Russian steamer "Sulgira" left this morning with a portion of the guns mentioned in my despatch No. 33 of the 15th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PERCY SANDERSON.

P.S.—On a further reference to my notes on the subject of the troops that have crossed from Toultcha, I am satisfied that the number of field batteries that crossed is three not two. It is probable that the one that arrived at Ismail on the 30th March, as reported in my despatch No. 30, Political, of the 4th April, has been lost sight of. The cavalry is composed of 3,000 Cossacks and 900 dragoons.

A copy of this despatch, with the exception of the posteript, has been sent to Constantinople.

P. S.

No. 636.

Colonel Mansfield to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April 29.*)

(No. 70. Political. Confidential.)
My Lord,
Bucharest, April 23, 1878.

SINCE my last report to your Lordship on the state of affairs in this country, on the 18th instant, an interesting debate has taken place in the Roumanian Chamber, when M. Cogalniceano availed himself of the opportunity to remark that the possibility of the disarmament of the Roumanian army could never be admitted, and that the army was now massed in Little Wallachia with a view to avoiding collision with the Russians.

The latter statement, although true in fact, conveys the impression that the Roumanian army had been recently stationed in Little Wallachia with this object in view, whilst in reality they were placed in their present quarters immediately after the cessation of hostilities upon the Danube, when the relations of the two armies were still of the most cordial character.

So many extraordinary rumours are prevalent, that I this morning waited upon the Minister of Foreign Affairs to obtain, at any rate, the official version of the existing state of things.

M. Cogalniceano does not consider that the presence of the Russian forces in these Principalities is assuming the form of a regular occupation, except in Roumanian Bessarabia, where, as is corroborated by Consul Sanderson's reports, there may be something upwards of 12,000 to 14,000 men; the numbers, however, vary daily, but, roughly speaking, I doubt whether there are altogether over 50,000 Russians now in this country.

M. Cogalniceano assures me that there is no intention of transferring the seat of Government and Government Departments to Crajova; that he should consider such a measure to be in the highest degree impolitic, as the opening would be given for the Russians to upset the Roumanian Government throughout the country; and that any arrogance on the part of the Russian military authorities should be condoned rather than make over half the country to Russian officials by the disappearance and abdication of the local authorities.

M. Cogalniceano confirms my impression respecting the nature of the Russian preparations at present being carried out in this country; that there is but little to confirm the surmise that Roumania is to be regarded as their principal base of operations; that but few contracts are being made, or preparations of any description which would indicate the proximate intention of placing such forces in Moldavia as would be necessary to defend the long line of communication.

To conclude, I cannot conceal from myself that M. Cogalniceano is at present holding far calmer language upon all these subjects than has hitherto been his wont—a moderate tone which has, I imagine, been superinduced by counsel, or perhaps rather by absence of counsel, at Vienna and Berlin.

I should not omit, however, that M. Bratiano but four days since told me that they were daily expecting an ultimatum from St. Petersburgh respecting the attitude of Roumania in the event of further hostilities, and expatiated much upon the difficulty of their present position; but the Minister's language upon the subject did not convey to me the impression that he was under much alarm; and indeed so much is uttered in official circles for outsiders, and to sustain the popularity of the party at present in power, that it is difficult to separate "the bread from the sack."

Some days since, I reported to your Lordship, by telegraph, that a delegate was expected from St. Petersburgh to negotiate a fresh Convention with Roumania. M. Cogalniceano tells me that (as I had surmised) the Convention in question was intended to regulate the matters touched upon by the VIIIth Article of the Treaty of San Stefano, but that the delegate had been recalled when half way to Bucharest, in consequence of this Cabinet having decided that they would sign no fresh Convention with the Russian Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 637.

Mr. Pender, M.P., to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 29.)

April 26, 1878.

Dear Lord Salisbury,

THE inclosed is from the Telegraph Company's Agent at Canea.

Yours, &c.
(Signed) JOHN PENDER.

Inclosure in No. 637.

Telegram from Canea.

Canea, April 24, 1878.

(Telegraphic.)

WEDNESDAY evening, Turks attacked Kevatidi, strong position occupied by insurgents. Details wanted.

No. 638.

Lord Odo Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 29.)

(No. 286. Confidential.)

Berlin, April 27, 1878.

My Lord,

HERR VON BULOW informed me to-day that he had sent Count Münster the last telegram received from Russia respecting the withdrawal of the army, for communication to your Lordship.

The Russian Government, his Excellency said, wished to make arrangements with the Turkish Government respecting the dimensions and limits of a neutral zone to be established between the Russian and Turkish forces before their troops could be withdrawn from their present positions.

Besides which they objected to a notice of seventy-two hours proposed by Prince Bismarck, before the departure of the fleet from Besika Bay for Constantinople, as insufficient, and claimed exactly the double, namely six days.

These proposals, objections, and arrangements were of a purely military nature, and Prince Bismarck felt that he could not well interfere with the views of the naval and military authorities in the matter, or make himself responsible for them.

He therefore thought that much time could be saved if your Lordship would consent to settle them by direct negotiation with Count Schouvaloff or Lord Augustus Loftus.

He would reserve himself, and be at your Lordship's disposal for political questions, on which he was able to form and express an opinion.

Herr von Bülow then went on to say that Prince Bismarck had directed him to tell me that he entirely concurred with your Lordship in thinking that it would be useless, not to say imprudent, to go into Congress before a complete agreement was

established between the Powers in regard to the principal points of discussion affecting their respective interests.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 639.

Lord Odo Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 29.)

(No. 287. Secret.)

Berlin, April 27, 1878.

My Lord,

SINCE writing my despatch No. 282, Secret, of the 22nd instant, to your Lordship, I have been privately informed on good authority that Prince Bismarck's mediation between Austria and Russia has so far succeeded that Austria agrees to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Russia consents to a modification of the frontiers of Bulgaria and Montenegro, &c., but my informant could not tell me what frontiers Austria was prepared to accept. Russia, he said, would hold Roumania as a pledge until the agreement between Russia and Austria had been completed. Roumania will submit, he says, to the loss of Bessarabia in return for a bit added to the Dobrudscha, so as to give Roumania a bridge over the Danube, and facilitate her communications with the Dobrudscha, which the marshy nature of the borders of the Lower Danube would otherwise render at times extremely difficult.

My informant says that Prince Bismarck's mediation has successfully put an end to all danger of war between Austria and Russia, to the German Emperor's great relief and satisfaction.

I am unable to say how far my informant's statements may be correct.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 640.

Lord Odo Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 29.)

(No. 10. Consular.)

Berlin, April 27, 1878.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch, No. 9, Consular, of the 24th instant, I have now the honour to forward to your Lordship copy of a further despatch which I have received from Her Majesty's Consul at Hamburg, reporting that the vessel referred to by Mr. Vice-Consul Krüse, as having sailed from Kiel, was the "Cimbria," and not the "Frisia."

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 640.

Consul Annesley to Lord Odo Russell.

Hamburg, April 20, 1878.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour, with reference to my despatch of the 23rd instant, to transmit to your Lordship copy of another letter on the same subject from Mr. Vice-Consul Krüse, at Kiel, by which it appears that the "Cimbria" is the same ship that left Hamburg.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE ANNESLEY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 640.

Vice-Consul Krüse to Consul Annesley.

Kiel, April 24, 1878.

Sir,

I BEG to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday. I have, meanwhile, traced the sources of the report I gave you in my last, and ascertained that it is perfectly true, though it is not the "Frisia" but the "Cimbria." The pilot has been obliged to sign a document, wherein he binds himself not to reveal anything. The name of the "Cimbria" has been covered over, so that nobody could see it. The ship has a full cargo. The pilot was closely watched, so that he could have no communication with any other party on board the ship excepting the officers. He expects to pilot another steamer. It is my impression that these steamers are bought by the Russian Government, and are to serve in case of war as cruizers under Russian flag in the Atlantic, and under command of Russian officers, to avoid the character of privateers, which would subject them to be hanged when captured. I hear, meanwhile, the pilot says he has been on board the ship between Cuxhaven and Hamburg, but it is known that he left the ship at Frederickshafen (Lutkaud), and the time he has been on board leads to the conclusion that he has piloted the "Cimbria" to a Russian port and back as far as Frederickshafen. It is obvious that requiring a Kiel pilot means—

1. To have a pilot through the Belt and up the Baltic.

2. The intention to keep the whole affair secret, as there are pilots at Frederickshafen and in the Belt who if officially called could not keep matters secret.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHR. KRÜSE.

No. 641.

Colonel Siborne to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 20.)

Galatz, April 24, 1878.

My Lord,

IN reply to your Lordship's inquiry through the British Consul at Galatz as to the amount available for the repayment of the debt of the Danube Commission to the Sublime Porte, after providing for the reopening of the navigation, I have the honour to state that I have requested Mr. Sanderson to telegraph from me to your Lordship to the following effect:—

"The sum due by the Danube Commission to the Porte amounts to 4,310,065 fr. As alluded to in my report of the 16th March, repayment is not obligatory before 1883. The cost of reopening the navigation is 45,000 fr. We are unable to make further payments at present. I will report further by letter."

The original debt to the Porte amounts to 3,730,540 fr., producing interest at 4 per cent. per annum.

We have also a separate account current with the Turkish Government, which is credited with the interest on the debt, and debited with various payments made for it by the Commission, such as the salaries of the general inspection of the navigation, the Port Office at Sulina, &c. The balance of the account current reaches the sum of 571,425 fr., thus increasing the original debt to a total of 4,310,065 fr.

By a Convention concluded between the Commission and the Porte on the 2nd November, 1869, and forming Annex No. 1 of Protocol 247, it has been arranged that the reimbursement of the principal debt is to be effected by half-yearly annuities of not less than 180,000 fr., commencing from the 30th June, 1883, and that the balance of the account current is to be liquidated on the same terms, and after the refunding of the original debt has been completed.

As regards the cost of reopening the navigation, the sum of 4,051 fr. has been already expended, and a further sum of 40,160 fr. will be necessary for the complete restoration of the portion of the river near the site of the dam.

As stated in my letter to your Lordship, No. 19 of the 12th instant, we look to the Russian Government for the repayment of the total amount of 44,511 fr. say 45,000 fr.

Even if it were desired to set aside the provisions of the Convention above alluded to, and to at once liquidate the debt to the Porte, we could not accomplish this for the following reasons:—

Whilst all the ready money available to the Commission is absolutely necessary for its current expenses, the invested portion of its reserve fund amounts to only

1,574,833 fr., and, in the event of another war of any duration, this sum must, sooner or later, be drawn upon for the same purpose.

But, even assuming that this latter necessity should not arise, and that the reserve fund were of sufficient amount to meet the balance of the debt, we should still be precluded from such an appropriation of the fund by Article 14 of the Public Act, which enjoins that it shall be devoted—

Firstly.—By priority and preference to the liquidation of the other debt contracted by the Commission, namely, the Bischoffsheim and Goldschmidt Loan;

Secondly.—To cover the expenses of administration and maintenance of works and establishments; and only

Lastly.—To the reimbursement of the advances made by the Sublime Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. C. SIBORNE, *Colonel, R.E.,*
British Commissioner on Danube.

No. 642.

Mr. Tallack to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(Private.)

The Howard Association, 5, Bishopsgate Without, London, E.C., April 25, 1878.

My Lord,

I VENTURE (on request) to address your Lordship on the following point:—

About three years ago the ancient Christian Episcopal Church of the Nestorians (Koordistan), of whom 150,000 are in Turkish and 50,000 in Persian territory (around Ooromiah), sent a deputation of two Deacons, named Abraham and Marcus, to this country, duly accredited, to seek an interview especially with the Archbishop of Canterbury, with a view to seek the alliance of English Christians. His Grace accorded them two interviews.

Meanwhile the deputation continued in this country studying our language and institutions, and forming acquaintance with many Christian people. About a year ago one of them died, the Deacon Marcus. Abraham only remains. He returns viâ Armenia, Tiflis, &c., to Ooromiah (Persia) next month.

But before he goes he is very anxious to be accorded a brief interview with your Lordship, as he wishes personally to solicit the kind and protecting interest of the British Government on behalf of his people, and to ask your Lordship to send to Mr. Layard and other British Agents in Turkey and Persia (and perhaps also to entrust to Abraham himself) some official recommendation of the Nestorians, to the good offices of the British Agents, and also of the native authorities as influenced by British Agents.

The Koords, a wild, fierce tribe, are gathering to the number of nearly 200,000, with a view to oppose Russia. But they hate the Nestorians (as Christians), and have repeatedly robbed and massacred numbers of the latter people, and are again threatening to do so.

Deacon Abraham speaks English tolerably, but does not write it with facility. He has asked one or two of his acquaintance to write, on his behalf, to your Lordship, but they did not like to undertake the matter. He then asked me, as a friend of his, to do so.

I replied, "Lord Salisbury does not know me, nor have I any influence nor interest with his Lordship. But if no one else will help you, I will, at any rate, address a letter for you to his Lordship."

This, therefore, I now do; the Archbishop of Canterbury can verify to your Lordship, if you desire it, the *bona fides* of Deacon Abraham, as the official representative to this country of the Nestorian Churches.

I remain, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM TALLACK.

No. 643.

Mr. Pender to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

Dear Lord Salisbury, 18, *Arlington Street, London, April* 27, 1878

THE inclosed came to hand this morning. It may be news to you.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) JOHN PENDER.

Inclosure in No. 643.

Telegram dated Vucino, Canea, April 26, 1878.

TURKS occupied Keratidi Malaxa. Hard fighting continues since morning. Artillery took part; loss unknown. Two English Colonels in Turkish service. Arrival of Her Majesty's ship "Bittern," returned from Rethymo, where she has been to inquire into affairs; reports condition of that place not satisfactory.

No. 644.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received April 29.)

Sir, *Admiralty, April* 28, 1878.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the annexed copy of a telegram from Vice-Admiral Hornby.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure in No. 644.

Vice-Admiral Hornby to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Telegraphic.) *Ismid, April* 28, 1878, 1 P.M.

"SALAMIS" arrived from Malta yesterday, and sailed to day for Gallipoli; will rejoin me on Tuesday.

Rear-Admiral reports conversation with the Pashas commanding at Gallipoli and Dardanelles. Each deprecates very strongly withdrawing our ships from the Sea of Marmora. They say their arrival raised the spirits of the Turkish troops immensely, and that their departure would be demoralizing and disastrous to the cause of peace.

They do not consider the retreat of the Russians from Constantinople as an equivalent, as that will be forced on them by the insurrection in Thrace.

No. 645.

The Delegates of the Mussulman Population of Roumelia to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(Télégraphique.) *Pera, le* 28 *Avril*, 1878.

C'EST avec entière confiance que nous adressons aux sentiments éminemment généreux et humanitaires qui caractérisent la grande nation Anglaise. Nous avons déjà signalé aux Ambassades des Puissances étrangères les excès et les atrocités commises envers nous par les Russes et les Bulgares, qui ont causé et causent encore aujourd'hui la mort de milliers de gens opprimés et inoffensifs par des actes de férocité au-dessus de toute description. Nous avions pensé que dans le siècle de civilisation où nous vivons, toute trace de fanatisme étant disparue, on se serait empressé de venir au secours d'une nation si cruellement éprouvée et plongée dans de malheurs semblables, sans tenir compte de sa religion. Malheureusement l'oppresseur, qui a juré la perte totale et l'anéantissement des populations Musulmanes, continue l'accomplissement de son œuvre

de destruction en immolant journellement des millers de Musulmans, et nul n'accourt à notre délivrance. Le temps n'est-il pas venu pour l'Europe et surtout pour la grande nation Anglaise, dont les sentiments d'humanité, de justice, et d'impartialité nous sont bien connus, de tendre une oreille complaisante aux cris et aux gémissements poussés par des opprimés plongés dans de malheurs inouïes et sans précédent que leur sont causés par les Russes et les Bulgares, cris de détresse qui ont retenté dans le monde entier. Nos oppresseurs, non contents de nous dépouiller de nos droits civiles et politiques, de nous tenir éloignés depuis près d'un an de notre patrie et de nous exposer à la misère la plus affreuse et à des dangers permanents, veulent attenter à notre vie, notre honneur, et notre propriété. Par conséquent, confiant dans la magnanimité de la noble et grande nation Anglaise, dont les sentiments de générosité et d'humanité n'ont jamais été vainement implorés quand il s'est agi de venir en aide et protéger des êtres humains opprimés, nous venons en notre qualité de délégués de la part des populations Mussulmanes de Roumélie et au nom de l'humanité implorer son aide et sa protection, afin que soyons sauvés et protégés contre les empiètements sur notre vie, honneur, et propriété. Nous prions votre Seigneurie de vouloir bien communiquer cette supplique à la Chambre des Communes.

Les Délégués des populations Musulmanes de Roumélie.

(Signé) HUSNI *d'Andrinople, Délégué du Vilayet d'Andrinople.*
SAID *de Tchirpan, Délégué du même Vilayet.*
NOURI *de Philippopoli, du Vilayet du Danube.*
ARIER *de Sternic, Délégué du même Vilayet.*
NOURI *de Plevna, Délégué du Vilayet du Danube.*
HALIM *de Tirnova, Délégué du même Vilayet.*
MAHMOUDE *de Tartza, Délégué du même Vilayet.*
EMIN *de Samakow, Délégué du Vilayet de Sofia.*
RIZA *de Samakow, Délégué du même Vilayet.*
MOHAMOUD, *Délégué du Vilayet de Kussova.*
EUMERE TCHEVKI *de Pristina, Délégué du même Vilayet.*

No. 646.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 412.)
(Telegraphic.)

Therapia, April 28, 1878.

I AM informed that Grand Duke leaves to-morrow or next day for Russia, and that General Todleben takes command.

No. 647.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 413. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Therapia, April 28, 1878.

WITH reference to your telegram of the 25th instant, your Lordship has been misinformed as to the telegraph line. Sultan long ago was ready to ratify concession, the delay lies with the Council of State. There is no difficulty whatever about direct line with Europe by Tenedos and Scio, but the Company, relying upon the pressing urgency of Her Majesty's Government, wishes to include in the same concession a branch line between Tenedos and Salonica, in which Her Majesty's Government have no direct interest, and to which Council of State has objections. I am endeavouring to do what I can to bring about an arrangement, and spoke yesterday to the Sultan and Prime Minister on the subject.

No. 648.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 414.)
(Telegraphic.)

Therapia, April 28, 1878.

I AM informed, on good authority, that the Albanians, determined not to submit to be included within the new Bulgarian and Montenegrin territory, are

prepared to rise in arms, and that agents have been sent here to ascertain whether it would be advisable for them to do so now or to wait. I am told that at least 20,000 men are ready.

No. 649.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 29.)

(No. 415.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, April* 28, 1878.

TURKISH Commander at Batoum represents that twelve battalions of Russian troops have been embarked at Poti for Roumelia. It is reported that a large part of the Russian army of Asia is to be sent by sea to that province, and to disembark at Bourgas.

No. 650.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 29.)

(No. 416. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, April* 28, 1878.

TURKISH Ambassador at Vienna telegraphs that a secret Cabinet Council has been held there, to combine measures for an immediate military occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the pretext of maintaining tranquillity on the return of the refugees to those Provinces.

No. 651.

Consul-General Stanley to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 29.)

(Telegraphic.) *Odessa, April* 28, 1878.

IN my telegram of to-day I did not state clearly enough that roads are not ever actually impracticable except for big cannon; they only get heavy.

Reinforcements are continually being sent to Turkey in small detachments secretly at night.

10,000 troops are expected from interior of Russia during the next ten days.

No. 652.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 29.)

(No. 29.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, April* 28, 1878.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 27, I hear to-day that object of Russian Colonel going to Genoa, is to receive 5,000 Vetdeli rifles, to be supplied by Swiss Major (*sic*).

No. 653.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 29, 5·30 P.M.)

(No. 30.)
(Telegraphic.) *Rome, April* 29, 1878, 3·15 P.M.

THE same person who has given the information about the proceedings of the Russian officers in Italy, asserts that the Treaty of San Stefano was submitted to the German Government before its ratification by the Czar, that it contained a clause stipulating the cession of Crete to Greece, which was omitted at the suggestion of Prince Bismarck, who preferred that Greek question should be considered in its entirety when the whole settlement should be placed before Europe. The informant further states that the support now given by Germany to Russia is the consequence of

a Treaty signed at Versailles, where he was present, on the 17th or 18th of February, 1871, by which Russia agrees to allow *carte blanche* to Germany in the West, on condition of receiving the same liberty of action for herself in the East.

No. 654.

Lord Odo Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 29.)

(No. 26. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, April* 29, 1878.

I AM privately informed that the frontiers of Bulgaria which Austria has proposed to Russia are as follows:—

To the east and south the frontiers proposed at the Constantinople Conference last year.

To the west a straight line drawn from the south end of Servia at Bouranie towards Orfani, on the Gulf of Rendini.

Turkey would thereby remain in possession of Kavalla and the Ægean coast.

No. 655.

Mr. Vivian to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 29.)

(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, April* 29, 1878.

WITH reference to Sir A. Paget's telegram of the 27th, neither "Simrock" nor "Hawk" are here.

Only one vessel under American flag in port, "Flashing Light," of Windsor.

All precautions taken to have both officers and vessels closely watched if they arrive.

No. 656.

Consul-General Fawcett to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 29.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April* 29, 1878.

ACCORDING to your Lordship's desire, I proceed to-day to Volo, where Mr. Blunt has been instructed to meet me with any evidence he has collected.

No. 657.

Lord Lyons to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 29, 1·40 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Paris, April* 29, 1878, 11·45 A.M.

INFORMATION received that Russians have a plan for laying torpedoes under vessels by means of sunken rafts with electric fittings to be drifted down stream at distances of from two to three miles. Informant thinks that it is not unlikely Admiral Hornby's fleet is mined. Naval Attaché considers this very important and suggests an examination by divers.

Please communicate to Admiralty.

No. 658.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April* 29, 1878, 6 P.M.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 407 of the 26th instant, I have to state that you may agree to the proposal of the Consular Body that 2 per cent. should be added temporarily to the Customs duties levied at Constantinople, in order to promote the removal of the refugees.

No. 659.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April* 29, 1878.

RUSSIAN Ambassador informed me confidentially that the plan suggested by Count Münster to me to-day for the withdrawal of fleet and army was suggested by himself; but except that he had proposed the presence of the cruizers and the immediate return of the fleet to Gallipoli on notice given as alternatives and not as part of the same scheme. Also he told me he had been directed by Prince Gortchakow to commence direct negotiations, but that he had refrained on hearing from Count Münster that Prince Bismarck had resolved to resume them.

No. 660.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April* 29, 1878.

COUNT MUNSTER intimated to me to-day that Prince Bismarck was willing to resume the negotiations for withdrawal of fleet and army, which on Saturday he had abandoned. But he wished the next proposal to come from us: "Two or three cruizers to remain in Dardanelles, fleet and army to retire to Besika and Adrianople line respectively. On notice of return from either side, fleet to return to Gallipoli, but not to enter Marmora till four days after notice given."

No. 661.

Lord Odo Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 28. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, April* 29, 1878.

THE French Ambassador tells me in strict confidence that he hears from Vienna that Austrian Government are making military preparation for an immediate occupation of Bosnia.

No. 662.

Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 29, 1878.

I AM directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to state to you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that a telegram has been received from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, stating that his Excellency has received information to the effect that the Russians intend to destroy Admiral Hornby's fleet by means of torpedoes laid under vessels by sunken rafts, with electric fittings, to be drifted down stream at distances of from two to three miles. Lord Lyons' informant thinks that it is not unlikely that the British fleet is already mined.

I am to add that Captain Nicholson is said to be of opinion that this information is of great importance, and suggests an examination by divers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 663.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 548.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 29, 1878.

I HAVE received your telegram No. 107 of the 26th instant, and in reply I have to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the measures

which have been proposed by the Consular body to the heads of Missions at Constantinople, in order to aid the Porte in removing the refugees, whose presence is considered to be prejudicial to the sanitary condition of the capital, and likely to produce an epidemic which would necessitate the imposition of a quarantine, and interfere with the commerce of that place.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 664.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

(No. 247.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, April* 29, 1878.

COUNT MÜNSTER intimated to me to-day that Prince Bismarck was prepared to resume the negotiations, the cessation of which he had announced to me on the 25th instant, as I informed your Excellency in my despatch No. 236 of that date, for arranging the simultaneous withdrawal from the vicinity of Constantinople of the British and Russian forces. It was, however, his Highness' wish that the next proposal should come from her Majesty's Government, and Count Münster suggested that the proposition should be to the following effect:—

"Two or three cruizers to remain in the Dardanelles, the fleet and army to retire to Besika and the Adrianople line respectively. On notice of return from either side, the fleet to return to Gallipoli, but not to enter Marmora till four days after notice given."

After my interview with his Excellency, I saw Count Schouvaloff, who informed me in confidence that this plan had been suggested by himself, with the exception that the ideas of the presence of the cruizers in the Dardanelles, and the immediate return of the fleet to Gallipoli, had been put forward by him as alternatives, and not as part of the same scheme. Count Schouvaloff also informed me that he had been directed by Prince Gortchakoff to commence direct negotiations with me, but said that he had refrained from doing so on learning from Count Münster that Prince Bismarck had resolved to resume the mediation which he had temporarily abandoned.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 665.

Consul-General Stanley to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 30.)

(No. 24. Political.)
My Lord, *Odessa, April* 25, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to report that cannon, mortars, torpedoes, shells and other ammunition are being continually embarked here.

They are put on board at night secretly, the steamers, moreover, being at a part of the quay to which access is forbidden.

Russian officers here state that should war break out, an endeavour would be made immediately to seize the aqueducts at Constantinople, and to block up by torpedoes, or otherwise, the Sulina Channel.

I believe the amount claimed for losses of South Russian merchants by the blockade to be immensely greater than the losses so sustained, as I will endeavour to show, in a statement which I shall shortly have the honour of submitting to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

P.S.—The "Nakhimoff" took 500 troops to San Stephano yesterday.
A fresh levy of horses will be shortly made.
Torpedoes have been recently laid at Poti and Novorosoisk.

G. E. S.

No. 666.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received April 30.)

(Secret.)

Sir, *Admiralty, April 29, 1878.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit herewith, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a copy of a letter from Vice-Admiral Hornby containing his remarks on Rear-Admiral Sir Edmund Commerell's Confidential Report, No. 189, of the 5th instant, relative to the state of affairs at Gallipoli, and which was inclosed in my letter of the 20th instant.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure in No. 666.

Vice-Admiral Hornby to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Confidential.)

Sir, *"Alexandra," at Ismid, April 11, 1878.*

REFERRING to my submission of this date, I have the honour to remark, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that, from a conversation I had with Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, I find that Zabbit Pasha's communication with the Russian General, referred to in the second part of Rear-Admiral Commerell's Report, was known by Ahmet Vefyk Pasha, the Prime Minister, who told Mr. Layard that Zabbit Pasha had by that means obtained information which was very valuable to the Porte.

2. With reference to paragraph 5 of the same Report, I am also informed by Her Majesty's Ambassador, that during last year, a general order was issued by the Porte, which empowered a second in command to arrest his superior, if he had reason to believe he was guilty of treachery, or of any intention of improperly yielding his post to the enemy.

3. With reference to the 6th paragraph, I have directed the Rear-Admiral to reduce his landing-party to 600 men, and to send, in addition, a few officers to be with, and to encourage, the Turks.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. PHIPPS HORNBY.

No. 667.

Lord Odo Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 30.)

(No. 29. Secret.)

(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, April 30, 1878.*

I AM privately informed that Count Andrassy does not think that Russia would agree to Balkan line frontier of Bulgaria, and recommends at Berlin line of frontier I sent your Excellency yesterday in my telegram No. 26.

No. 668.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April 30, 1878.*

I HAVE received the following message from Sir A. Paget dated the 29th instant:—

"The same person who has given the information about the proceedings of the Russian officers in Italy asserts that the Treaty of San Stefano was submitted to the German Government before its ratification by the Czar, that it contained a clause stipulating the cession of Crete to Greece, which was omitted at the suggestion of Prince Bismarck, who preferred that Greek question should be considered in its entirety when the whole settlement should be placed before Europe.

I request that your Excellency will endeavour to ascertain whether there is any truth in this report respecting Crete.

No. 669.

Sir E. Thornton to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 30.)

(Telegraphic.) *Washington, April 30, 1878.*

"TELEGRAM," newspaper of New York, reports last night that German steamer arrived at Elsworth, Maine, with 600 passengers, awaiting orders.

I have instructed Consul at Portland to send some one to ascertain who they are, what they are doing, and intend to do.

No. 670.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 30.)

(No. 417.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 30, 1878.*

THE following comes to me from the correspondent of an English newspaper, who is on intimate terms with General Skobeleff:—

"A Russian column is being formed to march upon Cabul and Peshawur to consist of 50,000 men; 40,000 of these are already on the ground, which could be held by 20,000. There remain, therefore, 30,000 to be provided, who are now under orders and *en route*, being chiefly drawn from the south-eastern provinces. Officers are to be drawn from the army of the Caucasus, some of whom, belonging to the Staff, have already gone to St. Petersburgh. The column will be formed on the line of Arenberg to Tashkend, and it is calculated that Khokand may be reached this year. Affghanistan is counted upon as an ally, and it is believed that a march upon Peshawur by way of Cabul may be commenced next year. Skobeleff was to have been appointed to the command, but cannot be spared from the army in Turkey. Tchernaieff is to take his place. The order for the strength of the column is four divisions, three batteries and four mountain batteries to each; one of the divisions to be regular cavalry."

No. 671.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 30.)

(No. 418.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 30, 1878.*

M. ONOU has asked Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs whether the Porte would consider Dardanelles closed against a re-entry of British fleet in the event of its withdrawal. The answer was that they would be so considered if the British fleet endeavoured to re-enter without just cause. Nothing more has, I am assured, passed on the subject.

No. 672.

Mr. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 30.)

(No. 419.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, April 30, 1878.*

WITH reference to your telegram of the 24th instant, Porte is very anxious to know whether it could obtain at least a part of the sum due to it from the Danube Commission, in order to provide for pressing necessities of refugees.

No. 673.

Mr. R. Thomson to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 30.)

(Telegraphic.) *Tehran, April 30, 1878.*

WITH reference to my telegram of the 23rd instant, I have sent following to Captain Napier:—

"With reference to my telegram of the 19th, I have received following from Viceroy. In view of obvious importance of Captain Napier being, if possible, before-

hand with Russian emissaries in Akhal country, it seems to us undesirable to be too stringent in exacting precautions, and we think much might be left to Napier's discretion."

No. 674.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

(No. 551.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 30, 1878.

I HAVE to request your Excellency to endeavour to ascertain whether there is any truth in the following report respecting Crete, which has been brought to my notice by Her Majesty's Ambassador at Rome.

It is asserted that the Treaty of San Stefano was submitted to the German Government by the Czar before its ratification, and that it contained a clause stipulating the cession of Crete to Greece, which was omitted at the suggestion of Prince Bismarck, who preferred that the Greek Question should be considered in its entirety when the whole settlement should be placed before Europe.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 675.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Consul Kirby Green.

(No. 7. Political.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 30, 1878.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your Political despatch No. 31 of the 12th instant, containing some observations on the territorial changes affecting Montenegro and the neighbouring provinces as contemplated by the 1st Article of the Treaty of San Stefano, and I have to state to you that I have read your despatch with great interest.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 676.

Lord Tenterden to Mr. Pender, M.P.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 30, 1878.

I AM directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter of the 25th instant, inclosing a telegraphic despatch relative to an attack made by the Turks on Keratidi in the Island of Crete.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 677.

Mr. Lister to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Strictly Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 30, 1878.

I AM directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to transmit to you herewith, for the confidential information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the paraphrase of two telegrams from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Rome, dated the 17th and 23rd instant, containing information respecting the movements of certain Russian officers who had been recently staying in Rome.

I am, &c.
(Signed) T. V. LISTER.

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* No. 383 and 498.

No. 678.

Mr. Lister to Mr. Herbert.

(Strictly Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 30, 1878.

I AM directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to transmit to you, for the confidential information of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, the paraphrase of two telegrams from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Rome,* giving certain particulars as to the movements of a party of Russian officers who have been recently staying in that city; and in laying these telegrams before Sir M. H. Beach I am to suggest for his consideration whether it would not be advisable to communicate this intelligence confidentially to the Governor of Malta.

I am, &c.
(Signed) T. V. LISTER.

No. 679.

Mr. Lister to Sir L. Malet.

(Strictly Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 30, 1878.

WITH reference to the letter from this Department of the 18th instant, I am directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to transmit to you, for the confidential information of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, a paraphrase of a telegram from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Rome containing further particulars respecting the movements of the party of Russian officers who had been recently staying in that city.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) T. V. LISTER.

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* Nos. 383 and 498.

† No. 498.